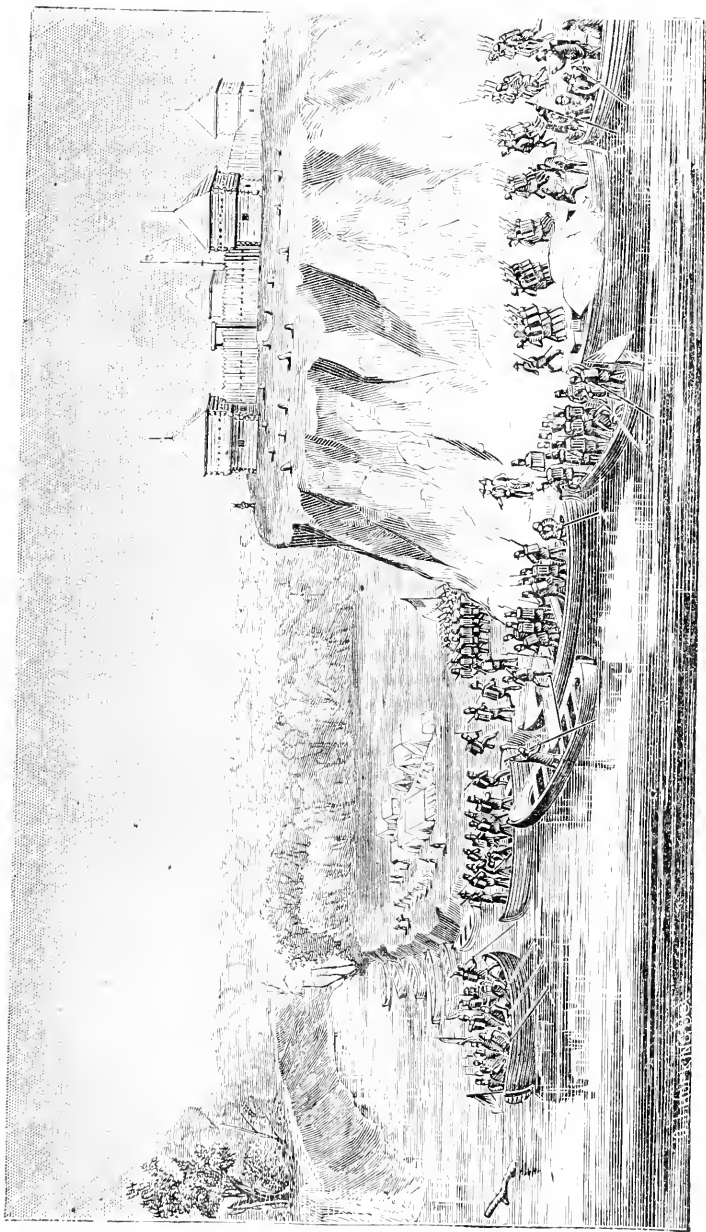






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LANDING AT FORT INDUSTRY (TOLEDO.)

Of the First Continental Regiment of United States Infantry, under Colonel Thomas Hunt, June, 1803.

HISTORY

OF THE

MAUMEE VALLEY

Commencing with its Occupation by the French in 1680.

TO WHICH IS ADDED SKETCHES OF SOME OF ITS MORAL AND
MATERIAL RESOURCES AS THEY EXIST IN 1872

BY H. S. KNAPP,



TOLEDO
BUCKE MAMMOTH PRINTING AND PUBLISHING HOUSE
1872

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TO RUTHERFORD BIRCHARD HAVES

LATE GOVERNOR OF OHIO:

Whose official life adds lustre to the character of the true, energetic and able and incorruptible statesman, and whose interest in that which bears relation to the preservation of the historical wealth of Ohio has been manifested throughout his life this volume is respectfully dedicated, by

H. S. G.

CLEVELAND, May, 1873

INTRODUCTORY AND EXPLANATORY.

The author of *Ecce Deus* says: "History can never be written. It can only be hinted at, and most dimly outlined from the particular stand-point which the historian has chosen to occupy. It is only by courtesy that any man can be called a historian. Seldom do men so flatly contradict each other as upon points of fact. Incompleteness marks all narrations. No man can fully write his own life. On reviewing the sheets which were to have told everything, the autobiographer is struck with their reticence and poverty."

It may be said that in this work appear many historians. Its compiler, in a large degree, has acted only the part of a faithful amanuensis, and transcribed the recollections of others, as they have been given him. Statements are made regarding the same facts by persons of high character, which other persons equally entitled to credit, and having knowledge of the same cotemporaneous events, may criticise and contradict. These discrepancies result from the infirmities of human memory, and the author could not undertake to adjust or reconcile them; and the remark above quoted he has found so obviously true as to justify repetition: "Seldom do men so flatly contradict each other as upon points of fact." This observation will apply even to matter emanating from the highest official sources, including Messages of Presidents, and reports from heads of civil and military departments. For a wise purpose, doubtless, it was ordered that the words of only ONE should outlive and defy all criticism.

A primary object of this work has been to embody the names and recollections of as many of the pioneers of the Maumee Valley as it was practicable to obtain, within a reasonable space of time, and bring the survivors, so far as the art of printing could execute the

design, into a Common Council. It is sad to review the decimation, made by the hand of death, during the last two years and more, since the commencement of this volume, among the early settlers. If the years immediately succeeding make similar inroads upon their ranks, the time is close at hand when the last of the old race we call "pioneer," will have been conveyed to his final rest.

The names of many worthy 'old settlers' of the Valley are necessarily omitted; but this work, now largely exceeding the limits originally designed, and extending several months beyond the time fixed for its appearance, should reach the "finis" before its author reaches his tomb. Even if the task has been imperfectly accomplished, the months of drudging, though pleasant, toil, devoted to it, will not be regarded as spent in vain. The author only regrets that he had not lease of longer life than will probably be allotted him, and ample pecuniary resources, to make the work more acceptable. But, commencing on a prescribed limit of 350 pages, it was again fixed at 500, and now, as the reader discovers, considerably exceeds 600, exclusive of engravings and maps.

Acknowledgments are due such a multitude of good people for kindnesses that discrimination is hardly proper. It would, however, be scarcely pardonable to omit expression of general obligation to my old cotemporaries of the newspaper press throughout the Valley and country, and to name especially the late A. T. Goodman, Secretary of the Western Reserve and Northern Ohio Historical Association, and the late Secretary of State, W. H. Smith, Clark Waggoner, Alfred P. Edgerton, Jesup W. Scott, and to the works of my old friend and editorial associate, Mr. Charles Cist, of Cincinnati.

Typographical errors will be discovered. The responsibility for these, in a court of equity, would be about equally distributed, probably, among printers, proof reader and author. In most instances they are so manifest, that the intelligent reader will pass them by without complaining of the absence of a hackneyed and hateful "errata."

H. S. K.

TOLEDO, May, 1873.

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HISTORY OF THE MAUMEE VALLEY.

CHAPTER I.

FIRST WHITE SETTLEMENT IN OHIO MADE ON THE MAUMEE RIVER, IN 1680.

THE first efforts made by Europeans, or their descendants, to settle the territory now forming the jurisdiction of Ohio, were undertaken by the French, in the Maumee Valley, and in the year 1680. It was deemed prudent by those who sought even temporary domicile among the savages, whether the object was trade, agriculture, or missionary labor, to first secure safety against surprise and attack by the construction of military defences. The enterprising and fearless discoverer, La Salle, erected, in the autumn of the year mentioned, a stockade at the confluence of the St. Mary's and St. Joseph's rivers, on the ground now occupied by Fort Wayne, and retained possession of it about one month.

During the year 1679, the Count de Frontenac, Governor of Canada, urged upon the French monarch the importance of erecting forts and trading posts in the Western country, along the chain of great lakes. Though no assistance came from the profligate King, Frontenac, who was a man of great energy and spirit, sent out a number of trading parties, with authority to erect stores or posts, and to take possession of all the country visited, in the name of the government of France.

"One of these parties found their way to the Miami or Maumee river, and in 1680, built a small stockade just below the site of Maumee City. This was an important trading point for several years, and in 1694 was under the command of Sieur Courthemanche :

but was finally abandoned for a more eligible location at the head of the Maumee river, near where the city of Fort Wayne now stands. On the very spot where the fort of Maumee stood, the British, in 1794, erected Fort Miami.' This statement is made upon the authority of the late A. T. Goodman, Esq., Secretary of the Western Reserve and Northern Ohio Historical Society, who obtained the data upon which it is based, from French records, at Montreal and Quebec, and papers at Albany and Harrisburg. Hence the occupation of the Maumee ante-dated that sought to be established on the Detroit; the first effort at French settlement being made on the last named river in 1683.

In 1701, de la Motte Cadillac laid the foundations of Fort Pontchartrain on the Detroit, which embraced the whole strait from Lake Erie to Lake Huron. The first grants of land at Detroit, *i. e.*, Fort Pontchartrain, were made in 1707. Cadillac was not only founder of Detroit, but Governor of Louisiana. The town, as we have noticed, was founded subsequent to the settlements on the Maumee river; yet, according to the statement of Judge Burnet, it was the most ancient on the Upper Lakes; and was the capital of Upper Canada until it fell into the hands of the United States.

In 1689, the Count de Frontenac was again commissioned Governor of Canada. The following year (1690), war broke out between England and France, and the King of the French, in a letter to Frontenac, expressed "great desire for the maintenance of French posts in the West."

In 1695, Captain Nichols Perrot built a trading station "at the west end of Lake Erie." This continued for two years, when the Miamis plundered the place, seized Perrot, and were on the point of "roasting him alive," when he was saved by the Outagamis. The exact location of Perrot's station can not now be determined. During the year 1695, a very bloody war occurred between the Iroquois and Miamis, in which the latter nation suffered severely, as did the French traders in the Ohio and Illinois country. We find the Governor of Canada complaining that the Iroquois "roasted all the French prisoners" that came into their hands.

It is probable that English traders first began to establish themselves for permanent operations in the West in 1698-99. Early in the year 1700, M. de Longueuil held a grand Council at Detroit, with the Outaouais, Hurons, Pouteouatamis and Mississagues. In his speech to them he said: "The Englishmen hath reddened the sea

with my blood: he has also causelessly stained with it a great many other countries. My hatchet has not stirred. But now that he hath pushed me to the wall by so many relapses, I must perish or avenge on him all the blood he has drawn from my veins. It is neither to Montreal nor his territory that I direct your first steps against him. It is in your own immediate vicinity, where he, for several years, hath quietly made his way with his goods. It is to the White river and to the Beautiful river, (Ohio,) that I expect you will immediately march in quest of him, and when you destroy him, you will seize and divide all his goods among you. Set out forthwith. You shall want for nothing that you require for the extirpation of this scum. If the English escape you on the Beautiful river, (Ohio,) you will find them a little farther off with his brother, the Flat-Head."

In answer to a message of the White river Indians, M. de Longueuil said: "Wait not till the English strike first: commence by binding and pillaging all the English who come to your parts, and the Beautiful river, (Ohio); divide the goods among you, and bring the men here to Detroit." During the year 1700, the Iroquois, after years of hostility, made a treaty with the French, by which their missionaries and traders were allowed in all parts of the West. About this time a party of factors from Detroit built a small post on the Maumee, where Toledo now stands.

In 1703, the English invited the Hurons and Miamis to locate near the Senecas, on Lake Erie, assuring them of protection against the French. The proposition was rejected.

During the year 1705, *Sieur de Joncaire* visited the Seneca Indians, and *Sieur de Vincennes* the Miamis, on business of the Governor of Canada, and found English traders with each nation.

In 1707, M. de Cadillac, commandant at Detroit, marched with a small force against the Miamis, and soon forced them to terms. Two years later (1709), Cadillac advocated the building of a ship canal from Lake Erie to Lake Ontario.

In 1712, *Sieur de Vincennes* paid a second visit to the Miamis. The French post at Detroit was besieged by the *Pontecouatamis* and *Saguenays*, who made war on the Indian allies of the French, massacring nearly one thousand men, women and children of the *Outagamis* and *Maskoutins*.

As early as 1714, Governor Alexander Spotswood, of Virginia, a man of foresight and energy, saw the advantage to be gained by an

early settlement of the Ohio country. He had been appointed Governor in 1710, an office which he filled with great ability for twelve years. During the year 1714, he explored the country across the Blue Ridge to the Ohio, and became enamored with the surroundings. It was not, however, until the year 1716, that he communicated to the Legislature a plan for a company to settle the lands on the Ohio river. The Legislature viewed the matter favorably, and the papers were sent to the English Ministry for approval. They were held for a long time, and finally the plan was rejected. The exact cause was never known, but was supposed to have been fear on the part of the Ministry, that the planting of colonies to the westward would give offence to the French. Notwithstanding this disheartening refusal, the matter was not entirely dropped. From time to time, pamphlets were printed, and letters published, urging upon the English Government the necessity of pushing its possessions westward. There were plenty of capitalists ready to risk their money in the purchase of lands and building up of settlements, but the Ministry were weak and timid, and would give no encouragement whatever.

In 1714, Captain de La Forest showed to the French Government the importance of maintaining Detroit, and keeping possession of Lake Erie and its environs. The French monarch had more foresight than England's King, and spent vast sums of money in extending his possessions. In 1715, a party of Englishmen from North Carolina constructed three posts on the south side of the Ohio, and its branches.

The French having obtained control of the Ohio Indians, the English in 1716 sent agents among them with speeches and presents, and endeavored to form an alliance, but were unsuccessful. The same year seventeen Frenchmen were killed while on their way from the Illinois country to Detroit. In a letter, addressed about this time by M. de Ramezay and M. Begon, to the Governor of Canada, they requested the French Government to build a post at Niagara, on the ground that "this post would deter the Mississague and Amicoue Indians from going to the Iroquois to trade, when passing from the neighborhood of Lake Erie." A stockade was built by the French at Vincennes, but soon abandoned.

During the year 1720, French traders were active along the Ohio. Sieur de Joncaire reported that he had seen "a fountain near the head waters of the Ohio, the water of which is like oil, and tasted like iron." Further north, he reported another fountain of the same

kind. "The savages," he says, "make use of the water to appease all manner of pains."

In 1722, a treaty was made at Albany, New York, between the Iroquois and English, by which the lands west of the Allegheny Mountains were acknowledged to belong to the Iroquois by reason of their conquests from the Eries, Conoys, Tongorias, &c.

In 1725, Baron de Longueuil was made Governor of Canada, and soon after reported that, "the English have built two houses and some stores on a small stream which flows into the Wabash, where they trade with the Miamis and Onyatanons."

During the year 1726, the country from the Cuyahoga in Ohio, to Oswego in New York, was placed by the Iroquois under the protection of the English.

In 1728, the Marquis de Beauharnois, then Governor of Canada, recommended the erection of a fort on the south shore of Lake Erie, to serve as winter quarters for two sloops he proposed to build on that lake. "By this means," he writes, "the English would be prevented from sending loaded canoes with brandy and merchandise to the head of Lake Erie." The King declined building the fort, or paying for the construction of sloops.

In 1729, Joshua Gee, of London, printed a pamphlet urging the planting of English colonies in Western America. The following year (1730), Governor Keith urged upon the Ministry the advantages of securing British dominion west of the mountains.

During the year 1731, Sieur de Joncaire, by direction of the Governor of Canada, visited the Shawanese, who had located on the Ohio and its branches—for the purpose of securing their friendship and alliance.

In 1736, Vincennes was destroyed by the savages. The French now claimed to have 16,403 warriors, and 82,000 souls under their control in the West.

During the year 1739, M. de Longueuil left Detroit, crossed the Ohio country, and discovered Bigbone Lick, in Kentucky. De Longueuil constructed a road from Detroit to the Ohio river, which crossed the Maumee at the foot of the rapids, and was thereafter used by the Canadians.

In 1742, a number of herd-men from Detroit settled at Vincennes. John Howard, an English traveler, crossed the mountains from Virginia, descended the Ohio in a canoe, and was taken prisoner by the French, near the Mississippi.

In 1743, Peter Charties, a Frenchman living in Philadelphia, undertook, by a mission among the Ohio Shawanese, to engage them in war with the Six Nations. For this he was severely reprimanded by the Governor of Pennsylvania, and becoming alarmed, fled to Canada, where he was appointed Captain in the French service. He secured an alliance of the Shawanese with the French. The same year the Detroit French sent goods and presents to a party of Senecas, Ononlagas, and others of the Iroquois, then recently settled on the White river. In return for these favors, the Indians promised to drive off all English traders from the Ohio.

In 1744, Commissioners of the Colony of Pennsylvania made a treaty at Lancaster, Pa., with representatives of the six nations, by which the latter "recognized the King's right to all lands beyond the mountains." Encouraged by this, the English formed several settlements and magazines along the Ohio, but were driven off, almost immediately, by Detroit Indians. Hearing of their location on the White river, (Indiana,) M. de Longuenil sent thirty-five picked warriors of the Outaouais, to kill and plunder them, which was accomplished. Peter Charties, with one hundred Shawanese, ambuscaded two English traders on the Allegheny, near the Ohio, and seized their property, valued at sixteen hundred pounds. The traders were sent to Canada.

During the year 1745, a dispute arose with the Senecas, in which several of the latter were killed, but no general warfare followed.

PLOT OF NICHOLAS TO EXTERMINATE THE FRENCH POWER IN THE
WEST.

This year, the Miamis entered into the conspiracy of Nicholas, the distinguished Huron chief, who resided at "Sandosket," on the bay of that name. A plot was formed for a general extermination of the French power in the West. Seventeen tribes joined in this movement. In July, the Miamis danced the Calumet at Detroit, yet soon after seized Fort Miami, took eight Frenchmen, and destroyed the buildings. This tribe had removed from the Detroit river to lands on the north side of Sandusky bay. They were a powerful body of men; active, energetic, and unscrupulous. They had in some manner been offended by the French at Detroit, which affords the reason of their change of habitation, Nicholas, their principal

chief, was a wily fellow, full of savage cunning, whose enmity, when once aroused, was greatly to be feared.

Late in the same year a party of English traders from Pennsylvania visited the village of Nicholas, and were received with marked attention. Nicholas had become an implacable enemy of the French, and was therefore ready to make a treaty of amity and good will with the English. He accordingly permitted the erection of a large block house at his principal town on the bay, and suffered the traders to remain and dispose of their stock of goods. Once located, the English established themselves at the place, and, according to French accounts, acquired great influence with Nicholas and his tribe. This influence was always exercised to the injury of the French.

On the 23d of June, 1747, five Frenchmen, with peltries, arrived at the Sandusky town from White river, a small stream falling into the Wabash nearly opposite the present town of Mt. Carmel, Illinois. These Frenchmen, being wholly unaware of the presence of English among the Hurons, were unsuspecting of danger, and counted upon the hospitality and friendship of the Indians. Their presence, however, inspired anything but tokens of good will. Nicholas was greatly irritated at the audacity of the French in coming into his towns without his consent. The English traders, noticing this feeling, urged the chief to seize the Frenchmen and their peltries. This was accomplished on the afternoon of the day of their arrival. The fate of the poor Frenchmen was soon determined. Nicholas condemned them to death, and they were tomahawked in cold blood. Their stock of peltries was disposed of to the English, and by them sold to a party of Seneca Indians.

The news of these outrages created much feeling among the French at Detroit, and especially so among the traders in the Ohio country. As soon as the Sandusky murders came to the information of the Governor of Canada, he ordered M. de Longueuil, commandant at Detroit, to send a messenger to Nicholas demanding the surrender of the murderers of the five Frenchmen. The demand was not complied with. Three other messengers in turn followed, but were met with the same refusal. M. de Longueuil then sent a peremptory demand, requiring the surrender of the murderers, to be disposed of according to his pleasure; that the Hurons must ally themselves at once with the French, or the latter will become their irreconcilable enemies; that the French were disposed to look upon the recent murders as acts of irresponsible parties, and not of the

Huron tribe, and that all English traders must leave the Indian towns forthwith.

The answer returned to these propositions amounted to a defiance, and preparations were made for an expedition against Sandusky.

The crafty Nicholas was not less active than the French. He formed a great conspiracy for the capture of Detroit and the upper French posts, and the massacre of the white inhabitants. How long this conspiracy had been brewing, we have no information. We know that by August, 1747, the Iroquois, Hurons, Outaouagas, Abenakis, Pous, Onabash, Sauteurs, Outaouas, Mississagues, Foxes, Sioux, Sacs, Sarastaus, Loups, Poutcouatamis, Chaonenons and Miamis had entered into a grand league, having for its object extermination of French dominion and authority in the West. Every nation of Indians, excepting those in the Illinois country, entered into the plan with zeal and alacrity.

Offensive operations were to commence at once. A party of Detroit Hurons were to sleep in the forts and houses at Detroit, as they had often done before, and each was to kill the people where he lodged. The day set for this massacre was one of the holidays of Pentecost. A band of Poutcouatamis were commissioned to destroy the French mission and villages on Bois Blanc Island; the Miamis, to seize the French traders in their country; the Iroquois, to destroy the French village at the junction of the Miami and St. Joseph; the Foxes, to destroy the village at Green Bay; the Sioux, Sacs and Sarastaus to reduce Michillimacinae; while the other tribes were to destroy the French trading posts in their respective countries, seize the traders, and put them to death.

This great conspiracy, so skillfully planned and arranged, would have been attended with a frightful loss of life, and the utter annihilation of French power, but for its accidental yet timely discovery.

It seems that a party of Detroit Hurons had struck before the other tribes were ready, by the murder of a Frenchman in the forest a few leagues from Detroit. This act was unauthorized by the Huron chiefs, who had made their arrangements for occupying the houses at Detroit, and were only waiting for the appointed time to strike the fatal blow. So fearful were the chiefs that their object would be detected since the murder, that a council was held in one of the houses, which had been obtained for the purpose, to determine whether any change of operations was necessary. While they were in council, one of their squaws, going into the garret of the

house in search of Indian corn, overheard the details of the conspiracy. She at once hastened to a Jesuit priest, and revealed the plans of the savages. The priest lost no time in communicating with M. de Longueuil, the French commandant, who ordered out the troops, aroused the people, and gave the Indians to understand that their plans had been discovered, and would be discomfited. With great alacrity messengers were despatched to the forts and trading posts, which put the people on their guard, and caused them to retire to places of safety. All the settlers in the vicinity of Detroit were notified to enter the fort. The post of Miami was abandoned, and relief asked for from Quebec.

When the Hurons at Detroit found they had been detected, they sullenly withdrew, the commandant being unwilling to open actual hostilities by detaining them. Soon after this the Indian operations began, though confined to a small scale, on account of the vigilance of M. de Longueuil in apprising his countrymen of their danger. The latter part of August, 1747, a number of Frenchmen were killed at Chibarnani; eight traders were seized in the Miami country; a man named Martineau was killed near Detroit; the Sauteurs attacked a convoy of French canoes on Lake St. Clair, captured one and plundered the goods; the Ontaowas killed a number of French traders residing in their country; the Foxes murdered several traders at Green Bay; a French trader was killed on the Miami; a party of Hurons attacked the inhabitants of Bois Blanc Island, and wounded three men. Five of the Hurons were captured, taken to Detroit, and heavily ironed. One was soon after killed by the people, and another committed suicide. Other murders were committed, and trading houses destroyed, but the conspiracy had been pretty effectually broken up by its timely discovery. Soon after hostilities had commenced, numbers of those who had entered the league deserted it, and craved the pardon and favor of the French. First among these were the Ontaowas and Pouteowatamis, the latter having agreed to destroy the Bois Blanc villages. Thus weakened, the plans and efforts of Nicholas were in a measure paralyzed.

On the 22d of September, a large number of boats, containing one hundred and fifty regular soldiers, arrived at Detroit from Montreal.

Upon hearing of this, Nicholas abandoned all his plans, and was ready to make peace on the best terms he could obtain. He knew that certain destruction awaited his villages, unless pardon was

obtained; for the French commandant was already meditating a punishment for him and his people, for the murder of the five traders the June previous.

During the summer, two chiefs of the Detroit Hurons, Sastaredzy and Taychatin, had visited Detroit on a professed mission of friendship. They were seized and sent to Quebec to answer for the murders committed by the Sandusky Hurons. Sastaredzy died at Quebec on the 4th of August; Taychatin was released when peace was made. Nicholas secured the pardon of himself and the Sandusky Hurons, upon the most favorable terms—that of maintaining peace in the future. The French abandoned their demand for the murderers of the five traders, and made no conditions as to the Indian trade with the English. Even during the winter that followed, 1747–8, Nicholas received at the Sandusky villages, on two occasions, a party of Englishmen from Philadelphia, and allowed his people to trade with them. Soon after this, Nicholas received belts and other tokens of friendship from the English. These things came to the ear of M. de Longueuil, and he lost no time in asking instructions from Quebec.

On the 14th of January, 1748, Nicholas sent fourteen of his warriors to Detroit to ask for the release of the three remaining Indians captured at Bois Blanc Island. M. de Longueuil, wishing to secure Nicholas as an ally, granted his request, and the prisoners were released.

In February, 1748, French soldiers rebuilt and again occupied the post on the Miami. The same month, La Joncaire, Governor of Canada, ordered M. de Longueuil to give Nicholas notice that no English traders would be allowed among his people, or in the Western country; and if any were found, they should receive notice to quit forthwith. Agreeable to these instructions, a French officer was sent to Sandusky, who notified Nicholas of the wishes of the Governor of Canada. Finding several English at the towns, the officer commanded them to leave the country, which they promised to do.

Finding himself deserted by nearly all of his allies, his power for mischief gone, and the activity and determination of the French to suffer encroachments from the English no longer, Nicholas finally resolved to abandon his towns on Sandusky Bay and seek a home farther west. On the 7th of April, 1748, he destroyed the villages

and fort, and on the following day, at the head of one hundred and nineteen warriors, and their families, left for the White river in Indiana. Soon after he moved with his people to the Illinois country, locating on the Ohio, near the Indiana line, where he died, in the fall of 1748.

The stern, unyielding conduct of M. de Longueuil toward most of the tribes who had been engaged in the conspiracy, produced the desired effect. By the 1st of May, 1748, the power of the league had been utterly annihilated, and nearly every nation forced to sue for peace. This result was not produced by the sword. The withholding of supplies, the prohibition of traders, the reduction of the savages to want not only of provisions but of powder and ball, did much toward humbling their desire for war. In June, a proclamation was issued by the Governor of Canada, granting pardon to all the tribes engaged in the conspiracy, excepting the Mississagués and Sauteurs. Those nations had committed offences which could not be overlooked without punishment. These exceptions were afterwards withdrawn, and peace was established in the Northwest. The French, however, for several years, looked with distrust upon the "rebels," as they were called. The Detroit Hurons were sulky, and not inclined to carry the yoke the French placed upon their shoulders. They had formerly enjoyed every privilege; no obstructions being placed in their way. Now they were subjected to military rule. In the general orders of the post at Detroit, June 2d, 1748, we find the following:

"Should any Huron, or other rebel, be so daring as to enter the fort without a pass, through sheer bravado, 'twould be proper to arrest him and put him to death on the spot."

Similar orders were issued at all French posts in the Northwest. These harsh, but necessary measures, had their lessons, and the Indians became as quiet and peaceable as ever. Thus ended the conspiracy of Nicholas. The Miannis were fully in the plot, and performed the part assigned them by the capture and destruction of Fort Miami, as it was then known, at the confluence of the St. Joseph's and St. Mary's rivers.

In 1746, the Marquis de Vaudrenil advocated the erection of a French post at the Falls of the Ohio. At this time the English were operating between the mouth of the Cuyahoga and "Sandosket." The celebrated George Croghan had a house at the Cuyahoga, and did an extensive business with the tribes along the lake.

When the conspiracy of Nicholas had been crushed, Fort Miami was rebuilt and occupied by the French under Sieur Dubuisson. In May, 1748, Captain de Celeron left Montreal for Detroit, with a convoy of arms, ammunition, goods and provisions. The Governor of Pennsylvania sent Conrad Weisser to Logstown with a large supply of presents, to secure the friendship of the Ohio Indians. At this time the French were considering the practicability of building a fort "on Lake Erie, below Detroit," when a treaty of peace was signed at Aix-la-Chapelle. By the terms of this treaty, Commissioners were to be appointed to run a boundary line between the French and English possessions in America, but nothing seems to have been done in the premises. On the 3d of October, 1748, Governor Clinton, of New York, addressed a communication to the Duke of Bedford. The following is an extract: "I am informed that all the numerous nations to the westward of the English colonies are exceedingly dissatisfied with the French; that they have killed several of the French traders, and had blocked up the small forts the French had amongst them, and killed several of their soldiers. This was owing to the English selling goods more than one-half cheaper than the French did, and by the French endeavoring to hinder the Indians from trading with the English." This refers to the conspiracy of Nicholas.

In October, 1748, Count de La Galissonniere wrote to M. de Longueuil, commandant at Detroit, that "though we be at peace, every attempt of the English to settle at River a la Roche (Maumee), White river, and Ohio river, or any of their tributaries, must be resisted by force." Not long after this a party under Captain de Celeron, forced the English to leave Sandosket and the Cuyahoga.

During this year (1748), a treaty was made with the Twigtwees, or Miamis, at Lancaster, Pennsylvania, by which they allied themselves to the English, and agreed to protect such traders as might be sent among them. The same year, Thomas Lee, who was connected with the provisional government of Virginia, formed a design of effecting a settlement on the wild lands west of the Allegheny Mountains. His plans were cordially approved by the Executive Council of Virginia. Lee associated himself with twelve Virginians, among whom were Lawrence and Augustine Washington, brothers of George Washington, and a Mr. Hanbury, of London, and formed the "Ohio Land Company." The following year (1749), they obtained from King George II. a grant of five hundred thousand acres

of land situated on both sides of the Ohio, but principally on the Virginia side between the Monongahela and Kanawha.

During the year 1749, Captain de Celeron conducted an expedition into the Ohio country, to formally take possession of the territory, in the name of the King of the French. He buried leaden plates along the Ohio river, visited the interior of the country, held conferences with the Indian tribes, and faithfully performed the duties of his mission. In August, Captain Celeron discovered an English trading colony at an old Shawanese town on the Ohio, near the Muskingum. The traders were permitted to leave, on their promise never to return.

From that place Celeron wrote to the Governor of Pennsylvania: "To warn him that if any English traders should thereafter make their appearance on the Ohio river, they would be treated without any delicacy."

During this year, also, many interesting events took place. In August, Governor Hamilton, of Pennsylvania, sent George Croghan to the Ohio Indians with a message, informing them that war had ceased between the French and English, and to inquire the reason of Captain Celeron's march through their country.

We have noticed a treaty of amity and friendship made in 1748 between the English and Twigwees. Desirous of maintaining and preserving the relations established, the colony of Pennsylvania, in the Fall of 1750, lent its aid to the planting of a company of traders among its new allies. Late in that year a party of twenty-five persons from Eastern Pennsylvania, built a station on the Great Miami, at the mouth of what is now known as Loran's Creek, sixteen miles northwest of Sidney, Shelby county. It was called Pekawillany, after a distinguished chief of the Twigwees. Before Spring, a block house and several stores and dwellings were erected. The place prospered, the traders did a flourishing business, and success had seemingly attended the efforts of the Pennsylvanians, when an occasion happened which gave umbrage to the French.

In the Summer of 1751, three or four French soldiers, who had deserted, delivered themselves to the English at Pekawillany. The Twigwees, who had long suffered from the French and their Indian allies, wanted the three deserters delivered to them for purposes of revenge. The English would not consent to this, but were obliged, in order to save their lives, to send them to an English post on the

Muskingum, where they were delivered to George Croghan. When the French heard that deserters from their service were received and protected at Pickawillany, the Governor of Canada determined upon the destruction of that post. A force under *Sieur de Joncaire*, was sent, but was obliged to return to Detroit from difficulties met with in the wilderness. In May, 1752, another party left Detroit on the same mission. The French and their allies numbered about two hundred and fifty men. On the 21st of June, at early morn, they reached Pickawillany, and at once began the attack. A skirmish took place, in which one Englishman and fourteen *Twigtwees* were killed. The place, after some further resistance, was surrendered, and a general plunder of the houses followed. Some of the huts were razed to the ground: the fort, or block house was left standing. The English traders were sent to Canada, but tradition says few of them reached there.

The *Twigtwee King*, “*Old Britain*,” was killed and eaten in the presence of his conquered people. In the following year the Governors of Pennsylvania and Virginia sent presents and messages of condolence to the *Twigtwee* nation.

Recurring to the order of years, we are brought back to 1750.

During that year, English traders were a second time expelled from the *Cuyahoga*. A party of French from Detroit built *Fort Janandat*, on the east bank of the *Sandusky* river, near the bay. *Fort Chartres* was also rebuilt. About this time *Luke Arowin*, of Pennsylvania, *Joseph Fortener*, of New Jersey, and *Thomas Borke*, traders, were captured near *Fort Janandat*. *John Pathen*, an English trader, was arrested near *Fort Miami*. All of these were sent to Canada, thence to France. The Governor of Canada, upon learning the facts, wrote to the Governor of New York, complaining that “the English, far from confining themselves within the limits of the King of Great Britain’s possessions, not satisfied with multiplying themselves more and more on *Rock river* with having houses and open stores there, have, more than that, proceeded within sight of Detroit, even unto the *Fort of the Mianis*.” Soon after, the Governor urged upon the French Ministry the great importance, and the benefits to be derived from holding the *Ohio* and its tributaries. Desiring to put an end to the influence of the English, sundry rewards were offered for the scalps of traders found on French territory.

A number of Philadelphia and Lancaster traders explored the Ohio to the Illinois country, and on their return furnished valuable information to Lewis Evans for his map of the Western country. The English this year made their way into the Venango country, and on Beaver Creek, while the French established trading posts on the Huron, at its mouth, and at "Ogontz," on the site of Sandusky city. In 1752, Christopher Gist was appointed surveyor of the Ohio Company, and at his suggestion a trading post was established during the Fall of that year, at a point somewhat east of Pickawillany, which had been destroyed by the French during the Summer. It did not continue long; for the traders, learning of an intended visit from the French, hastily gathered up their goods and proceeded eastward. The site of this post can not now be determined.

FURTHER REGARDING POST "PICKAWILLANY," AND ITS DESTRUCTION IN 1752.

[In 1870-71, the late Mr. A. T. Goodman, then Secretary of the Western Reserve Historical Society, at Cleveland, was successful, through Hon. John Lothrop Motley, Minister at the Court of St. James, in obtaining certain valuable historical papers relating to the British trading post Pickawillany, which was attacked and destroyed by the French in 1752. An analysis of these papers was made by Mr. Goodman, and published in 1874, by Robert Clarke & Co., of Cincinnati, in a volume entitled, "Journal of Captain Trent." The writer avails himself of the material points embraced in this volume, as the principal of them belong to the history of the Maumee Valley.]

For many years prior to the advent of Indian traders in the West, the Miamis had a village on the west side of the Great Miami river, at the mouth of what afterward became known as Lorain's Creek. That point was visited by the *Coureurs des Bois*, or Canadian voyagers, who traveled under the direction of the traders, at an early day, and had become a place of note long previous to the alliance of the Miamis with the English. From the latter, it received the name of "*Tawistawi town*," until the building of a stockade, when it was called *Pickawillany*, though in some accounts we find the name "*Picktown*" applied to it.

English traders dealt with the Miamis at an early period, even while the latter were fully pledged to French interests. The Pennsylvania factors seem to have been special favorites, for they sold their goods at half the price asked by the *Coueurs des Bois*. This was a matter of importance to the Indians, and, doubtless, had much to do with the subsequent friendly alliance with the English.

During the Summer of 1749, M. de Celeron visited the Tawixtwa town, but found no traders there, they having had timely notice of his coming, and departed with their goods and chattels. The Miami warriors were in force at the time of Celeron's visit, and that officer did no injury. On the contrary, he treated them with kindness and attention. Presents were given, and the usual speeches made, but the Indians withstood his arts and artifices, and remained friendly to the English. While the English traders felt safe in the hands of the Miamis, they were in constant fear of the French. Occasionally an unfortunate trader became a victim. The dread of such a fate was increased by the fact that the Ottawas were known to "kill, roast and eat" their English captives. The Miamis shared this feeling, as several of their best warriors had fallen into the enemy's hands. The need of a strong post was felt, which would afford better protection than the ordinary houses of the traders. It was some time, however before the Indians would allow the erection of such a structure.

In Pennsylvania, licenses to trade with the Indians were granted by the Governor, upon the recommendation of the justices of the counties in which the applicant resided. The traders' goods were carried on pack-horses, along the old Indian trails, which led to all the principal towns and villages. The articles of traffic on the part of the whites were fire-arms, gunpowder, lead, ball, knives, flints, hatchets, rings, rum, tobacco, medals, blades, leather, cooking utensils, shirts, and other articles of wearing apparel: pipes, paint, etc. Some of the traders would run regular "caravans" of fifteen or twenty horses, making several trips during the year. It is impossible to give any definite account of the extent of this traffic, but it must have amounted to great value.

Having obtained permission from the Indians, the English, in the Fall of 1750, began the erection of a stockade, as a place of protection, in case of sudden attack, both for their persons and property. When the main building was completed, it was surrounded with a

high wall of split logs, having three gate-ways. Within the inclosure the traders dug a well, which furnished an abundant supply of fresh water during the fall, winter and spring, but failed in summer.

At this time Pickawillany contained four hundred Indian families, and was the residence of the principal chief of the Miami Confederacy. Christopher Gist was there in February, 1754, and in his published journal, says the place was daily increasing, and accounted "one of the strongest towns on this continent."

In several contemporary papers we find it stated that the fort at Pickawillany was built of stone. If this was the case, remains of the structure ought yet to be visible, but we are informed, on good authority, that no traces of the kind are to be found in the neighborhood of the mouth of Loramie's Creek. This statement of Mr. Gist, however, may well be questioned, although ample evidence exists in support of the conclusion that it was a populous and flourishing town, and the centre of a large Indian trade. But more than a century previous, seats of a larger trade, probably, existed upon the Maumee river.

In December, John Patten was sent by the Governor of Pennsylvania to learn the intentions of the Miamis, and it appears he reported them as "gone over to the French." At this time most of the English traders abandoned the Ohio trade. Pickawillany was wholly deserted by them. Not long after, the French commandant at Vincennes, deeming the location a good one, sent some traders to the place, and made a treaty of concord and friendship with the Miamis, lavishing upon them a very large amount of money, and a great variety of costly presents. The place, however, did not possess enterprise or spirit, and was not widely known as a trading post until 1769, when a Canadian French trader, named Peter Loramie, established a store there. He was a man of energy, and a good hater of the Americans. For many years he exercised great influence among the Indians. After his arrival, the place was called "Loramie's Station." During the Revolution, Loramie was in full fellowship with the British. Many a savage incursion to the border was fitted out from his supply of war material. So noted had his place become as the headquarters of spies, emissaries, and savage borderers, that General George Rogers Clarke, of Kentucky, resolved to pay it a visit: which he did, with a large party of Kentuckians, in the Fall of 1782. The post was taken by surprise, and

Loramie narrowly escaped being made prisoner. His store was rifled of its contents, and burned to the ground, as were all the other habitations in the vicinity. Poor Loramie shortly afterward removed with a party of Shawnese to a spot near the junction of the Kansas and Missouri, where he closed his days. The site of Pickawillany and Loramie's Station has never been rebuilt.

The hostility of the French against the Twigtwees, awakened a bitter feeling from the latter. Two Frenchmen near the Ohio were murdered in cold blood. The English this year (1752) stationed themselves on the Vermillion river, and a trader named John Frazier built a cabin upon French Creek, near the Ohio. During the Summer a council was held with the Delaware, Shawanese, and other Ohio tribes, at Logstown, when the Indians promised Colonel Joshua Fry and other English Commissioners, that they would not molest any settlements made on the southeast side of the Ohio.

In 1753, a large body of French from Canada moved to the southwest, and erected forts Presque Isle, on the site of Erie, Pennsylvania; La Boeuf, on French Creek, and Venango, on the Allegheny river. In April of that year, M. Joncaire was sent, with a small detachment of regulars, and a number of friendly Senecas, to visit the Indians on the Ohio and its branches. When Joncaire reached the Miamis, he marched into their towns with great ceremony. The Indians were frightened, and promised again "to become the children of the French." Joncaire assured them of protection, and succeeded in inducing a large number to accompany him to the fort on the Maumee. Captain Trent was sent to the Ohio from Virginia with powder, shot, guns and clothing for Indians friendly to the British.

The English, in September, represented by William Fairfax, met the Indians of Eastern Ohio, in council at Winchester, Virginia, and made a treaty of peace and friendship. A like covenant was entered into at Carlisle, Pennsylvania, between Pennsylvania Commissioners and the Iroquois, Delawares, Shawanese, Twigtwees and Wyandots. With great foresight, Governor De Lancey, of New York, recommended to the English Lords of Trade the building of two strong forts on the Ohio, one in Pennsylvania, the other in Virginia. While the "Lords" were dreaming over the proposition, the French took advantage of the situation.

Learning of the operations of M. Duquesne, Governor Dinwiddie, of Virginia, despatched George Washington with a letter to Fort

Le Boent, apprising M. de St Pierre, the French commander, that he was infringing on English territory, and requiring "his peaceable departure." No attention was paid to this modest demand.

Although war between France and England was not declared until the year 1756, the conflict actually began in 1754. During that year Virginia appropriated \$50,000 for the support of State troops, and other colonies were as liberal in their measures of defence and supply. Early in the season the French took possession of the site of Pittsburg, and erected thereon Fort Duquesne. They secured the friendship of the Indians living on the Scioto, who proved of great service to their masters. In April, Major George Washington and Colonel Joshua Fry, with six hundred Virginians, marched through Pennsylvania for the Ohio, having in view the erection of a post, and the expulsion of the French. They built Fort Necessity, and shortly afterward defeated near there, a French force under Sieur de Jumonville, who, with thirty five of his soldiers, was slain. A large party of French now besieged Fort Necessity, which was compelled to surrender with Major Washington and five hundred men. After this event, the French erected Fort Machault above Fort Venango. During the month of July, 1754, a plan of confederation was formed by a Colonial Convention, at Albany. It was rejected by the assemblies as *too aristocratic* and by the English Lords of Trade because it was *too Democratical*. A plan for the establishment of colonies in the West, was published this year, by the celebrated Dr. Franklin. Among other recommendations, he advocated the building of strong fortresses in the Ohio country. One of these he suggested should be located at the mouth of the Cuyahoga, on Lake Erie. The French, however, had already occupied that point by the establishment of a trading post among the Mingoes, who lived on the river. This post probably began 1751, as the English were driven off in 1750, and the French had had the place in view for some time. One of their trading houses was located on the left bank of the Cuyahoga, about ten miles from its mouth, and a little above the mouth of Tinker's Creek.

The difficulties in America continued into the year 1755. In January of that year, the French King made a proposition to the British Government, to settle all grievances, by restoring the Western country to the same condition it was in before the late war. On the 23d of January, the English replied, that the West of North America must be left as it was before the peace of Utrecht. On

February 6th, France answering said, that the old claims in America were untenable, and offered as a compromise that the English retire east of the Alleghenies, and the French remain west of the Ohio river. On the 7th of March, the English agreed to the French offer of compromise, providing the latter destroyed all forts on the Ohio and its branches. This the French Monarch declined to do, and the negotiations ended.

In May, 1756, England declared war against France, and the latter followed with a like declaration in June.

The Newport (Rhode Island) *Mercury*, of December, 1758, contained the following :

NEW YORK, December 13th, 1758.

Early on Monday morning last, an express arrived here from the westward, and brought sundry letters, which gave an account that General Forbes was in possession of Fort Du Quesne. One of these letters says, that the Monsieurs did not stay for the approach of our army, but blew up the fort, spiked their cannon, threw them into the river, and made the best of their way off, carrying with them everything valuable, except the spot where the fort stood. And yesterday another express arrived here with other letters confirming the foregoing, and directed from the fort itself: the most particular of which are as follows, viz :

FORT DU QUESNE, November 26th, 1758.

I have now the pleasure to write you from the ruins of the fort. On the 24th, at night, we were informed by one of our Indian scouts, that he had discovered a cloud of smoke above the place; and soon after another came in with certain intelligence that it was burnt and abandoned by the enemy. We were then about fifteen miles from it. A troop of horse was sent forward immediately, to extinguish the burning, and the whole army followed. We arrived at six o'clock last night, and found it in a great measure destroyed.

There are two forts about twenty yards distant—the one built with immense labor; small, but a great deal of very strong works collected into little room, and stands on the point of a narrow neck of land, at the confluence of the two rivers. It is square, and has two ravelins, gabions at each corner, &c. The other fort stands on the bank of the Allegheny, in the form of a parallelogram, but nothing so strong as the other. Several of the outworks are lately begun,

and still unfinished. There are, I think, thirty stacks of chimneys standing, but the houses are all destroyed. They sprung a mine, which ruined one of their magazines: in the other we found sixteen barrels of ammunition, a prodigious quantity of old carriage iron, barrels of guns, about a cart-load of scalping knives, &c. They went off in so much haste that they could not make quite the havoc of their works they intended. We are told by the Indians that they lay the night before at Beaver Creek, about forty miles down the Ohio from here. Whether they buried their cannon in the river, or carried them down in their *battaux*, we have not yet learnt. A boy 12 years old, who has been their prisoner two years, and made his escape the 2d instant, tells us they had carried a prodigious quantity of wood into the fort; that they had burnt five of the prisoners they took at Major Grant's defeat, on the parade, and delivered others to the Indians, who were tomahawked on the spot. We found numbers of bodies within a quarter of a mile of the fort, unburied—so many monuments of French humanity! A great many Indians, mostly Delawares, were gathered on the Island last night and this morning, to treat with the General, and we are making rafts to bring them over. Whether the General will think of repairing the ruins, or leaving any of the troops here, I have not yet learnt. Mr. Beatie is appointed to preach a thanksgiving sermon for the superiority of his majesty's arms.

During the same year, the Legislature of Pennsylvania passed an act to encourage settlements in the West, while the Virginia Assembly offered a price of ten pounds sterling for the scalp of every hostile Indian over twelve years of age. The English sent Commissioners to the Delawares and Shawanese in Ohio, for the purpose of detaching those tribes from their alliance with the French. The effort failed.

In 1759, M. de Vandreuil, Governor of Canada reported to the French Ministry, that M. de Ligneris has had orders to remain at Fort Machault, on the Ohio: 1st, to support the Nations; 2d, to annoy the English; 3d, to force them to a diversion; 4th, to cover Lake Erie and force the enemy to march only with an army, which would entail considerable preparations, whence arises serious difficulties for victualing of all sorts in a country where the ground is capable of being defended inch by inch. The scarcity of provisions, prevailing in the colony, has determined me to send orders to the Illinois and Detroit to forward to Presque Isle all the men these two

forts can furnish." After receiving this communication, M. de Ligneris visited the Indians along the Ohio, and obtained a promise from them "to place limits to the ambition of the English." At the request of the Shawanese on the Scioto, Ligneris appointed M. Hertel, an influential trader, as French agent among them.

The activity of Sir William Johnson caused an early abandonment of Fort Venango. The Delawares were also brought to English terms, and delivered to Johnson five prisoners taken by them on the borders, viz: James Perry, Robert Wilson, Elizabeth Armstrong, Catharine Hiltz, and a Highland soldier. It was now (1759), that French power in the West showed signs of an early overthrow. Disaster upon disaster happened. Marquis de Montcalm reported to his government that "Cupidity has seized officers, store-keepers and traders on the Ohio and elsewhere, and they are amassing astonishing fortunes."

Early in the year the French built a small post at Upper on the Great Miami river. A year or two later a party of English traders and Indians attempted its capture, but were defeated, with great loss. In June, it was reported to the Governor of Canada that "The Cherokees have allowed them to be gained by the presents of the English, so that above and below the Beautiful river, (Ohio,) we need not flatter ourselves with finding any allies among the Indians."

During the same month, (June, 1759,) three hundred French soldiers and militia, and six hundred Indians marched from Illinois country for Fort Machault. The route taken was down Mississippi to the Ohio, up the Ohio to the Wabash, and then that river to the portage at Fort Miami. From that point stores were carried to the Maumee, down the Maumee to Lake and along the southern shore to Presque Isle; thence to Machault. There they joined the forces of M. de Ligneris, who marched to Fort Niagara, for the relief and reinforcement of Fort Pouchot, who was besieged by English and Indians under Sir William Johnson. On the 24th of July this relief force was totally defeated near the fort by Johnson. On the 25th Niagara surrendered, when the Indian allies of the English massacred in cold blood a large number of the Illinois French. In September, Quebec was taken, and the following month, Fort Massiac abandoned. The year closed under disheartening circumstances to the French.

Early in 1760, the Governor of Canada ordered Fort Massiac to be rebuilt and strongly fortified; he also had erected a military post at Kaskaskia, Illinois. Four English traders were killed near Fort Massiac, and M. Hertel, who had maintained his ground among the Indians on the Sciota, reported that numerous English prisoners from Carolina were brought to him by the savages. Though they seemed friendly, Hertel recommended an early removal of the Seneca Indians to a point near Fort Massiac. During the spring the Mississagues, lying on Lake Erie, near Presque Isle, joined the French at Detroit. Affairs in the West were assuming a brighter aspect for the French, when disasters in Carolina produced an entire revulsion. The Governor issued an order directing the abandonment of all posts on the Ohio. Agreeably to this, they were destroyed, and the garrisons retired with provisions, arms, artillery, ammunition, &c. to Detroit. In narrating this event to the French Ministry, the Governor said: "All the nations on the Beautiful river, (Ohio,) witnessed with ^{Piqua,} ^{English} the departure of the French. Chevalier de Portneuf sent them a message, especially the Chaouionons, to engage them to persevere in their good intentions."

The English, in 1760, were active and vigilant. A party at Fort Pitt constructed several small batteaux, in which they sailed down the Ohio, and took notes of the islands in that river and the streams that empty into it. Among this party was Thomas Hutchins, the famous geographer. Dr. Thomas Walker, of Pennsylvania, also passed down that river into Kentucky. During the summer (1760), Canada surrendered to the English, and in September, Major Robert Rogers was sent West to take possession of Detroit, and other French posts along the lakes. He left Montreal on the 13th of September, 1760, and, on the 8th of October, reached Presque Isle, where Bouquet commanded. He then went slowly up Lake Erie to Detroit, which place he summoned to yield itself on the 19th of November. While waiting for an answer from this demand, he was visited by the great Ottawa chieftain, Pontiac, who demanded how the English dared enter his country; to which answer was given, that they came, not to enter the country, but to open a free way of trade, and to expel the French, who interrupted their trade. This reply, together with other moderate and kindly words, spoken by Rogers, seemed to lull the rising fears of the savages, and Pontiac promised him his protection. Belcher, meantime, who commanded at Detroit, had not yielded; nay, word was brought to Rogers on the 20th, that

his messenger had been confined and a flag-pole erected, with a wooden head upon it, to represent Britain, on which stood a crow picking the eyes out,—as emblematic of the success of France. In a few days, however, the commander heard of the fate of the lower posts: and, as his Indians did not stand by him on the 29th, he yielded. Rogers remained at Detroit until December 23d, under the personal protection of Pontiac, to whose presence he probably owed his safety.

From Detroit the Major went to the Maumee, and thence across the present State of Ohio to Fort Pitt; and his journal of this overland trip is the first we have of such an one in that region. His route was nearly that given by Hutchins, in Bouquet's expedition, as the common one from Sandusky to the Fork of the Ohio. It went from Sandusky, where Sandusky City now is, crossed the Huron river, then called Bald Eagle Creek, to "Mohickon John's Town," upon what we know as Mohicon Creek, the northern branch of White Woman's river, and thence crossed to Beaver's Town, a Delaware town, on the west side of the "Maskongan Creek," opposite "a fine river," which, from Hutchins' map, we presume was Sandy Creek. At Beaver's Town was one hundred and eighty warriors, and not less than three thousand acres of cleared land. From there the track went up Sandy Creek and across to the Big Beaver, and up the Ohio, through Logstown, to Fort Pitt, which place Rogers reached January 23d, 1760, precisely one month having passed while he was upon the way.

In the spring of 1761, Alexander Henry, an English trader, went to Michillimacinae for purposes of business, and he found everywhere the strongest feeling against the English, who had done nothing by word or act to conciliate the Indians. Having, by means of a Canadian dress, managed to reach Michillimacinae in safety, he was there discovered, and waited upon by an Indian chief, who was, in the opinion of Thatcher, Pontiac himself. This chief, after conveying to him the idea that his French father would soon awake and utterly destroy his enemies, continued:

"Englishman! although you have conquered the French, you have not yet conquered us! We are not your slaves! These lakes, these woods, these mountains, were left to us by our ancestors. They are our inheritance, and we will part with them to none. Your nation supposes that we, like the white people, can not live

without bread, and pork and beef. But you ought to know that He, the Great Spirit and Master of Life, has provided food for us upon these broad lakes and in these mountains."

Before the close of the year, Detroit, Michillimacinae, Sandusky, Presque Isle, Miami, Green Bay, St. Joseph, and other French posts, passed under control of the English, who guaranteed security of person, property and religion, to all French inhabitants of the conquered territory. It was at this time that French dominion virtually ceased over the Ohio country.

M. Dumas addressed a Memoir on Canada to the King of France. Anticipating an early treaty of peace, he urged that monarch to "insist strongly on the entire possession of the Ohio river, as it affords a passage to the Mississippi, and thence to the sea." He also expressed the hope, that Lake Erie would be held, as by that lake and the Miami and Wabash, another passage is provided for the Mississippi. He further said: "The entire possession of Lake Erie ought to belong to France, incontestably, up to the head waters of the streams that empty into the lake on the south side; the rivers flowing toward the Ohio are included in the neutrality proposed for that river."

This season, Sir William Johnson made a journey from Niagara to Detroit, along the southern shore of Lake Erie. He encamped for a time at the mouth of the Cuyahoga, where Cleveland now stands.

During the year 1762, the terms of a treaty of peace were agreed upon between France and England. The former made a secret covenant with Spain, conveying to that nation the territory of Louisiana, which embraced a large portion of Western America. Early in 1763, peace was effected between the belligerent powers in America. By the treaty that year, France surrendered her possessions in North America to the English. The Ohio country passed under the control of the officials of that Empire, and for some years affairs there and in the far West, were managed by army officers, commandants of posts on the frontiers.

The Moravian Loskiel relates that in the villages of the Hurons, or Wyandots, on the Sandusky, the traders were so numerous in 1763, that the Indians were afraid to attack them openly, and had recourse to the following stratagem: They told their unsuspecting victims 'hat the surrounding tribes had risen in arms, and were soon coming that way, bent on killing every Englishman they could

find. The Wyandots averred that they would gladly protect their friends,—the white men,—but that it would be impossible to do so, unless the latter would consent, for the sake of appearances, to become their prisoners. In this case, they said, the hostile Indians would refrain from injuring them, and they should be set at liberty as soon as the danger was past. The traders fell into the snare. They gave up their arms, and the better to carry out the deception, even consented to be bound; but no sooner was this accomplished, than their treacherous counsellors murdered them all in cold blood.

The years 1763 and 1764 are memorable in Western history by reason of their having been marked by the formidable coalition of the Indian nations, extending from the northern lakes to the frontiers of North Carolina, organized with the object to fall upon the whole line of British posts, and annihilate the white inhabitants. Chippewas, Ottawas, Wyandots, Miamis, Shawanese, Delawares and Mingoes, for the time, laid by their old hostile feelings, and united under Pontiac in this great enterprise. The voice of that sagacious and noble man, (says James H. Perkins, in his "Western Annals,") was heard in the distant North, crying, "Why," says the Great Spirit, "do you suffer these dogs in red clothing to enter your country and take the land I have given you? Drive them from it! Drive them! When you are in distress I will help you."

That voice was heard, but not by the whites. The unsuspecting traders journeyed from village to village; the soldiers in the forts shrunk from the sun of the early summer, and dozed away the day; the frontier settler, singing in fancied security, sowed his crop, or, watching the sunset through the girdled trees, mused upon one more peaceful harvest, and told his children of the horrors of the ten years' war, now, thank God! over. From the Alleghenies to the Mississippi the trees had leaved, and all was calm life and joy. But through that great country, even then, bands of sullen red men were journeying from the central valleys to the lakes and the eastern hills. Ottawas filled the woods near Detroit. The Maumee post, Presque Isle, Niagara, Pitt, Ligonier, and every English fort was hemmed in by Indian tribes, who felt that the great battle drew nigh which was to determine their fate and the possession of their noble lands. At last the day came. The traders everywhere were seized, their goods taken from them, and more than one hundred of them put to death. Nine British forts yielded instantly, and the savages drank, "scooped up in the hollows of joined hands," the

blood of many a Briton. The border streams of Pennsylvania and Virginia ran red again. "We hear," says a letter from Fort Pitt, "of scalping every hour." In Western Virginia more than twenty thousand people were driven from their homes. Mackinac was taken by stratagem.

Following closely the surrender of Mackinac and Onatanon, (the latter a fort situated upon the Wabash, just below the present town of Lafayette,) came the intelligence that Fort Miami was taken. This post, standing at the head of the Maumee river, was commanded by Ensign L. . . . and here one cannot but remark on the forlorn situation of these officers, isolated in the wilderness, hundreds of miles, in some instances, from any congenial associates, separated from every human being except the rude soldiers under their command, and the white or red savages who ranged the surrounding woods. Holmes suspected the intention of the Indians, and was therefore on his guard, when, on the 27th of May, a young Indian girl, who lived with him, came to inform him that a squaw lay dangerously ill in a wigwam near the fort, and urged him to come to her relief. Having confidence in the girl, Holmes followed her out of the fort. Pitched at the edge of a meadow, hidden from view by an intervening span of the woodland, stood a great number of Indian wigwams. When Holmes came in sight of them, his treacherous conductress pointed out that in which the sick woman lay. He walked on without suspicion; but, as he drew near, two guns flashed from behind the hut, and stretched him lifeless on the grass. The shots were heard at the fort, and the sergeant rashly went out to learn the reason of the firing. He was immediately taken prisoner, amid exulting yells and whoopings. The soldiers in the fort climbed upon the palisades to look out, when Godfroy, a Canadian, together with two other white men, made his appearance, and summoned them to surrender, promising that if they did so their lives should be spared, but that otherwise they would all be killed without mercy. The men, being in great terror, and without a leader, soon threw open the gate and gave themselves up as prisoners.

Sandusky had been attacked by the band of Wyandots living in its neighborhood, aided by a detachment of their brethren from Detroit. Among the few survivors of the slaughter, was the commanding officer, Ensign Paully, who had been brought prisoner to Detroit, bound hand and foot, and solaced on the passage with the expecta-

tion of being burnt alive. On landing near the camp of Pontiac, he was surrounded by a crowd of Indians, chiefly squaws and children, who pelted him with stones, sticks and gravel, forcing him to dance and sing, though by no means in a cheerful strain. A worse infliction seemed in store for him, when, happily, an old woman, whose husband had lately died, chose to adopt him in place of the deceased warrior. Seeing no alternative but the stake, Paully accepted the proposal; and having been first plunged in the river, that the white blood might be washed from his veins, he was conducted to the lodge of the widow, and treated thenceforth with all the consideration due an Ottawa warrior.

Gladwyn, the commandant at Detroit, soon received a letter from him, through one of the Canadian inhabitants, giving a full account of the capture of Fort Sandusky. On the 16th of May—such was the substance of the communication—Paully was informed that seven Indians were waiting at the gate to speak with him. As several of the number were well known to him, he ordered them, without hesitation, to be admitted. Arriving at his quarters, two of the treacherous visitors seated themselves on each side of the commandant, while the rest were disposed in various parts of the room. The pipes were lighted, and the convention began, when an Indian, who stood in the doorway, suddenly made a signal by raising his head. Upon this, the astonished officer was instantly pounced upon and disarmed; while, at the same moment, a confused noise of shrieks and yells, the firing of guns, and the hurried tramp of feet, sounded from the area of the fort without. It soon ceased, however, and Paully, led by his captors from the room, saw the parade ground strewn with the corpses of his murdered garrison. At nightfall, he was conducted to the margin of the lake, where several birch canoes lay in readiness; and as, amid thick darkness, the party pushed out from shore, the captive saw the fort, lately under his command, bursting on all sides into sheets of flame. Subsequently, during Pontiac's siege of Detroit, a man was discovered one afternoon about four o'clock, running towards the fort, closely pursued by Indians. On his arriving within gun-shot distance, they gave over the chase, and the fugitive came panting beneath the walls, where a wicket was thrown open to receive him. He proved to be the late commandant at Sandusky, who, having, as before mentioned, been adopted by the Indians, and married to an

old squaw, now seized the first opportunity of obtaining a summary divorce, and escaping from her tender embraces.

For the above interesting circumstances attending the surrender of the defences at Forts Miami and Sandusky, the writer is indebted to the valuable work of Francis Parkman.

At Detroit, where Pontiac commanded in person, the garrison and inhabitants were saved under circumstances similar to those which occurred during the conspiracy of Nicholas, by the timely disclosures of an Indian woman. Pontiac had approached Detroit without exciting any suspicions in the breast of the governor, or the inhabitants. He encamped at a little distance from it, and let the commandant know that he was come to trade: and being desirous of brightening the chain of peace between the English and his nation, desired that he and his chiefs might be admitted to hold a council with him. The governor, still unsuspecting, and not in the least doubting the sincerity of the Indians, granted their general's request, and fixed on the next morning for their reception.

On the evening of that day, an Indian woman who had been appointed by Major Gladwyn to make a pair of Indian shoes, out of a curious elk skin, brought them home. The major was so pleased with them, that, intending them as a present for a friend, he ordered her to take the remainder back, and make it into others for himself. He then directed his servant to pay her for those she had done, and dismissed her. The woman went to the door that led to the street, but no further: she then loitered about as if she had not finished the business on which she came. A servant at length observed her, and asked her why she staid there? She gave him, however, no answer.

Some short time after, the governor himself saw her, and inquired of his servant what occasioned her stay. Not being able to get a satisfactory answer, he ordered the woman to be called in. When she came into his presence, he desired to know the reason of her loitering about, and not hastening home before the gates were shut, that she might complete in due time the work he had given her to do. She told him, after much hesitation, that as he had always behaved with great goodness towards her, she was unwilling to take the remainder of the skin, because he put so great a value upon it: and yet had not been able to prevail upon herself to tell him so. He then asked her why she was more reluctant to do so now than she had been when she made the former pair. With increased reluc-

tance she answered, that she should never be able to bring them back.

His curiosity was now excited, and he insisted on her disclosing the secret that seemed to be struggling in her bosom for utterance. At last, on receiving a promise that the intelligence she was about to give him should not turn to her prejudice, and that, if it proved to be beneficial, she should be rewarded for it, she informed him, that at the council to be held with the Indians the following day, Pontiac and his chiefs intended to murder him; and, after having massacred the garrison and inhabitants, to plunder the town. That, for this purpose, all the chiefs who were to be admitted into the council-room had cut their guns short, so that they could conceal them under their blankets; with which, on a signal given by their general, on delivering the belt, they were all to rise up, and instantly to fire on him and his attendants. Having effected this, they were immediately to rush into the town, where they would find themselves supported by a great number of their warriors, that were to come into it during the sitting of the council, under the pretence of trading, but privately armed in the same manner. Having gained from the woman every necessary particular relative to the plot, and also the means by which she acquired a knowledge of them, he dismissed her with injunctions of secrecy, and a promise of fulfilling on his part with punctuality the engagements he had entered into.

The intelligence the Governor had just received gave him great uneasiness; and he immediately consulted the officer who was next him in command on the subject. But this gentleman, considering the information as a story invented for some artful purpose, advised him to pay no attention to it. This conclusion, however, had, happily, no weight with him. He thought it prudent to accept it as true, till he was otherwise convinced. Therefore, without revealing his suspicions to any other person, took every needful precaution that the time would admit of. He walked around the fort the whole night, and saw himself that every sentinel was upon duty, and every weapon of defence in proper order.

As he traversed the ramparts that lay nearest to the Indian camp, he heard them in high festivity; and, little imagining that their plot was discovered, probably pleasing themselves with the anticipation of their success. As soon as the morning dawned, he ordered

all the garrison under arms, and then imparting his apprehensions to a few of the principal officers, gave them such directions as he thought necessary. At the same time he sent to all the traders information that as it was expected a great number of Indians would enter the town that day, who might be inclined to plunder, he desired they would have their arms ready, and repel any attempt of that kind.

About ten o'clock, Pontiac and his chiefs arrived, and were conducted to the council chamber, where the Governor and his principal officers, each with pistols in his belt, awaited his arrival. As the Indians passed on, they could not help observing that a greater number of troops than usual were drawn up on the parade, or marching about. No sooner had they entered and been seated on the skins prepared for them, than Pontiac asked the Governor on what occasion his young men, meaning the soldiers, were thus drawn up and parading the streets. He received for answer that it was only intended to keep them perfect in their exercise.

The Indian chief warrior then began his speech, which contained the strongest professions of friendship and good will toward the English, and when he came to the delivery of the belt of wampum, the particular mode of which, according to the woman's information, was to be the signal for the chiefs to fire, the Governor and all his attendants drew their swords half way out of their scabbards; and the soldiers at the same time made a clattering of their arms before the door, which had been purposely left open. Pontiac, though one of the bravest men, immediately turned pale and trembled; and, instead of giving the belt in the manner proposed, delivered it according to the usual way. His chiefs, who had impatiently expected the signal, looked at each other with astonishment, but continued quiet waiting the result.

The Governor, in his turn, made a speech, but instead of thanking the great warrior for his professions of friendship he had just uttered, he accused him of being a traitor. He told him that the English, who knew everything, were convinced of his treachery and villainous designs; and as a proof that they were acquainted with his most secret thoughts and intentions, he stepped towards an Indian chief who sat nearest to him, and drawing aside the blanket, exposed the shortened fire-lock. This entirely disconcerted the Indians, and frustrated their design.

He then continued to tell them, that as he had given his word at the time they had desired an audience, that their persons should be safe, he would hold his promise inviolable, though they so little deserved it. However, he desired them to make the best of their way out of the fort, lest his young men, on being acquainted with their treacherous purposes, should cut every one of them to pieces.

Pontiac endeavored to contradict the accusation, and to make excuses for his suspicious conduct; but the Governor, satisfied of the falsity of his protestations, would not listen to him. The Indians immediately left the fort; but instead of being sensible of the Governor's generous behavior, they threw off the mask, and the next day made a regular attack upon it.

Thus foiled, Pontiac laid formal siege to the fortress, and for many months that siege was continued in a manner, and with a perseverance, unexampled among the Indians. Even a regular commissariat department was organized, and bills of credit, drawn out upon bark, were issued; and, what is rarer, punctually paid. From May, 1763, when Detroit was first attacked, until March, 1764, the inhabitants were sleeping in their clothes, expecting an alarm every night.

Fort Pitt was besieged also, and the garrison reduced to sad straits for want of food. This being known beyond the mountains, a quantity of provision was collected, and Colonel Bouquet was appointed to convey it to the head of the Ohio, having assigned him for the service the poor remains of two regiments, which had but lately returned from the war in Cuba. He set out toward the middle of July, and upon the 25th reached Bedford. From that post, he went forward by Forbes's road, passed Fort Ligonier, and upon the 5th of August was near Bushy Run, one of the branches of Turtle Creek, which falls into the Monongahela, ten miles above Fort Pitt. Here he was attacked by the Indians, who, hearing of his approach, had gathered their forces to defeat him, and during two days the contest continued. On the 6th, the Indians, having the worst of the battle, retreated; and Bouquet, with his three hundred and forty horses, loaded with flour, reached and relieved the post at the Fork.

Co-operating with Bouquet, in the pursuit of the same general policy of the British Government, General Bradstreet was ordered into the country upon Lake Erie in the spring and summer of 1764.

He moved to Niagara early in the summer; and there, in June, accompanied by Sir William Johnson, held a grand council with twenty or more tribes, all of whom sued for peace; and, upon the 8th of August, reached Detroit, where, about the 21st of that month, a definite treaty was made with the Indians. Among the provisions of this treaty were the following:

1. All prisoners in the hands of the Indians were to be given up.
2. All claims to the posts and forts of the English in the West were to be abandoned, and leave granted to erect such other forts as might be needed to protect the traders, etc. Around each fort as much land was ceded as a "cannon-shot" would fly over.
3. If any Indian killed an Englishman he was to be tried by English law, the jury one-half Indians.
4. Six hostages were given by the Indians for the true fulfillment of the conditions of the treaty.

The Annual Register of 1764 says this treaty was made at Presque Isle, (Erie.) Mr. Harvey, of Erie, quoted by Day, in Historical Collections of Pennsylvania, (314.) says the same. Others have named the Maumee, where a truce was agreed to, August 6th.

While Bradstreet's army lay encamped on the fields near Detroit, Captain Morris, with a few Iroquois and Canadian attendants, was pursuing his adventurous embassy to the country of the Illinois. Ascending the Maumee in a canoe, he soon approached the camp of Pontiac, who had now virtually given up his great contest, and withdrawn to the banks of this river with his chosen warriors. While yet at some distance Morris and his party were met by about two hundred Indians, who treated him with great violence and rudeness, while they offered a friendly welcome to the Iroquois and Canadians. Attended by this clamorous escort, they all moved together towards the camp. At its outskirts stood Pontiac himself. He met the ambassador with a scowling brow, and refused to offer his hand. "The English are liars," was his first salutation. He then displayed a letter addressed to himself, and purporting to have been written by the King of France, containing, as Morris declares, the grossest calumnies which the most ingenious malice could devise, to incense the Indians against the English. The old falsehood was not forgotten. "Your French father," said the writer, "is neither dead nor asleep; he is already on his way, with sixty great ships, to revenge himself on the English, and drive them out of America." The letter was written by a French officer, or, more probably, a

French fur trader, who, for his own profit, wished to inflame the passions of the Indians, and thus bar the way against English competitors. If Bradstreet, before leaving Sandusky, had forced the Indians of that place to submission, he would have inspired such an awe and respect among the tribes of the whole adjacent region, that Morris might have been assured of safety and good treatment, even in the camp of Pontiac. As it was, the knowledge that so many of their relatives were in the power of the army at Detroit restrained the Ottawa warriors from personal violence; and, having plundered the whole party of everything except their arms, their clothing, and their canoe, they suffered them to depart.

Leaving the unfriendly camp, they urged their way, with poles and paddles, against the rippling current of the Maumee, and on the morning of the seventh day reached the neighborhood of Fort Miami. This post, captured the preceding year, had since remained without a garrison; and its only tenants were the Canadians, who had built their houses within its palisades, and a few Indians, who thought fit to make it their temporary abode. The meadows about the fort were dotted with the lodges of the Kickapoos, a large band of whom had recently arrived; but the great Miami village was on the opposite side of the stream, screened from sight by the forest which intervened.

Morris brought his canoe to land at a short distance below the fort, and while his attendants were making their way through the belt of woods which skirted the river, he himself remained behind, to complete some necessary arrangements. It was fortunate that he did so, for his attendants had scarcely reached the open meadow, which lay behind the woods, when they were encountered by a mob of savages, armed with spears, hatchets, and bows and arrows, and bent on killing the Englishman. Being, for the moment, unable to find him, the chiefs had time to address the excited rabble, and persuade them to postpone their vengeance. The ambassador, buffeted, threatened, and insulted, was conducted to the fort, where he was ordered to remain, though, at the same time, the Canadian inhabitants were forbidden to admit him into their houses. Morris soon discovered that this rough treatment was, in a great measure, owing to the influence of a deputation of Delaware and Shawanese chiefs, who had recently arrived, bringing fourteen war belts of wampum, and exciting the Miamis to renew their hostilities against the common enemy,

Morris had not remained long at the fort, when two Miami warriors entered, who, seizing him by the arms, and threatening him with a raised tomahawk, forced him out of the gate, and led him to the bank of the river. As they drew him into the water, the conviction flashed across his mind, that they intended to drown him, and then take his scalp; but he soon saw his mistake, for they led him across the stream, which, at this season, was fordable, and thence toward the great Miami village. When they approached the lodges, they stopped and began to strip him, but grew angry at the difficulty of the task. In rage and despair, he himself tore off his uniform. The warriors bound his arms behind him with his own sash, and drove him before them into the village. Instantly, from all the lodges, the savages ran out to receive their prisoner, clustering about him like a swarm of angry bees, and uttering their discordant death yells—sounds compared to which the nocturnal howlings of starved wolves are gentle and melodious. The greater number were eager to kill him; but there was a division of opinion, and a clamorous debate ensued. Two of his Canadian attendants—Godfrey and St. Vincent—had followed him to the village, and now ventured to interpose with the chiefs in his behalf. Among the latter was a nephew of Pontiac, a young man, though not yet arrived at maturity, who shared the bold spirit of his heroic kinsman. He harangued the tumultuous crowd, declaring that he would not see one of the English put to death, when so many of his own relatives were in their hands at Detroit. A Miami chief, named the Swan, also took part with the prisoner, and cut loose his bonds; but Morris had no sooner begun to speak in his own behalf, than another chief, called the White Cat, seized him, and bound him fast by the neck to a post. Upon this, Pontiac's nephew rode up on horseback, severed the cord with his hatchet, and released the unfortunate man. "I give this Englishman his life," exclaimed the daring boy. "If you want English meat, go to Detroit, or to the Lake, and you will find enough of it. What business have you with this man, who has come to speak with us?"

The current of feeling among the throng now began to change; and, having vented their hatred and spite by a profusion of words and blows, they at length thrust the ambassador with violence out of the village. He succeeded in regaining the fort, although, on the way, he was met by one of the Indians, who beat his naked body with a stick.

He found the Canadian inhabitants of the fort disposed to befriend him, as far as they could do so without danger to themselves; but his situation was still extremely critical. The two warriors, who had led him across the river, were constantly lurking about, watching an opportunity to kill him; and the Kickapoos, whose lodges were pitched on the meadow, sent him a message to the effect that if the Miamis did not put him to death, they themselves would do so, whenever he should pass their camp. He was still on the threshold of his journey, and his final point of destination was several hundred miles distant; yet, with great resolution, he determined to persevere, and, if possible, completely fulfill his mission. His Indian and Canadian attendants used every means to dissuade him, and in the evening held a council with the Miami chiefs, the result of which was most discouraging. Morris received message after message, threatening his life should he persist in his design; and word was brought him that several of the Shawanese deputies were returning to the fort, expressly to kill him. Under these circumstances, it would have been madness to persevere; and, reluctantly abandoning his purpose, he retraced his steps towards Detroit, where he arrived on the 17th of September, fully expecting to find Bradstreet still encamped in the neighborhood. But that agile commander had returned to Sandusky, whither Morris, completely exhausted by hardships and sufferings, was unable to follow him. He hastened, however, to send Bradstreet the journal of his unfortunate embassy, accompanied by a letter, in which occurs the following extract: "The villains have nipped our fairest hopes in the bud. I tremble for you at Sandusky; though I was greatly pleased to find you have one of the vessels with you, and artillery. I wish the chiefs were assembled on board the vessel, and that she had a hole in her bottom. Treachery should be paid with treachery; and it is a more than ordinary pleasure to deceive those who would deceive us."

The above account is gathered from Parkman's history of the conspiracy of Pontiac, and from the testimony of his Indian and Canadian attendants, given in Bradstreet's presence, at his camp near Sandusky. The original journal is in the London Archives.

A naval engagement, which occurred during this Pontiac war, is thus mentioned in the "British Annual Register" for 1763: "On Lake Erie, with a crowd of canoes, the Indians attacked a schooner, which conveyed provisions to the fort at Detroit. Though in their

savage navy they had employed near four hundred men, and had but a single vessel to engage, they were repulsed, after a hot engagement, with considerable loss. This vessel was, to them, as a fortification on the water, and they could not make their attacks with so much advantage as upon the enemy by land."

In this war the Miamis were with their red brethren, and assisted particularly in the destruction of Forts Miamis and Sandusky. They brought into the field one thousand warriors. After the failure of Pontiac, that great chief sought refuge among the Miamis, and continued with them for more than a year. In March, 1765, we find Sir William Johnson complaining that the Miamis took a soldier of Fort Miami prisoner, robbed him of all his clothing, and turned him into the woods. He also reports that the Miamis are at war with the Chippewas, allies of the English, and had killed and captured a large number of them. George Croghan, on the 24th of August, attended by Colonel Campbell, made a treaty with the Miamis, by which that nation was to remain undisturbed in its hunting grounds. Not long after this, the tribes abandoned their towns on the Great Miami, and removed to the Maumee, the St. Joseph and Wabash rivers.

The confederated tribes had failed to take the three most important fortresses in the West—Detroit, Pitt and Niagara. Many of them became disheartened; others wished to return home for the winter; others had satisfied their longings for revenge. United only by the hope of achieving an immediate success, they fell from one another when that success did not come. Jealousies and old enmities revived; the league was broken; and Pontiac left his tribe and went into the West, and for some years after was living among the Illinois, and at St. Louis, attempting, but in vain, to bring about a new union and a new war. He was, in the end, killed by a Kaskaskia Indian.

So far as we can form a judgment of this chieftain, (says J. H. Perkins, in his *Western Annals*.) in point of talent, nobleness of spirit, honor and devotion, he was the superior of any red man of whom we have an account. His plan of extermination was most masterly; his execution of it equal to its conception. But for the treachery of one of his followers, he would have taken Detroit early in May. His whole force might then have been directed in one mass, first upon Niagara, and then upon Pitt; and in all probability both posts would have fallen. Even disappointed as he was at Detroit, had

the six nations, with their dependent allies, the Delawares and Shawanese, been true to him, the British might have been long kept beyond the mountains: but the Iroquois,—close upon the colonies, old allies of England, very greatly under the influence of Sir William Johnson, and disposed, as they ever proved themselves, to claim and sell, but not to defend the West,—were for peace on the terms of the British King's proclamation. Indeed, the Mohawks, and leading tribes, were from the first with the British; so that, after the success of Bouquet and Bradstreet, there was no difficulty in concluding a treaty with all the Western Indians.

George Croghan, of Pennsylvania, Sir William Johnson's sub-Commissioner, made a visit to the West in 1765, for the purpose of establishing more friendly relations between the English and the more distant Western tribes. From the journal of his travels, published in the Appendix to Butler's History of Kentucky, it appears that he set off from Fort Pitt with two bateaux, on the 17th of May, 1765, and on the date named below, we find him at the mouth of the Wabash:

July 25th, 1765, we set out from this place (after settling all matters happily with the natives), for the Miamas, and traveled the whole way through a fine, rich bottom, overgrown with wild hemp, along the Ouabache, till we came to Eel river, where we arrived the 27th. About six miles up this river is a small village of the Twightwee, situated on a very delightful spot of ground on the bank of the river. The Eel river heads near St. Joseph's, and runs nearly parallel to the Miamas, and at some few miles distant from it, through a fine, pleasant country, and after a course of about one hundred and eighty miles, empties itself into the Ouabache.

On the 28th, 29th, 30th and 31st, we traveled still along side the Eel river, passing through fine, clear woods, and some good meadows, though not so large as those we passed some days before. The country is more overgrown with woods, the soil is sufficiently rich, and well watered with springs.

August 1st, we arrived at the carrying place between the river Miamas and the Ouabache, which is about nine miles long in dry seasons, but not above half that length in freshets. The head of the Ouabache is about forty miles from this place, and after a course of about seven hundred and sixty miles from the head spring, through one of the finest countries in the world, it empties itself into the Ohio. The navigation from hence to Ouicatanon, is very

difficult in low water, on account of many rapids and rifts; but in freshets, which generally happen in the spring and fall, bateaux or canoes will pass, without difficulty, from here to Ouicatanon in three days, which is about two hundred and forty miles, and by land about two hundred and ten miles from Ouicatanon to Port Vincent, and thence to the Ohio; bateaux and canoes may go at any season of the year. Throughout the whole course of the Ouabache, the banks are pretty high, and in the river are a great many islands. Many shrubs and trees are found here unknown to us.

Within a mile of the Twightwee village, I was met by the chiefs of that nation, who received us very kindly. The most part of these Indians knew me, and conducted me to their village, where they immediately hoisted an English flag that I had formerly given them at Fort Pitt. The next day they held a council, after which they gave me up all the English prisoners they had; then made several speeches, in all of which they expressed the great pleasure it gave them, to see the unhappy differences which embroiled the several nations in a war with their brethren (the English) were now so near a happy conclusion, and that peace was established in their country.

The Twightwee village is situated on both sides of a river, called St. Joseph. This river, where it falls into the Miame river, about a quarter of a mile from this place, is one hundred yards wide, on the east side of which stands a stockade fort, somewhat ruinous.

The Indian village consists of about forty or fifty cabins, besides nine or ten French houses—a runaway colony from Detroit. During the late Indian war, they were concerned in it, and being afraid of punishment, came to this post, where, ever since, they have spirited up the Indians against the English. All the French residing here are a lazy, indolent people, fond of breeding mischief, and spiriting up the Indians against the English, and should by no means be suffered to remain here. The country is pleasant, the soil rich and well watered. After several conferences with these Indians, and their delivering me up all the English prisoners they had, on the 6th of August, we set out for Detroit, down the Miamas river in a canoe. This river heads about ten miles from hence. The river is not navigable till you come to the place where the river St. Joseph joins it, and makes a considerably large stream. Nevertheless, we found a great deal of difficulty in getting our canoe over shoals, as the waters at this season were very low. The banks of the river are high, and the country overgrown with lofty timber of various kinds; and the

land is level and the woods clear. About nine miles from the Miamas or Twightwee, we came to where the large river that heads in a large lick, falls into the Miame river. This they call the Forks. The Ottawas claim this country, and hunt here, where game is very plenty. From hence we proceeded to the Ottawa village. This nation formerly lived at Detroit, but is now settled here, on account of the richness of the country, where game is always to be found in plenty. Here we were obliged to get out of our canoes, and drag them eighteen miles, on account of the rifts, which interrupt the navigation. At the end of these rifts, we came to a village of the Wyandots, who received us very kindly, and from thence we proceeded to the mouth of this river, where it falls into Lake Erie. From the Miamas to the lake is computed one hundred and eighty miles, and from the entrance of the river into the lake at Detroit, is sixty miles—that is forty-two miles upon the lake, and eighteen miles up the Detroit river to the garrison of that name. The land on the lake side is low and flat. We passed several large rivers and bays; and on the 16th of August, in the afternoon, we arrived at Detroit river. The country here is much higher than on the lake side; the river is about nine hundred yards wide, and the current runs very strong. There are several fine and large islands in this river, one of which is nine miles long; its banks high, and the soil very good.

On the 17th, in the morning, we arrived at the fort, which is a large stockade, inclosing about eighty houses. It stands close on the north side of the river, on a high bank, commands a very pleasant prospect for nine miles above and nine miles below the fort. The country is thickly settled with French. Their plantations are generally laid out about three or four acres in breadth on the river, and eighty acres in depth. The soil is good, producing plenty of grain. All the people here are generally poor wretches, and consist of three or four hundred French families, a lazy, idle people, depending chiefly on the savages for subsistence. Though the land, with little labor, produces plenty of grain, they scarcely raise as much as will supply their wants, in imitation of the Indians, whose manners and customs they have entirely adopted, and cannot subsist without them.

The men, women and children speak the Indian tongue perfectly well. In the last Indian war, the most part of the French were concerned in it, (although the whole settlement had taken the oath of allegiance to his Britannic Majesty.) They have, therefore, great

reason to be thankful to the English clemency in not bringing them to deserved punishment. Before the late Indian war, there resided three nations of Indians at this place: The Pettawattanians, whose village was on the west side of the river, about one mile below the fort; the Ottawas, on the east side, about three miles above the fort; the Wyandots, whose village lays on the east side, about two miles below the fort. The former two nations have removed to a considerable distance, and the latter still remain where they were, and are remarkable for their good sense and hospitality. They have a particular attachment for the Roman Catholic religion; the French, by their priests, having taken uncommon pains to instruct them. During my stay here, I held frequent conferences with the different nations of Indians assembled at this place, with whom I settled matters to their general satisfaction.

The courageous Moravian missionary, Frederick Post, first visited Ohio in 1761, and during the next spring, in company with Heckewelder, commenced the work of educating and converting to his faith the Indians of the Muskingum; but in the following autumn was warned to leave the country, in anticipation of war.

Late in 1767, and early in 1768, Treisberger established a mission near the Allegheny, though in the face of strong opposition and plots against his life, and succeeded in converting some of the leading Indians, through the influence of whom the missionaries were invited to Big Beaver in 1770. The Delawares of the Muskingum, joined by the Wyandots, invited the Christian Indians of Pennsylvania to come and dwell on their river, and, after much deliberation, the proposition was accepted. May 3d, 1772, Treisberger, with twenty-seven of his native disciples, founded Schönbrun on the Muskingum, the first Protestant Christian settlement within Ohio; to which, in the following year, the Christian Indians of the Susquehannah and Big Beaver removed. For some years this and the neighboring Christian Indian towns continued in peace and prosperity; but during the wars between the northwest savages and Pennsylvania and Virginia frontier-men, the innocent disciples of Post, Treisberger and Heckewelder were the subjects of suspicion and jealousy; and in 1779 the British deliberated on measures to remove them from the American borders to destroy their supposed interference.

The result is set forth in the following narrative of Mary Heckewelder, daughter of the missionary :

“Soon after my birth, April 16th, 1781, times became very troublesome, the settlements often in danger from war parties; and finally, in the beginning of September of the same year, we were all made prisoners. First, four of the missionaries were seized by a party of Huron warriors, and declared prisoners of war; they were then led into the camp of the Delawares, where the death song was sung over them. Soon after they had secured them, a number of warriors marched off for Salem and Shoenbrun. About thirty savages arrived at the former place in the dusk of the evening, and broke open the mission house. Here they took my mother and myself prisoners, and after having led her into the street and placed guards over her they plundered the house of every thing they could take with them and destroyed what was left. When going to take my mother along with them, the savages were prevailed upon through the intercessions of the Indian families, to let her remain at Salem till the next morning—the night being dark and rainy, and almost impossible for her to travel so far—they at last consented on condition that she should be brought into the camp the next morning, which was accordingly done, and she was safely conducted by our Indians to Gnadenhutten.

“After experiencing the cruel treatment of the savages for some time, they were again set at liberty; but were obliged to leave their flourishing settlements, and forced to march through a dreary wilderness to Upper Sandusky. We went by land through Goseachgwenk to Walhonding, and then partly by water and partly along the banks of the river, to Sandusky creek. All the way I was carried by an Indian woman, carefully wrapped in a blanket on her back. Our journey was exceedingly tedious and dangerous; some of the canoes sunk, and those that were in them lost all their provisions, and everything they had saved. Those that went by land drove the cattle, a pretty large herd. The savages now drove us along, the missionaries with their families usually in their midst, surrounded by their Indian converts. The roads were exceedingly bad, leading through a continuation of swamps.

“Having arrived at Upper Sandusky, they built small huts of logs and bark to screen them from the cold, having neither beds nor blankets, and being reduced to the greatest poverty and want; for the savages had by degrees stolen almost every thing, both from the missionaries and Indians on the journey. We lived here extremely poor, oftentimes very little or nothing to satisfy the cravings of

hunger; and the poorest of the Indians were obliged to live on their dead cattle, which died for want of pasture."

In the following March, 1782, some of the Moravians returned to their former homes to gather any remaining property and collect the corn which had been left in the fields. Unfortunately, about simultaneously, parties of Wyandots made an assault upon the white settlements which the frontier-men associated with the movements of the Moravians, and eighty or ninety of these set out, captured the unsuspecting gleaners, bound them; and Williamson, commander of the party asked: "Shall these men, women and children be taken to Pittsburg, or be killed?" Sixteen or eighteen only favored granting their lives, and soon about forty men, twenty women and thirty-four children—defenceless, innocent fellow-Christians,—were murdered in cold blood by eighty or ninety Americans.

Another expedition as fierce and blood-thirsty, was at once organized against the Moravian Delawares and Wyandots upon the Sandusky. "No Indian was to be spared; friend or foe, every red man was to die." The expedition was led, though in justice let it be said, reluctantly and unavoidably, by Colonel William Crawford. Carrying a black flag and with the battle cry of "no quarters," five hundred men marched to Upper Sandusky in June, when they found the town deserted and savages prepared for the battle, in which the whites were defeated. Crawford's own fate is given by his associate in wretchedness, Dr. Knight.

* About midnight on the 6th, Col. Crawford missed his son, a young man who had just attained his majority, and of great promise. Word was passed along the line, but no tidings of the youth were obtained, and the father became alarmed for his safety. He requested and obtained a number of men to return with him to the camping grounds of the previous day to search for his missing boy. It was a fruitless mission. Crawford had returned on the trail but a short distance, when he concluded not to follow the main body of the troops, but to strike off with his party, by the shortest possible road to Fort McIntosh. This was a fatal mistake. On the third day out the Indians attacked the Colonel's small force, and utterly routed it, killing and taking prisoners nearly the whole. Among the captives was the unfortunate commander.

* These letters and statements were furnished the Bucyrus Forum, by A. T. Goodman.

About the same time, and in the same way, perished Colonel Crawford's son, John Crawford and his nephew and namesake William Crawford, a promising son of Valentine Crawford. So also died Major William Harrison, the Colonel's son-in-law, and a near relative, Major Rose. Truly the Sandusky expedition brought its full share of calamity to the family of its unfortunate commander.

In corroboration of the foregoing is the following letter :

FORT PITT, July 11th, 1782.

SIR: Dr. Knight, (a surgeon I sent with Colonel Crawford,) returned on the 4th instant to this place; he brings an account of the melancholy fate of poor Crawford. The day after the main body retreated, the Colonel, Doctor, and nine others, were overtaken within thirty miles from the field of action, by a body of Indians, to whom they surrendered, were taken back to Sandusky where they all, except the Doctor, were put to death; the unfortunate Colonel, in particular, was burnt and tortured in every manner they could invent. The Doctor after being a spectator of this distressing scene, was sent to the Shawanese town under guard of one Indian, where he was told he would share the same fate next day; but fortunately found an opportunity of demolishing the fellow, and making his escape. The Doctor adds that a certain Simon Girty, who was formerly in our service and deserted with McKee, is now said to have a commission in the British service, was present at the torturing of Col. Crawford; and that he (the Doctor) was informed by an Indian that a British Captain commands at Sandusky; that he believes that he was present also, but is not certain; but says he saw a person there who was dressed and appeared like a British officer. He also says the Colonel begged of Girty to shoot him, but he paid no regard to the request. A certain Mr. Shlover has also come in yesterday, who was under sentence at the Shawanese town; he says a Mr. William Harrison, son-in-law to Colonel Crawford, was quartered and burnt. Both he and the Doctor say they were assured by several Indians whom they formerly knew, that not a single soul should in future escape torture, and gave as a reason for this conduct—the Moravian affair.

A number of people informed me that Colonel Crawford ought to be considered as a continental officer, and are of opinion retaliation should take place. These, however, are such facts as I can get. Dr. Knight is a man of undoubted veracity.

This account has struck the people of this country with a strange mixture of fear and resentment. Their solicitations for making another excursion are increasing daily, and they are actually beginning to prepare for it. I have the honor to be &c.,

WM. ERVINE.

To His Excellency, General Washington.

The ancestors of William Crawford, were of Scotch-Irish origin. They came to America early in the eighteenth century, locating in Virginia. The father of William was a respectable farmer. His mother was a woman of masculine power and great energy of character, who was very attentive to her family of little ones. She was twice married. By Mr. Crawford, who died 1736, she had two sons, William and Valentine. William Crawford, was born in Berkley county, Virginia, in the year 1732,—the same that gave to the world the illustrious Washington. William was an intimate friend and playmate of George Washington, and at an early age, learned from him the art of surveying. It will be remembered, that for many years, Washington followed the occupation of a surveyor in Virginia. His services in that capacity, were often called into requisition in Berkley county. His visits were of weeks' duration. Upon these occasions he always stopped with his friend Crawford, and nowhere could he have found a more hospitable threshold.

Weems in his life of Washington, thus refers to these visits :

“This was a family exactly to George's mind, because promising him an abundance of that manly exercise in which he delighted. In front of the house lay a fine extended green, with a square of several hundred yards. Here it was, every evening, when his daily toils of surveying were ended, that George, like a young Greek training for the Olympic Games, used to turn out with his sturdy young companions, “to see,” as they termed it, “which was the best man,” at running, jumping and wrestling. And so keen was their passion for these sports, and so great their ambition to excel each other, that they would often persist, especially on moonshining nights, till bed time. The Crawfords and Stephensons, though not taller than George, were much heavier men; so that at wrestling, and particularly at the close, or Indian hug, he seldom gained much matter of triumph. But in all trials of agility, they stood no chance with him!”

This intimacy continued through life, and was proved upon more than one occasion to be genuine friendship;—to be relied upon in emergency.

Until William Crawford reached his 23d year, he followed the double occupation of a surveyor and farmer.

He subsequently held important judicial trusts in Pennsylvania; was actively engaged in the French war and revolutionary struggle,

and was energetic in urging Congress to an effectual defence of the western frontiers.

During the fall of 1779, Colonel Crawford led several small parties into Ohio in pursuit of savage depredators. No better employment was desired by him than to follow up with success those bands of redskins who made the frontier a region of terror; murdering families, destroying dwellings, stealing horses and cattle, and often carrying into hopeless captivity, men, women and children who had become objects of their rapacity. His expeditions to punish these fiends rarely failed of success, and long before his unfortunate end, the name of William Crawford was a terror to the Ohio Indians. It is to be regretted that no connected accounts of his Indian exploits have come down to us. With here and there an exception, treasured up in the memory of the aged, but little remains. We should probably have had a "storehouse" of pioneer history, had not the Colonel's records and papers, Journals and Orderly books been ruthlessly consigned to the flames soon after his death. That thoughtless act will ever be regretted by those who have felt an interest in the events of his career.

In a letter addressed by Washington to President Moore of Pennsylvania, dated July 27th, 1782, is the following reference to Crawford:

"It is with the greatest sorrow and concern that I have learned the melancholy tidings of Colonel Crawford's death. He was known to me as an officer of much care and prudence, brave, experienced and active. The manner of his death as given in letters of General Ervine, Colonel Gibson and others, was shocking to me, and I have this day communicated to the Honorable, the Congress, copies of such papers as I have regarding it."

While the loss of Colonel Crawford was deeply felt by Washington, and by a host of comrades in the patriot army, perhaps the grief excited by his melancholy end was nowhere more poignant than in Western Pennsylvania and Virginia. There, he was familiarly known to one and all. He had long been looked up to as a leader, and the pioneers of the border knew that a place had been made vacant which could not be filled.

Colonel Crawford possessed a sound judgment; was a man of singular good nature and great humanity, and remarkable for his hospitality. It is said that during his life in the West, many an Indian captive was spared through his influence. In times of peace

and quiet no man was more friendly disposed towards the red man than he. Hundreds of them at different times visited his humble dwelling and partook of his hospitality.

Regarding Crawford's route to Upper Sandusky, the following extract of a letter from Hon. A. H. Byers, of Wooster, is here introduced as establishing a landmark of some historical value :

WOOSTER, Ohio, March 7, 1872.

H. S. KNAPP: On page 14, of your "History of Ashland County," you say that "probably the expedition of Crawford did not pass through any part of Ashland county." I think you are in error, and base my judgment on the following facts: My father had a brother-in-law, named Carson, who was in that expedition, and escaped. After father moved to this county, he visited his relatives in Western Pennsylvania, and in conversation with Carson regarding that disastrous campaign, the question would likely arise, whether it passed through Wayne county? Carson assured him that the troops passed a small body of water, known as "Mohecan John's Lake." This, beyond doubt, fixes a portion of the route, so that, westward, they passed through Hanover and Green townships, Ashland county. You will remember that the lake now called "Odell's," was originally designated as "Mohecan John's Lake."

Accept my best wishes, &c.

A. H. BYERS.

In the narrative of Dr. Knight, Colonel Crawford's associate, he states that on "Monday morning the tenth of June, we were paraded to march to Sandusky, about thirty-three miles distant; they had eleven prisoners of us and four scalps, the Indians being seventeen in number.

"Colonel Crawford was very desirous to see a certain Simon Girty, who lived with the Indians, and was on this account permitted to go home the same night, with two warriors to guard him, having orders at the same time to pass by the place where the Colonel had turned out his horse, that they might if possible find him. The rest of us were taken as far as the old town, which was within eight miles of the new.

"Tuesday morning, the eleventh, Colonel Crawford was brought out to us on purpose to be marched in with the other prisoners. I asked the Colonel if he had seen Mr. Girty? He told me he had, and that Girty had promised to do every thing in his power for him, but that the Indians were very much enraged against the prisoners; particularly Captain Pipe, one of the chiefs, he likewise told me

that Girty had informed him that his son-in-law, Colonel Harrison, and his nephew, William Crawford, were made prisoners by the Shawanese, but had been pardoned. This Captain Pipe had come from the town about an hour before Colonel Crawford and had, painted all the prisoners' faces black. As he was painting me he told me I should go to the Shawanese towns and see my friends. When the Colonel arrived he painted him black also, told him he was glad to see him, and that he would have him shaved when he came to see his friends at the Wyandot town. When we marched, the Colonel and I were kept back between Pipe and Wyugenim, the two Delaware chiefs; the other nine prisoners were sent forward with another party of Indians. As we went along we saw four of the prisoners lying tomhawked and scalped; some of them were at the distance of half a mile from each other. When we arrived within half a mile from the place where the Colonel was executed, we overtook the five prisoners that remained alive; the Indians had caused them to sit down on the ground, as they did also the Colonel and me at some distance from them. I was there given in charge to an Indian fellow to be taken to the Shawanese towns.

“In the place where we were now made to sit down, there was a number of squaws and boys, who fell on the five prisoners, and tomahawked them. There was a certain John McKinley among the prisoners, formerly an officer in the 13th Virginia regiment, whose head an old squaw cut off, and the Indians kicked it about upon the ground. The young Indian fellows came often where the Colonel and I were and dashed the scalps in our faces. We were then conducted along toward the place where the Colonel was afterwards executed; when we came within about a half a mile of it, Simon Girty met us with several Indians on horseback; he spoke to the Colonel, but as I was about one hundred and fifty yards behind, could not hear what passed between them.

“Almost every Indian we met struck us with sticks, or their fists. Girty waited till I was brought up; then asked, was that the Doctor? I told him yes, and went towards him, reaching out my hand, but he bid me be gone, and called me a damned rascal, upon which the fellows who had me in charge pulled me along. Girty rode up after me and told me I was to go to the Shawanese towns.

“When we went to the fire the Colonel was stripped naked, ordered to sit down by the fire, and then they beat him with sticks and their fists. Presently after I was treated in the same manner. They

then tied a rope to the foot of a post about fifteen feet high, bound the Colonel's hands behind his back and fastened the rope to the ligature between his wrists. The rope was long enough for him to sit down or walk round the post once or twice, and return the same way. The Colonel then called to Girty and asked him if they intended to burn him? Girty answered, yes. The Colonel said he would take it all patiently. Upon this Captain Pipe, a Delaware chief, made a speech to the Indians, viz: about thirty or forty men, sixty or seventy squaws and boys.

"When the speech was finished they all yelled a hideous and hearty assent to what had been said. The Indian men took up their guns and shot powder into the Colonel's body, from his feet to his neck. I think not less than seventy loads were discharged upon his naked body. They then crowded about him, and to the best of my observation, cut off his ears; when the throng had dispersed a little, I saw the blood running from both sides of his head in consequence thereof.

"The fire was about six or seven yards from the post to which the Colonel was tied; it was made of small hickory poles burnt quite through in the middle, each end of these poles remaining about six feet in length. Three or four Indians by turns would take up, individually, one of these burning pieces of wood, and apply it to his naked body, already burnt black with the powder. These tormentors presented themselves on every side of him with the burning faggots and poles. Some of the squaws took broad boards upon which they could carry a quantity of burning coals and hot embers and threw on him, so that in a very short time he had nothing but coals of fire and hot ashes to walk upon.

"In the midst of these extreme tortures, he called to Simon Girty and begged him to shoot him; but Girty making no answer, he called to him again. Girty then, by way of derision, told the Colonel he had no gun, at the same time turning about to an Indian who was behind him, laughed heartily, and by all his gestures seemed delighted at the horrid scene.

"Girty then came up to me and told me to prepare for death. He said, however, I was not to die at that place, but to be burnt at the Shawanese towns. He swore by G—d I need not expect to escape death, but should suffer it in all its extremities.

"He then observed that some prisoners had given him to understand, that if our people had him they would not hurt him; for his

part, he said he did not believe it, but desired to know my opinion of the matter ; but being at that time in great anguish and distress for the torments the Colonel was suffering before my eyes, as well as the expectation of undergoing the same fate in two days, I made little or no answer. He expressed a great deal of ill will for Colonel Gibson, and said he was one of his greatest enemies, and more to the same purpose, to all which I paid very little attention.

“Colonel Crawford at this period of his sufferings besought the Almighty to have mercy on his soul, spoke very low, and bore his torments with the most manly fortitude. He continued in all the extremities of pain for an hour and three quarters or two hours longer, as near as I can judge, when at last being almost exhausted, he lay down on his belly; they then scalped him and repeatedly threw the scalp in my face, telling me “that was my great captain.” An old squaw (whose appearance every way answered the ideas people entertain of the devil,) got a board, took a parcel of coals and ashes and laid them on his back and head, after he had been scalped :

“He then raised himself upon his feet and began to walk round the post. They next put a burning stick to him, as usual, but he seemed more insensible of pain than before.

“The Indian fellow who had me in charge, now took me away to Captain Pipe’s house, about three-quarters of a mile from the place of the Colonel’s execution. I was bound all night, and thus prevented from seeing the last of the horrid spectacle. Next morning, being June 12th, the Indian untied me, painted me black, and we set off for the Shawanese town, which he told me was somewhat less than forty miles distant from that place. We soon came to the spot where the Colonel had been burnt, as it was partly in our way. I saw his bones lying amongst the remains of the fire, almost burnt to ashes. I suppose after he was dead they laid his body on the fire. The Indian told me that was my big Captain, and gave the scalp ‘halloo!’”

Girty, in the spring of this year, had given orders to have Hecke-welder and his comrades driven like beasts from Sandusky to Detroit, and enjoining especial brutality toward them. However, his agents, and those of the English commandant in the West, together with the traders employed to effect their removal, marked their conduct by conspicuous kindness, and especially in defending them against the outrageous brutality of Girty, who overtook the captives at Lower Sandusky, swearing he would have their lives, and finally

conducted them to their fellow disciples at a Moravian settlement upon the river Huron.

As the famous and infamous white Indian, Simon Girty, is so often mentioned in these pages, it may be well to append here a sketch of the family from the writings of Judge Campbell:

“Girty, the father was an emigrant from Ireland, about eighty years ago, if report can be relied on. He settled in Pennsylvania, where that liberty which he sought, degenerated in his possession into the basest licentiousness. His hours were wasted in idleness and beastly intemperance. Nothing ranked higher in his estimation, or so entirely commanded his regard, as a jug of whisky. “Grog was his song, and grog would he have.” His sottishness turned his wife’s affection, and she yielded her heart to a neighboring rustic, who, to remove all obstacles, to their wishes, knocked Girty on the head and bore off the trophy of his prowess.

“He left four sons—Thomas, Simon, George, and James. The three latter were taken prisoners by the Shawanese, Delawares, and Senecas, in that year which developed the military talents of General Washington. George was adopted by the Delawares, and continued with them until his death. He became a perfect savage—his manners being entirely Indian. To consummate cunning, he added the most fearless intrepidity. He fought in the battles of Kenhawa, Blue Licks, and Sandusky, and gained himself much distinction for skill and bravery. In his latter years, like his father, he gave himself up to intemperance, and died drunk, about twenty-five years ago, on the Miami of the lake or Maumee.

“Simon was adopted by the Senecas, and became as expert a hunter as any of them. In Kentucky and Ohio, he sustained the reputation of an unrelenting barbarian. Forty-five years ago, with his name was associated everything cruel and fiend-like. To the women and children in particular nothing was more terrifying than the name of Simon Girty. At that time it was believed by many, that he had fled from justice and sought refuge among the Indians, determined to do his countrymen all the harm in his power. This impression was an erroneous one. It is true he joined the Indians in their wars with the whites, and conformed to their usages. This was the education he had received, and those who were the foes of his red brethren were his foes. Although trained in all his pursuits as an Indian, it is said to be a fact, susceptible of proof, that through his importunities, many prisoners were saved from death. His influ-

ence was great, and when he chose to be merciful, it was generally in his power to protect the imploring captive. His reputation was that of an honest man. In the payment of his debts, he was scrupulously exact. Knowing and duly appreciating integrity, he fulfilled his engagements to the last cent. It is stated that on one occasion he sold his horse rather than incur the odium of violating his promise. He was a great lover of rum. Nothing could afford him more joy than a keg of this beverage. When intoxicated, in abuse he was indiscriminate, sparing neither friends nor foes. Then it was he had no compassion in his heart. Although much disabled by rheumatism for the last ten years of his life, he rode to his hunting ground in pursuit of game. Suffering the most excruciating pains, he often boasted of his war-like spirit. It was his constant wish that he might breathe his last in battle. So it happened. He was at Procter's defeat on the river Thames, and was cut to pieces by Colonel Johnson's mounted men.

"James Girty fell into the hands of the Shawanese, who adopted him as a son. As he approached manhood, he became dextrous in all the arts of savage life. To the most sanguinary spirit, he added all the vices of the depraved frontiersmen, with whom he frequently associated. It is represented that he often visited Kentucky at the time of its first settlement, many of the inhabitants feeling the effects of his courage and cruelty. Neither age nor sex found mercy at his hand. His delight was in carnage. When unable to walk, in consequence of disease, he laid low, with his hatchet, captive women and children who came within his reach. Traders, who were acquainted with him say, so furious was he that he would not have turned on his heel to save a prisoner from the flames. His pleasure was to see new and refined tortures inflicted; and to perfect this gratification, he frequently gave directions. To this barbarian are to be attributed many of the cruelties charged upon his brother Simon. Yet this monster was caressed by Elliot and Procter."

The cessation of hostilities between England and her unconquerable colonies in 1783, inspired in candid, reflecting minds, no belief that warfare with the Western border savages was at an end. To throw open the country beyond the mountains without arousing the savages, became the study of the ablest minds, and in September, 1783, Washington addressed a letter to James Duane, in Congress, relative to the difficulties in connection with the public lands. He urged the necessity for making settlements compact, and suggested

stringent laws against settling upon or surveying lands west of a line which might extend from the mouth of the Great Miami to Mad river; thence to Fort Miami on the Maumee, and thence northward so as to include Detroit, or perhaps from the fort down the river to Lake Erie. He pointed out the propriety of excluding Indian agents from all share in the trade with the red men, and prohibiting all purchases of land from Indians, except by Congress, or State Legislatures. Unless these, or similar measures were taken, he prophesied renewed violent border wars.

On the 22d of September, Congress, in pursuance of these suggestions, forbade all purchase of, or settlement on Indian lands; and October 15th, the Commissioners, to treat with the natives, were instructed:

1st. To require the delivery of all prisoners.

2d. To inform the Indians of the boundaries between the British possessions and the United States.

3d. To dwell upon the fact that the red men had not been faithful to their agreements.

4th. To negotiate for all the land east of the line proposed by Washington, namely: From the mouth of the Great Miami to Mad river; thence to Fort Miami, on the Maumee, and thence down the Maumee to the lake.

5th. To hold, if possible, *one convention with all the tribes.*

7th. To learn all they could respecting the French of Kaskaskia, etc.

8th. To confirm no grants by the natives to individuals.

9th. To look after American stragglers beyond the Ohio, to signify the displeasure of Congress at the invasion of the Indian lands, and to prevent all further intrusions.

Upon the 9th of the following March, the 4th and 5th of these instructions were entirely changed at the suggestion of the committee, headed by Mr. Jefferson; the western boundary line being made to run due north from the lowest point of the Falls of the Ohio to the northern limits of the United States; and the Commissioners being told to treat with the natives at *various places and at different times.*

The treaty of 1783, which terminated the war of the revolution, included Ohio within the boundaries of the United States, and the 7th Article of that treaty agreed that the King of Great Britain would

“with all convenient speed” “withdraw all his forces, garrisons and fleets from the United States, and from every post, place and harbor, within the same.” Military posts were garrisoned, however, by British troops, and continued under the dominion of Great Britain many years after that date. But preparatory to taking possession of it, and in order to avoid collision with the Indian tribes, which owned the soil, treaties were held with them from time to time by which they ceded to the United States their title to their lands. But the territory thus secured by treaties with Great Britain, and with the Indian tribes, of which we had thus established an amicable understanding, was many years sequestered from our possession. The British government urged the failure of Americans to fulfill that part of the treaty protecting the claims of British subjects against citizens of the United States; but, from their “aid and tribes comfort,” rendered the Indians in the campaigns of Harmar, St. Clair and Wayne, the apparent prime cause was to defeat the efforts of the United States to extend her power over the country and tribes north of the Ohio and continue to the British the advantage of the fur trade, which, from their relations with these tribes they possessed.

The ultimate result of this international difficulty, was the campaigns of 1790,—’91 and —’94, ostensibly against the Indians, but, substantially, against them and their British allies, which bear so intimate a relation with the formal surrender of the country to its rightful proprietor, that they perform an essential part of history.

The most satisfactory account furnished, relating to this important campaign, is that published by the late Charles Cist, in his first volume of the “*Cincinnati Miscellany*,” issued in 1845. This rendition of the true history of these events is given with so much evident caution, emanates from a source of so great respectability, and is adopted or confirmed by such high authorities, that there is no hesitation to accept in full his premises and conclusions. He says:

“Having gathered a variety of papers, which shed light on the various campaigns of Harmar, St. Clair, and Wayne, I feel it a duty imposed on me by that circumstance to compile a fuller and more accurate narrative of those events than I have thus far seen in print. Nor need it at all appear strange, under the existing state of society and condition of things, that much of what is already on record, should abound in errors; and that both Harmar and St. Clair should mistake the location of the battle they fought, and that many statements founded on conjecture, should pass current for years in the

community, to an extent which even yet serves to confuse the truth of history. These things are all easily accounted for by the wilderness character of the untrodden West, the scattered state of the settlements in the Miami country, the little communication between the respective parts, and the utter absence of newspapers.

"I commence with *Harmar's* campaign. A volume would hardly serve to point out the errors in dates, places, and facts generally, in print upon this subject. The best mode of correction is to compile the narrative anew, availing myself of unpublished manuscript notes of Captain John Armstrong, who commanded a company of United States regulars attached to Harmar's army during that campaign, and whose escape with life in the first battle was so remarkable.

"The Western frontier had been for some years, say from 1782 to 1788, in a very disturbed state by reciprocal aggressions, of Indians and whites. There does not appear, in the history of those days, however, any systematic and general movement of the Indians for the extirpation of the whites, as was alleged to be the object of their great confederacy of 1782, which, dividing into two parties, broke, one upon the upper Ohio settlement, the other on the various Kentucky stations, carrying massacre and captivity so extensively along their course. The irregular and precarious mode of living among the savages, forbade the accomplishment of such design, it had even been their settled purpose; the subsistence of themselves and families being principally derived from the chase, a species of provision which did not permit the laying up of extensive and permanent stores, if even their improvident mode of living had permitted the effort.

"But when they found the settlers entrenching themselves in fort after fort, circumscribing their range, and cutting them entirely off from their favorite hunting grounds south of the Ohio, there can be no doubt that a determined hostility sprung up in the minds of the savages, which all the exertions of the American Government failed to allay, and soon rendered it apparent that the two races could not live together in amity, where it was the policy of the one to reclaim the country from the hunter, and of the other to keep it a wilderness.

"After treaty upon treaty had been made and broken, and the frontiers had been suffering through this whole period, from the tomahawk and scalping knife, the government, then just going into operation, detached a force of three hundred and twenty regular troops.

enlisted in New Jersey and Pennsylvania for the protection of the frontiers, and devolved the command on Josiah Harmar, who had borne arms as a colonel with credit during the Revolutionary struggle. A force of one thousand one hundred and thirty-three drafted militia from Pennsylvania and Kentucky, was also placed under his orders. The regulars consisted of two battalions, commanded respectively by Majors Wyllie and Doughty, and a company of artillery under Captain Ferguson, with three brass pieces of ordnance. Colonel Hardin, of Kentucky, was in command of the militia, in which Colonels Trotter and Paul, Majors Hall and McMillan held subordinate commands. The orders to General Harmar were to march on to the Indian towns adjacent the lakes, and inflict on them such signal chastisement as should protect the settlements from future depredations.

The whole plan had been devised by Washington himself, who well understood the subject, having, prior to the Revolution, as is well known, learned much practically of the Indian character, as well as the condition of the West, although it is not easy to conceive why he should have selected such men as Harmar and St. Clair, who were destitute of the training he himself had acquired, and which could have been found on the frontiers of Pennsylvania and Kentucky, in many distinguished Indian fighters, ready for use. The force of circumstances probably biased his judgment, as it served to effect appointments equally exceptionable during the war of 1812, such as those of Hull, Dearborn, Bloomfield, and Chandler, men who had outlived their energies, if ever qualified practically for the weighty trust devolving on them.

On the 29th of December, 1789, General Harmar arrived at Cincinnati. He had been stationed for some months prior to this at the mouth of the Muskingum, waiting at that post for militia force and military supplies from the upper country, and the completion of Fort Washington, which Major Doughty, with one hundred and forty-six men from Fort Harmar, had been detached to construct. From this period to the 30th of September, 1790, he was employed in making everything ready for the expedition, and on that day, all his preparations being made, he started with the regulars, the militia under Colonel Hardin having already set out.

The first day's advance was seven miles, and the encampment for the night was on a branch of Mill creek; course, northeast. Eight miles more were made the second day, on a general course of

northwest, the army encamping on another branch of Mill creek. On the third day a march of fifteen miles was made: the course generally north, and the encampment on the waters of Muddy creek, a tributary of the Little Miami, within one mile of Colonel Hardin's command. The next morning Colonel Hardin, with the militia, were overtaken and passed, and halting at Turtle creek, one mile further on, the whole army encamped for the night.

On the 4th of October, the army reached and crossed the Little Miami, on a northeast course, moved up it one mile to a branch called Sugar or Cesar's creek, near Waynesville, where they encamped, having accomplished nine miles that day. Next day a march of ten miles, still on a northeast course, brought the army to Glade creek, near where Xenia now stands. On the 6th it reached Chillicothe, an old Indian village, now Oldtown, and crossed again the Little Miami, keeping a northeast course, making nine miles that day. Next day the troops crossed Mad river, then called the Pickaway Fork of the Great Miami, and made nine miles: their course for the first time becoming west of north. On the 8th, pursuing a northwest course, they crossed Honey creek, and made seven miles more. On the next day they followed the same course, and marching ten miles, encamped within two miles of the Great Miami. Next day the army crossed the Miami, keeping still a northwest course, and made ten miles more.

On the 11th, by a course west of north, it passed the ruins of a French trading station, marked on Hutchins' map as the *Twigtwees*—(Twigtwees or Miami's.) Encamped after making eleven miles. Next day the army kept a course west of northwest, near Loramie's creek, and across the head waters of the Anglaize. Here they found the remains of a considerable village, some of the houses being still standing: fourteen miles made this day. On the 13th, marched ten miles, keeping west of northwest, and encamped, being joined by a reinforcement from Cincinnati, with ammunition. Next day, the 14th, Colonel Hardin was detached with one company of regulars, and six hundred militia, in advance of the main body, and being charged with the destruction of the towns in the forks of the Maumee. On the arrival of this advance party, they found the towns abandoned by the Indians, and the principal one burnt. The main body marched on the 14th ten miles, and on the 15th eight more, both days on a northwest course. Next day made nine miles, same course, and on the 17th crossing the Maumee river

to the Indian village, formed a junction again with Hardin, at the Omee (an Miami, Fr.) village, [now called Harmar's Ford.] This was the same town burnt and abandoned by the savages.

At this point of the narrative, there is considerable obscurity with names and places which I must explore as I best can. The Indians had seven villages it seems, clustering about the junction of the St. Mary's and St. Joseph's rivers, which, as is well known, form the river Maumee. These were: 1st, the Miami village, so called after the tribe of that name; corruptly and by contraction, *Omee*, from *Au Miami*, the designation given it by the French traders, who were here resident in great force. This lay in the fork of the St. Joseph's and Maumee; [now the Cole-Taber farm.] 2d, a village of the Maumees, of thirty houses, Ke Kiogue, now Fort Wayne—in the fork of the St. Mary's and Maumee. 3d, Chillicothe, a name signifying 'town,' being a village of the Shawanees, down the Maumee, on its north bank, and of fifty-eight houses. Opposite this was another of the same tribe, of eighteen houses. The Delawares had their villages, two on the St. Mary's, [near where the Allen county, Ind., Poor Asylum is now situate,] about three miles from its mouth, and opposite each other, with forty-five houses together, and the other consisting of thirty-six houses, on the east side of the St. Joseph's, two or three miles from its mouth.

The day of Harmar's junction with Hardin, two Indians were discovered by a scouting party, as they were crossing a prairie. The scouts pursued them and shot one; the other made his escape. A young man named Johnson, seeing the Indian was not dead, attempted to shoot him again; but his pistol not making fire, the Indian raised his rifle and shot Johnson through the body, which proved fatal. This night the Indians succeeded in driving through the lines between fifty and one hundred horses, and bore them off, to the no small mortification of the whites.

The same day (October 17th) was employed in searching in the hazel thickets for hidden treasure. Much corn was found buried in the earth. On the evening of this day, Captain McClure and McClary fell upon a stratagem peculiar to backwoodsmen. They conveyed a horse a short distance down the river undiscovered, fettered him, unstrapped the bell-tongue, and concealed themselves with their rifles. An Indian, attracted by the sound of the bell, came cautiously up and began to untie him, when McClure shot him. The report of the gun alarmed the camp, and brought many

of the troops to the place. A young man taken prisoner at Loranmie's was brought to see the Indian just killed, and pronounced him to be "Captain Punk—great man—Delaware chief."

The army burned all the houses at the different villages, and destroyed about twenty thousand bushels of corn, which they discovered in various places where it had been hidden by the Indians, a large quantity having been found buried in holes dug for that purpose. In this destruction a variety of property belonging to French traders was involved. On the 18th, the main body of the troops was moved to Chillicothe, the principal town of the Shawanese, General Hammar having previously detached a party of one hundred and eighty militia and thirty regulars in pursuit of the Indians, who appeared to have retired westward across the St. Joseph's, after the destruction by themselves of the Omce town. Capt. John Armstrong commanding the regulars, and Col. Trotter, of the Kentucky militia, the entire force. They found and cut off a few Indian stragglers, but did not overtake the main body, being recalled to camp by signal, late in the evening. Next morning the same detachment was ordered out anew, and being placed under the command of Colonel Hardin, pursued the same route in search of the savages. Finding himself in their neighborhood, he detached Captain Faulkner, of the Pennsylvania militia, to form on his left, which he did at such a distance as to render his company of no service in the approaching engagement. Hardin's command moved forward to what they discovered to be the encampment of the enemy, which was flanked by a morass on each side, as well as by one in front, which was crossed with great promptness by the troops, now reduced to less than two hundred, who, before they had time to form, received a galling and unexpected fire from a large body of savages. The militia immediately broke and fled, nor could all the exertions of the officers rally them; fifty two of the dispersing being killed in a few minutes.

The enemy pursued until Major Fountain, who had been sent to hunt up Faulkner and his company, returning with them, compelled them to retire, and the survivors of the detachment arrived safe in camp.

The regulars under Armstrong bore the brunt of this affair. One sergeant and twenty-one privates being killed on the battle ground, and while endeavoring to maintain their position, were thrown in disorder by the militia running through their lines, flinging away

their arms without even firing a shot. The Indians killed in this affair nearly one hundred men.

As regards the force of the savages, Captain Armstrong who was under no temptation to underrate their number, speaks of them as about one hundred in force. Their strength has been stated, but as I think, without any data by Marshal. in his life of Washington, at seven hundred. The real strength of the Indians was in a well chosen position, and in the cowardice of the militia, who found numerically, the principal force opposed to them. This destructive contest was fought near the spot where the Goshen State road now crosses Eel River, near Heller's Corners, about twelve miles west of Fort Wayne. Captain Armstrong broke through the pursuing Indians and plunged in the deepest of the morasses referred to, where he remained to his chin all night in water, with his head concealed by a tussock of high grass. Here he was compelled to listen to the nocturnal orgies of the Indians, dancing and yelling around the dead bodies of his brave soldiers. As day approached they retired to rest, and Armstrong chilled to the last degree, extricated himself from the swamp, but found himself obliged to kindle a fire in a ravine into which he crawled, having his tinder-box, watch and compass still on his person. By the aid of the fire, he recovered his feeling, and the use of his limbs, and at last reached the camp in safety. For some years after, bayonets were found upon this spot in numbers, and bullets have been cut out of the neighboring trees in such quantities as to attest the desperate character of this engagement.

On the 20th the General published the following order :

" CAMP, AT CHILLICOTHE,
 (One of the Shawanese Towns on the Omece (Maumee) River.) }
 October 20th, 1790. }

The party under the command of Captain Strong, is ordered to burn and destroy every house and wigwam in this village, together with all the corn, &c., which he can collect. A party of one hundred men, (militia) properly officered, under command of Colonel Hardin, is to burn and destroy effectually this afternoon, the Pickaway town with all the corn, &c., which he can find in it and its vicinity.

"The cause of the detachment being worsted yesterday, was entirely owing to the shameful, cowardly conduct of the militia who ran away, and threw down their arms without firing scarcely a single gun. In returning to Fort Washington, if any officer or men

shall presume to quit the ranks, or not to march in the form that they are ordered, the General will most assuredly order the artillery to fire on them. He hopes the check they received yesterday will make them in future obedient to orders.

“JOSIAH HARMAR, Brigadier General.”

On the 21st the army left Chullicothé on their return to Fort Washington, marching eight miles, [to Merriam's creek, now named] when the scouts, who had been scouring the country, came in and reported that the Indians had re-occupied the 'Omece' village, lying in the junction of the St. Joseph's and Maumee rivers. Harmar, anxious to efface the stigma resting on the American arms in the affair of the 19th, detached Colonel Hardin with orders to surprise the savages, and bring on an engagement. The party under his orders consisted of three hundred militia, of which three companies were mounted men, with sixty regulars under command of Major Wyllys.

Colonel Hardin arrived at the Omece town early on the morning of the 22d. His force had been divided into two parties, the left division of which was to have formed down the St. Mary's and cross at the ford, after which they were to rest until daylight, and cross the St. Joseph's and commence an attack on the Indians in front, who had encamped out, near the ruins of their town. The right division under Hardin and Wyllys, were to proceed to "Harmar's" ford, on the Maumee, where they were to remain until McMillan's party had reached the river, and commence the attack which was to be the signal for them to cross the Maumee and attack the Indians in the rear. Owing to the treachery or ignorance of the guides, however, McMillan's force lost its way in the thickets through which they had to pass, and although travelling all night, did not reach the ford until daylight. As soon as the Indians, who had been encamping about the ruins of their town, discovered Hardin's men, they began to rally for the fight, the alarm spreading, and the Indians rushing in. Colonel Hardin discovering that unless he crossed immediately he would be compelled to do it in the face of superior numbers, and expecting every moment to hear the report of McMillan's men in his rear, gave the order to cross, and by the time two-thirds of his force had passed over, the battle began. A severe engagement ensued: the desperation of the savages in the contest surpassed anything previously known, and the greater part, throwing down their arms, rushed on the bayonets tomahawk in hand,

thus rendering everything useless but the rifles of the militia, and carrying rapid destruction everywhere in their advance. While this attack was going on, the rifles of the remaining Indians were fatally employed picking out the officers. Major Fountain and Wyllys, both valuable officers, fell directly after the battle began, the former pierced with eighteen bullets. Fifty one of Wyllys's regulars shared his fate, and the other divisions suffered severely in both killed and wounded.

Major McMillan came up with his force while the battle was raging, but could not turn its tide, although he succeeded in enabling the discomfited troops to retire, which they did in comparatively good order.

The militia behaved well on this memorable day, and received the thanks of General Harmar for their good conduct. What the carnage in this battle was, may be inferred from the return of one hundred and eighty killed and wounded, not more than half of those engaged in it escaping unhurt. There is no doubt, as respects the second battle,—whatever was the fact in the first,—that the savages outnumbered, as well as overpowered, Hardin's forces, and the disparity was rendered still greater by the plan of night attack which separated McMillan from the main body when his aid was most needed.

It is alleged by some historians that the American troops were not defeated, as was proven by their regular retreat, a disorderly flight being the usual concomitant of defeat. But the fact that our troops were obliged to leave the remains of the brave soldiers who fell on that occasion, to become scalped and lie unburied, and their bones bleaching on the ground, until Wayne's visit, four years afterwards, obtained them decent burial, scents the idea.

An affecting incident occurred at the place of crossing the river. A young Indian and his father and brother were crossing, when the ball of a white man passed through his body, and he fell. The old man seeing his boy fall, dropped his rifle, and attempted to raise his fallen son, in order to convey him beyond the reach of the white men, when the other son also fell by his side. He drew them both to the shore, then sat down between them, and with fearless, Roman composure, awaited the approach of the pursuing foe, who came up and killed him also.

If there be any generalship in thus sending out detachment after detachment to be cut up in detail, then General Harmar deserves that distinction. He put the best face on the matter which the nature of the case permitted, and issued the following order on the 22d of October, the day of the second battle :

“ CAMP EIGHT MILES FROM THE RUINS §
OF THE MAUMEE TOWNS, 1790. §

“The General is exceedingly pleased with the behavior of the militia in the action of this morning. They have laid very many of the enemy dead upon the spot. Although our loss is great, still it is inconsiderable in comparison to the slaughter among the savages. Every account agrees that upwards of one hundred warriors fell in the battle. It is not more than man for man, and we can afford them two for one. The resolution and firm determined conduct of the militia this morning has effectually retrieved their character in the opinion of the General. He knows they can and will fight.”

It is easy to judge by the preceding narrative and orders what kind of fitness Harmar possessed for the service to which he was called. A general who encamps in the neighborhood of the enemy, with a force large enough to exterminate him, and contents himself with sending out detachments to be destroyed successively, where no adequate reason exists why the whole force should not have been brought into action, deserves not the name of a military man. Harmar kept two-thirds or three-fourths of his troops eight miles from the battle ground, inactive, and of as little service as if he had left them at Fort Washington. He appeared to be fully consoled for the loss of the brave officers and soldiers who fell by the savage tomahawk and rifle, by the reflection expressed in the general orders that the American troops could afford to lose twice as many men as the Indians. My unfavorable judgment is supported by that of the actors of that campaign, who still survive.

The celebrated Indian chief, *Little Turtle*, commanded the savages in both battles with Colonel Hardin and his troops, as he did afterwards in St. Clair's defeat, as well as bore a conspicuous part in the battle with General Wayne, at the Fallen Timbers.

Harmar returned by easy marches to Fort Washington, where he arrived on the 3d of November, and which he left soon afterwards for Philadelphia, being succeeded in his military command by St. Clair. He resided in comparative obscurity for some years, on the banks of the Schuylkill, and died about 1803. I was present at the

funeral, which was conducted with great military pomp, his horse being dressed in mourning, and his sword and pistols laid upon his coffin, which was borne on a bier, hearses not being in use in those days.

Harmar's disastrous defeat having demonstrated the necessity of opposing some strong check upon the aggressions of the northern savages, immediate measures were devised for the attainment of that end.

As early as 1785, Washington had been impressed with the superior advantages of the Miami villages at the confluence of the St. Mary's and St. Joseph's rivers, for the erection of a fort; and it now became the paramount purpose during 1791, to build this and establish a chain of military posts from Fort Washington to the head of the Maumee. In pursuance of this object, St. Clair was appointed Major General, invested with the chief command of the frontier forces, and received instructions from which such extracts are taken as will define the general policy of the government.

"It is only general principles which can be pointed out. In the execution of the duties of your station, circumstances which can not now be foreseen, may arise to render material deviations necessary. Such circumstances will require the exercise of your talents. The government possesses a guarantee in your character and mature experience, that your judgment will be proper on all occasions. You are well informed of the unfavorable impressions which the issue of the last expedition has made on the public mind, and you are also aware of the expectations which are formed of the success of the ensuing campaign.

"An Indian war under any circumstances, is regarded by the great mass of the people of the United States, as an event which ought, if possible, to be avoided. It is considered that the sacrifices of blood and treasure in such a war far exceed any advantages which can possibly be reaped by it. The great policy, therefore, of the General Government, is to establish a just and liberal peace with the Indian tribes within the limits and in the vicinity of the territory of the United States. Your intimations to the hostile Indians, immediately after the late expedition, through the Wyandots and Delawares; the arrangements with the Senecas, who were lately in this city, that part of the Six Nations should repair to the said hostile Indians, to influence them to pacific measures; together with the recent mission of Colonel Proctor to them for the same purpose,

will strongly evince the desire of the General Government to prevent the effusion of blood, and to quiet all disturbances. And when you shall arrive upon the frontiers, if any other or further measures to effect the same object should present, you will eagerly embrace them, and the reasonable expenses thereof shall be defrayed by the public. But if all the lenient measures taken, or which may be taken, should fail to bring the hostile Indians to a just sense of their situation, it will be necessary that you should use such coercive means as you shall possess, for that purpose.

You are informed that, by an act of Congress, passed the 2d instant, another regiment is to be raised and added to the military establishment, and provision made for raising two thousand levies for the term of six months, for the service of the frontiers. It is contemplated that the mass of the regulars and levies may be recruited and rendezvous at Fort Washington, by the 10th of July. In this case you will have assembled a force of three thousand effectives at least, besides leaving small garrisons on the Ohio, in order to perform your main expedition, hereinafter mentioned. But, in the meantime, if the Indians refuse to listen to the messengers of peace sent to them, it is most probable they will, unless prevented, spread themselves along the line of frontiers, for the purpose of committing all the depredations in their power. In order to avoid so calamitous an event, Brigadier General Charles Scott, of Kentucky, has been authorized by me, on the part of the President of the United States, to make an expedition against the Wea or Quitanon towns, with mounted volunteers or militia from Kentucky, not exceeding the number of seven hundred and fifty, officers included. You will perceive, by the instructions to Brigadier General Scott, that it is confided to your discretion, whether there should be more than one of the said expeditions of mounted volunteers or militia. Your nearer view of the objects to be effected by a second desultory expedition, will enable you to form a better judgment than can at present be formed at this distance. The propriety of a second operation would, in some degree, depend on the alacrity and good composition of the troops of which the first may have been formed: of its success: of the probable effects a second similar blow would have upon the Indians, with respect to its influencing them to peace: or, if they should be still hostilely disposed, of preventing them from desolating the frontiers by their parties.

“ You will observe in the instructions to Brigadier General Scott, which are to serve as a basis for the instructions of the commanders who may succeed him, that all captives are to be treated with great humanity. It will be sound policy to attract the Indians by kindness, after demonstrating to them our power to punish them, on all occasions. While you are making such use of desultory operations as in your judgment the occasion may require, you will proceed vigorously, in every operation in your power, for the purpose of the main expedition; and having assembled your force, and all things being in readiness, if no decisive indications of peace should have been produced, either by the messengers or by the desultory operations, you will commence your march for the Miami village, in order to establish a strong and permanent military post at that place. In your advance you will establish such posts of communication with Fort Washington, on the Ohio, as you may judge proper. The post at the Miami village is intended for the purpose of aweing and curbing the Indians in that quarter, and as the only preventive of future hostilities. It ought, therefore, to be rendered secure against all attempts and insults of the Indians. The garrison which should be stationed there ought not only to be sufficient for the defence of the place, but always to afford a detachment of five or six hundred men, either to chastise any of the Wabash, or other hostile Indians, or to secure any convoy of provisions. The establishment of such a post is considered as an important object of the campaign, and is to take place in all events. In case of a previous treaty, the Indians are to be conciliated upon this point, if possible; and it is presumed good arguments may be offered, to induce their acquiescence. The situation, nature, and construction of the works you may direct, will depend upon your own judgment. Major Ferguson, of the artillery, will be fully capable of the execution. He will be furnished with three five and a half inch howitzers, three six pounders, and three three pounders, all brass, with a sufficient quantity of shot and shells for the purpose of the expedition. The appropriation of these pieces will depend upon your orders.

“ Having commenced your march upon the main expedition, and the Indians continuing hostile, you will use every possible exertion to make them feel the effects of your superiority; and after having arrived at the Miami village, and put your works in a defensible state, you will seek the enemy with the whole of your remaining force, and endeavor, by all possible means, to strike them with great

severity. It will be left to your discretion whether to employ, if attainable, any Indians of the six nations, and the Chickasaws or other northern nations. Most probably the employment of about fifty of each, under the direction of some discreet and able chief, would be advantageous, but these ought not to be assembled before the line of march was taken up, because they are soon tired and will not be detained. The force contemplated for the garrison of the Miami village and the communications has been from a thousand to twelve hundred non-commissioned officers and privates. This is mentioned as a general idea, to which you will adhere, or from which you will deviate, as circumstances may require. The garrison stationed at the Miami village, and its communications, must have in store at least six months' good salted meat, and flour in proportion.

It is hardly possible, if the Indians continue hostile, that you will be suffered quietly to establish a post at the Miami village: conflicts, therefore, may be expected; and it is to be presumed that disciplined valor will triumph over the undisciplined Indians.

In this event it is probable that the Indians will sue for peace. If this should be the case, the dignity of the United States will require that the terms should be liberal. In order to avoid future wars, it might be proper to make the Wabash, and thence over to the Miami, and down the same to its mouth, at Lake Erie, the boundary, excepting so far as the same should relate to the Wyandots and Delawares, on the supposition of their continuing faithful to the treaties. But if they should join in the war against the United States, and your army be victorious, the said tribes ought to be removed without the boundary mentioned. You will also judge whether it would be proper to extend the boundary, from the mouth of the River au Pause of the Wabash, in a due west line to the Mississippi. Few Indians, besides the Kickapoos, would be affected by such a line; this ought to be tenderly managed. The modification of the boundary must be confided to your discretion, with this single observation, that the policy and interest of the United States dictate their being at peace with the Indians. This is of more value than millions of uncultivated acres, the right to which may be conceded by some, and disputed by others. The establishment of a post at the Miami village, will probably be regarded, by the British officers on the frontier, as a circumstance of jealousy. It may, therefore, be necessary that you should, at a proper time, make such intimations as may remove all such dispositions. This intimation

had better follow than precede the possession of the post, unless circumstances dictate otherwise. As it is not the inclination or interest of the United States to enter into a contest with Great Britain, every measure tending to any discussion or altercation must be prevented. The delicate situation of affairs may, therefore, render it improper at present to make any naval arrangement upon Lake Erie. After you shall have effected all the injury to the hostile Indians of which your force may be capable, and after having established the posts and garrisons at the Miami village and its communications, and placing the same under the orders of an officer worthy of such high trust, you will return to Fort Washington, on the Ohio."

Thus entrusted and commissioned, St. Clair proceeded with all possible celerity to execute instructions, reaching Pittsburg, where troops, horses and supplies were gathering, late in April; but the fulfillment of his mission and the designs of the government suffered unexpected delay. Arriving at Fort Washington, May 15th, he found himself stronger in "instructions" than in the means for carrying them into effect. He had only two hundred and sixty-four available non-commissioned officers and privates. July 15th, the first regiment of two hundred and ninety-nine men joined him, and General Butler's recruits added to his forces; but there was a deficiency of money, provisions and stores. Knapsacks, pack-saddles, tents, kettles, were defective, while damaged powder, arms, and accoutrements, and almost entire lack of tools to make the necessary repairs, contributed to the difficulties. Another source of anxiety arose, through the demoralization of the soldiers, in their intemperance, compelling St. Clair, as a reformatory measure, to remove the army to Ludlow's Station, some six miles from Fort Washington, which more than doubled the contracted cost of provision for the troops.

September 17th, the army, numbering two thousand three hundred, moved forward and erected, at a point on the Great Miami, the first in the line of forts, and named it Fort Hamilton. October 12th, Fort Jefferson was begun, forty miles distant (about six miles south of Greenville, Darke county.) From the 24th, the army marched through the wilderness, under the most discouraging circumstances of almost impassable roads, insufficient rations, sickness and desertion in great numbers, until November 3d, when

they reached a branch of the Wabash, a little south of the St. Mary's, for which St. Clair mistook the stream.

The details of the encampment here, and the disastrous defeat of November 4th, are extracted from the commanding general's letter to the Secretary of War, on his return to Fort Washington.

“The right wing, composed of Butler's, Clark's, and Patterson's battalions, commanded by Major General Butler, formed the first line; and the left wing, consisting of Bedinger's and Gaither's battalions, and the second regiment, commanded by Lieutenant Colonel Darke, formed the second line, with an interval between them of about seventy yards, which was all the ground would allow. The right flank was pretty well secured by the creek; a steep bank and Faulkner's corps, some of the cavalry, and their picquets, covered the left flank. The militia were thrown over the creek, and advanced about a quarter of a mile, and encamped in the same order. There were a few Indians who appeared on the opposite side of the creek, but fled with the utmost precipitation, on the advance of the militia. At this place, which I judged to be about fifteen miles from the Miami village, I determined to throw up a slight work, the plan of which was concerted that evening with Major Ferguson, wherein to have deposited the men's knapsacks, and everything else that was not of absolute necessity, and to have moved on to attack the enemy as soon as the first regiment was come up. But they did not permit me to execute either: for, on the 4th, about half an hour before sunrise, and when the men had just been dismissed from parade, (for it was a constant practice to have them all under arms a considerable time before daylight,) an attack was made upon the militia. These gave way in a very little time, and rushed into camp through Major Butler's battalion, (which, together with a part of Clark's, they threw into considerable disorder, and which, notwithstanding the exertions of both those officers, was never altogether remedied,) the Indians following close at their heels. The fire, however, of the front line checked them; but almost instantly a very heavy attack began upon that line; and in a few minutes it was extended to the second likewise. The great weight of it was directed against the center of each, where the artillery was placed, and from which the men were repeatedly driven with great slaughter. Finding no great effect from our fire, and confusion beginning to spread from the great number of men who were falling in all quarters, it became necessary to try what could

be done by the bayonet. Lieutenant Colonel Darke was accordingly ordered to make a charge with part of the second line, and to turn the left flank of the enemy. This was executed with great spirit. The Indians instantly gave way, and were driven back three or four hundred yards; but for want of a sufficient number of riflemen to pursue this advantage, they soon returned, and the troops were obliged to give back in their turn. At this moment they had entered our camp by the left flank, having pushed back the troops that were posted there. Another charge was made here by the second regiment, Butler's and Clark's battalions, with equal effect, and it was repeated several times, and always with success; but in all of them many men were lost, and particularly the officers, which, with so raw troops, was a loss altogether irremediable. In that I just spoke of, made by the second regiment and Butler's battalion, Major Butler was dangerously wounded, and every officer of the second regiment fell except three, one of which, Mr. Greaton, was shot through the body.

“Our artillery being now silenced, and all the officers killed except Captain Ford, who was very badly wounded, and more than half of the army fallen, being cut off from the road it became necessary to attempt the regaining it, and to make a retreat if possible. To this purpose the remains of the army was formed as well as circumstances would admit, towards the right of the encampment, from which, by the way of the second line, another charge was made upon the enemy, as if with the design to turn their right flank, but in fact to gain the road. This was effected, and as soon as it was open, the militia took along it, followed by the troops; Major Clarke, with his battalion, covering the rear.

“The retreat in those circumstances, was, you may be sure, a very precipitate one. It was, in fact, a flight. The camp and artillery were abandoned; but that was unavoidable; for not a horse was left alive to have drawn it off, had it otherwise been possible. But the most disgraceful part of the business is, that the greater part of the men threw away their arms and accoutrements, even after the pursuit, which continued about four miles, had ceased. I found the road strewed with them for many miles, but was not able to remedy it; for, having had all my horses killed, and being mounted upon one that could not be pricked out of a walk, could not get forward myself; and the orders I sent forward either to halt the front, or to prevent the men from parting with their arms, were

unattended to. The rout continued quite to Fort Jefferson, twenty-nine miles, which was reached a little after sun-setting. The action began about half an hour before sunrise, and the retreat was attempted at half an hour after nine o'clock. I have not yet been able to get returns of the killed and wounded; but Major General Butler, Lieutenant Colonel Oldham, of the militia, Major Ferguson, Major Hart, and Major Clarke are among the former; Colonel Sargeant, my Adjutant general, Lieutenant Colonel Darke, Lieutenant Colonel Gibson, Major Butler, and the Viscount Malartic, who served me as an Aid-de-camp, are among the latter; and a great number of captains and subalterns in both.

"I have now, sir, finished my melancholy tale - a tale that will be felt sensibly by every one who has sympathy for private distress, or for public misfortune. I have nothing, sir, to lay to the charge of the troops, but their want of discipline, which, from the short time they had been in service, it was impossible they should have acquired, and which rendered it very difficult, when they were thrown into confusion, to reduce them again to order, and is one reason why the loss has fallen so heavy on the officers, who did every thing in their power to effect it. Neither were my own exertions wanting; but, worn down with illness, and suffering under a painful disease, unable either to mount or dismount a horse without assistance, they were not so great as they otherwise would, and perhaps ought to have been. We were overpowered by numbers; but it is no more than justice to observe, that, though composed of so many different species of troops, the utmost harmony prevailed through the army during the campaign. At Fort Jefferson I found the first regiment, which had returned from the service they had been sent upon, without either overtaking the deserters, or meeting the convoy of provisions. I am not certain, sir, whether I ought to consider the absence of this regiment from the field of action, as fortunate or otherwise. I incline to think it was fortunate, for, I very much doubt whether, had it been in the action, the fortune of the day had been turned; and, if it had not, the triumph of the enemy would have been more complete, and the country would have been destitute of every means of defence. Taking a view of the situation of our broken troops at Fort Jefferson, and that there was no provision in the fort, I called upon the field officers, viz: Lieutenant Colonel Darke, Major Hamtramck, Major Zeigler and Major Gaither, together with the Adjutant General, (Winthrop Sargeant) for their advice what would

be proper further to be done; and it was their unanimous opinion, that the addition of the first regiment, unbroken as it was, did not put the army on so respectable a foot as it was in the morning, because a great part of it was now unarmed; that it had been then found unequal to the enemy, and should they come on, which was possible, would be found so again; that the troops could not be thrown into the fort, both because it was too small, and that there were no provisions in it; that provisions were known to be upon the road, at the distance of one, or at most, two marches: that therefore, it would be more proper to move without loss of time, to meet the provisions, when the men might the sooner have an opportunity of some refreshment, and that a proper detachment might be sent back with it to have it safely deposited in the fort. This advice was accepted and the army was put in motion at ten o'clock, and marched all night, and the succeeding day met a quantity of flour. Part of it was distributed immediately, part taken back to supply the army on the march to Fort Hamilton, and the remainder, about fifty horse loads, sent forward to Fort Jefferson. The next day a drove of cattle was met with for the some place, and I have information that both got in. The wounded, who had been left at that place, were ordered to be brought to Fort Washington by the return horses.

“I have said, sir, in a former part of this letter that we were overpowered by numbers. Of that, however, I have no other evidence but the weight of the fire, which was always a most deadly one, and generally delivered from the ground—few of the enemy showing themselves afoot except when they were charged; and that in a few minutes our whole camp, which extended above three hundred and fifty yards in length, was entirely surrounded and attacked on all quarters. The loss, sir, the public has sustained by the fall of so many officers, particularly General Butler, and Major Ferguson, cannot be too much regretted; but it is a circumstance that will alleviate the misfortune in some measure, that all of them fell most gallantly doing their duty. I have had very particular obligations to many of them, as well as to the survivors, but to none more than Colonel Sargent. He has discharged the various duties of his office with zeal, with exactness, and with intelligence, and on all occasions afforded me every assistance in his power, which I have also experienced from my Aid-de-camp, Lieutenant Denny, and the Viscount Malartie, who served with me in the station as a volunteer.”

General Knox assigned as reasons for St. Clair's defeat,—1st the deficiency of good troops; 2d, the want of appropriate training among those he had; 3d, the lateness of the season. The Committee of the House of Representatives appointed to investigate the matter, reported the causes: 1st, the delay in preparing estimates, &c., for the defence of the frontiers, and the late passage of the Act (March 3d) for that purpose; 2d, the delay caused by the neglects in the Quartermaster's department; 3d, the lateness of the season when the expedition was commenced; 4th, the want of discipline and experience in the troops; and especially exonerated General St. Clair from all blame in connection with the disaster. J. H. Perkins in his *Western Annals* calls attention to two causes of the defeat, unnoticed by the Secretary of War and the Committee of Congress; viz., the surprise by the Indians, who were in no degree expected by the army; and the confusion introduced at the outset by the flying militia. Had the attack been expected, the troops prepared, all chance of confusion avoided, and had the very able officers who commanded been obeyed,—with all the disadvantages of raw troops, the event might have been, probably would have been, wholly different. We are then led to ask, how it happened that the troops were surprised? Were proper measures taken to guard against surprise? The militia as St. Clair says, were a quarter of a mile in advance of the main army, and beyond the creek; still farther in advance, was Captain Slough, who, with a volunteer party of regulars, went out to reconnoitre; and orders had been given Colonel Oldham, who commanded the militia, to have the woods thoroughly examined by the scouts and patrols, as Indians were known to be swarming through the forests, and to be hanging about the outskirts of the army. In all this St. Clair seems to have done his entire duty as far as sickness would permit him; could he have seen in person to the essential steps it would have been better. During the night Captain Slough, who was a mile beyond the militia, found so large a body of savages gathered about him, that he fell back and reported his observations to General Butler. But the General, for reasons unexplained, made no dispositions in consequence of this information, and did not report it to the Commander-in-chief. Colonel Oldham also obeyed his orders, the woods were searched, and the presence of the enemy detected, but he too reported through Captain Slough, to General Butler, beyond whom the information did not go. The consequence was that in the morning the army was

taken unawares and unprepared. But even thus taken there was a great chance of victory for the United States troops, had they not been thrown into disorder at the outset by the flight of the militia; and this leads us to notice the coincidence of common-sense uninformed by technical knowledge, with practical military skill, for both (after Harmar's experience of 1790 with the western militia,) would have forbidden the step taken by St. Clair when he posted his militia in a body in front of the other troops. The experience of Hardin under Harmar, had demonstrated that militia could not be trusted as a military force opposed to Indians, however brave the individuals; as in the war of the Revolution their untrustworthiness as troops, when opposed to regulars, had been experimentally proved; and common sense, if free, unfettered by technical rules, would we think have prevented St. Clair placing his militia as he did. * *

* There was nothing, absolutely nothing to excuse the abuse and persecution to which he was afterwards subjected: but there was, 1st, apparent neglect on the part of General Butler and Colonel Oldham, leading to a surprise: 2d, a mistaken position assigned the militia by St. Clair, in accordance with the maxims of most officers of the day; and 3d, a needless adherence to military rules on the part of the Commander-in-chief, which made his force a target for the Indians to shoot at."

The final scenes in the melancholy drama of this gallant soldier's and accomplished gentleman's life, are noted under the "Sketch of the old Bench and Bar," in another chapter of this work.

The destructive expedition of Generals Scott and Wilkinson into the lower Wabash region during the summer of 1791, added to the efforts of General Harmar in 1790, had inspired the Northwestern Indians with the belief, stimulated by the British, that the government policy was to exterminate the race and seize their lands. This belief was now fully confirmed by the campaign of St. Clair. Inflamed with jealousy and hatred, and elated by the result of their last fierce victory, Indian depredations and barbarities threatened the terrified frontier settlers. The inhabitants proceeded to provide every possible means of defence, while the government adopted the earliest practicable measures for recruiting a military force adequate to the successful encounter of any possible combined Indian force, and sufficient for the establishment of the proposed military stronghold at the Miami villages.

After deliberately balancing the peculiar military qualifications necessary in such an expedition, and the abilities of General Wayne, Washington assigned him the command. In June, 1792, General Wayne proceeded to Pittsburg to organize his army; and in December, the "Legion of the United States" was assembled at Legionville, about twenty miles below Pittsburg. Here they encamped till April, 1793, when, passing down the Ohio, it landed at "Hobson's Choice," (the only point possible in consequence of high waters,) near Fort Washington, where, remaining until the 7th of October, the legion left Cincinnati. Below is given, with the editor's comments, a journal of the march, taken from Cist's Cincinnati Miscellany.

Aside from the freshness of this species of narration, written down on the spur of the moment, which, in the hands of an intelligent writer, is sure to interest, there are some points worthy of notice.

The first is, that distances are described by the "five-mile spring," "seventeen-mile," and "twenty-nine-mile tree," which serves to point out the little improvement which the Miami country at that period afforded, as way-marks on the march. But the letter is especially valuable, as a testimony from beginning to end of the untiring vigilance, and press-forward spirit of Anthony Wayne, which afforded a presage from the first day's march of his peculiar fitness for the hazardous and responsible service on which he was detached by government.

CAMP, SOUTHWEST BRANCH MIAMI, }
October, 22d, 1793. }

Dear Sir:—Agreeably to promise, I have seized the first opportunity of writing you, and to be methodical in the business, I shall give it to you by way of journal.

7th October.—Our first day's march was great, considering that the army had not got properly in their gears. I think it was about ten miles. Our second, the 8th, was greater—it reached Fort Hamilton. Many of the men were exceedingly fatigued, and it was pretty generally believed hard marching, though the General thought otherwise, and it must be so.

9th.—Our third day's march was to the five-mile spring, advance of Hamilton. Observe, we fortified our camp every night, and were very vigilant, or ought to be so.

10th.—Our fourth day's march we encamped about the seventeen-mile tree, and nothing extraordinary happened, excepting that our line of march, extended for near five miles, owing to the rapidity of the marching and the badness of the roads for our transportation, superadding the straggling soldiers, worn down with fatigue

and sickness, brought up by the rear guard, whom they retarded considerably.

11th.—We proceeded on to the twenty-nine-mile tree, fortified as usual, and occupied a fine commanding ground; and nothing of consequence happened here.

12th.—The roads were very bad, and some of our wagons broke down; but as the General's orders declared there should be no interstices, the line of march was not impeded, and we made, say ten miles this day.

13th.—We advanced by tolerably quick movements until we came within a mile or so of Fort Jefferson, and this day furnished a good deal of sport; for as the devil would have it, Colonel Hamtramck was maneuvering his troops, and had a sham fight, which was construed by the whole army, as an attack upon our advance guards or flankers. It really frightened a good many; but we all said, let them come; or, we are ready for them. We had marched hard this day, and I think not so well prepared. However, it was at length discovered to be a sham fight, and every body knew it then. Oh, it was Hamtramck's usual practice! said they. But it was all in my eye—they never thought of Hamtramck!

14th.—We marched past Fort Jefferson without even desiring to look at it; indeed, some of us turned our heads the other way with disdain; and it has been threatened (as report says) to be demolished entirely. This day's march brought us to where I am now sitting, writing to my friend. We fortified our encampment very strong, and feel very secure.

15th.—The wagons were sent back to Fort St. Clair for stores, provisions, etc., with an escort of two subaltern and between eighty and ninety men. And nothing happened extra this day.

16th.—The devil to pay; Colonel Blue, with near twenty of the cavalry, went out to graze the horses of the troops, and after some time Blue discovered something crawling in the grass, which he at first thought was turkeys, but immediately found them to be two Indians, and ordered a charge; himself, two sergeants, and a private charged, the rest ran away; the consequence was, the two Indians killed the two sergeants—Blue and the private escaped. The leader of the rascals who behaved so cowardly was immediately tried and condemned, but pardoned the next day.

17th.—Lt. Lowry, Ensign, formerly Dr. Boyd, with the escort of ninety men guarding the wagons, were attacked by a party of thirty or forty Indians, who rushed on with savage fury and yells, which panic struck the whole party, (excepting the two officers and fifteen or twenty men, who fell a sacrifice to savage barbarity,) and they all fled, and have been coming into Fort St. Clair by twos and threes ever since. The Indians plundered the wagons, and carried off with them sixty-four of the best wagon horses in the army, killing six horses at the wagons in the defeat. Mr. Hunt has been a considerable

loser: his wagon was plundered also. Colonel Adair pursued the Indians, and found several horses dead, which he supposed had been tired and they killed them, a proof that their flight was very rapid. In this attack we have lost two promising, worthy and brave officers, and about twenty men, mostly of Captain Shaylor's company: for his and Captain Prior's formed the escort, and are both now rather in disgrace.

We have been led to believe that this place would have been made the grand deposit, until this day: we now learn that there will be a *forward move* in the course of ten days, nine miles further into the Indian country, to a place called Still Water: the reason I can't surmise, but they say, they are very cogent ones. I have no business to pry, but if I should accidentally find it out, you shall be informed. In the meantime believe me to be very sincerely your friend,

JNO. M. SCOTT.

Late in October, General Wayne established his winter headquarters, about six miles north of Fort Jefferson, and there erected Fort Greenville, the present site of the town of that name in Darke county.

On Christmas day, 1793, a detachment re-occupied the ground which had been rendered memorable by the disastrous defeat of St. Clair, three years before, and there built a stockade work, which was significantly called Fort Recovery. During the progress of this work he offered a reward for every human skull found on the battle ground. Six hundred of these relics of carnage were collected and entombed beneath one of the block houses. Says one of the legion, "when we went to lay down in our tents at night, we had to scrape the bones together, and carry them out to make our beds." [See chapter on Mercer county.]

Providing an adequate garrison, General Wayne placed the fort in charge of Captain Alexander Gibson, and during the early months of 1794 actively engaged in preparations for the anticipated blow. He had already been admonished by incidents of the march, and the vigilance of his numerous spies, that an active, dexterous and powerful enemy were in the wilderness surrounding him.

The government, always anxious to avoid the carnage of war, had exhausted every means to obtain an amicable adjustment of the difficulties: although the fact that five different embassies were sent, offering most generous terms of peace to the hostile tribes, attests the sincerity of the expressed design on the part of the United States authorities to render full justice to the aborigines. But the Indian successes, with promised British and Spanish assistance,

rendered them insensible to pacific overtures,—all of which were more or less directly rejected, and three of the ambassadors,—Freemen, Trueman and Colonel Hardin—were murdered.

In June 1794, before the enemy had left winter quarters, a detachment which had acted as escort of provisions from Fort Recovery, fell into an ambush of Indians about a mile from the fort, and were driven back with great loss, the victors continuing the pursuit to the very gates, which they endeavored to enter with the fugitives.

The siege continued nearly two days, and from General Wayne's despatch we learn that "there was a considerable number of armed white men in the rear, who they frequently heard talk in our language, and encouraging the savages to persevere in the assault; their faces generally blacked." Adds General Wayne, "another strong corroborating fact that there were British, or British militia in the assault, is, that a number of ounce balls and buck shot were lodged in the block houses and stockades of the fort. It would also appear that the British and savages expected to find the artillery that was lost on the 4th of November 1791, and hid by the Indians in the beds of old fallen timber, or logs which they turned over and laid the cannon in, and then turned the logs back, in their former berth. It was in this artful manner that we found them generally deposited. The hostile Indians turned over a great number of logs, during the assault, in search of these cannon, and other plunder, which they had probably hid in this manner, after the action of November 4th, 1791. I therefore have reason to believe that the British and Indians depended much upon this artillery to assist in the reduction of the fort; fortunately they served in its defence."

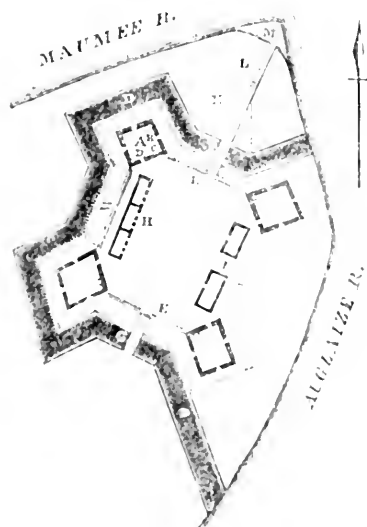
July 26th, Scott joined Wayne at Greenville with 1,600 mounted Kentuckians, and on the 28th, the legion took up the track of the Indians, who had left it obviously marked in their rear, either from the haste in which they made it, or, what is more probable, because they were desirous of luring the army still farther into the recesses of the wilderness.

He halted at Girty's town, at the crossing of the St. Mary's, twenty-four miles in advance of Greenville, a sufficient length of time to build Fort Adams, on the bank of that stream. He was enabled to complete his march unobserved, till he arrived almost in sight of Au Glaize, the great emporium of the enemy, of which he took possession on the 8th of August, without the loss of a single man.

On the preceding evening the enemy abandoned their settlements and villages, with such apparent marks of surprise and precipitation, as convinced everybody that the approach of the legion was not discovered until a few hours before its arrival, when the fact was communicated by Newman, who deserted from the army at St. Mary's.

It was manifest that the defection of that villain enabled the Indians to save their persons by a rapid flight; leaving all their property to fall into the hands of the Federal forces. The extensive and highly cultivated fields and gardens, which appeared on every side, exhibited the work of many hands. The margins of the beautiful rivers, Au Glaise and Miami, [of the Lake.] had the semblance of a continued village, for several miles above and below that junction.

The first duty of the General, after taking possession of the country, was to erect a strong stockade fort, with four block houses, by way of bastions, at the confluence of the rivers, which he named Fort Defiance.



Fort Defiance.

The ditch, G was a twelve foot wide drawbridge, which was raised and lowered by pulleys across the ditch, covered by a plank, being it uncovered by pivots. The officers' quarters were at H, and the magazines at I. At K, two lines of pickets converged towards L, which was a ditch eight feet deep, in which water was projected from the river without exposing the interior to the enemy. M was a small building in the center.

The annexed plan and description of Fort Defiance, is found in the memoranda of Benj. Van Cleve, communicated by his son, John W. Van Cleve, of Dayton, to the American Pioneer.

At each angle of the fort was a block-house. The one next the Maumee is marked A, having port-holes B, on the three exterior sides, and door D and chimney C on the side facing to the interior. There was a line of pickets on each side of the fort, connecting the block-houses by their nearest angles. Outside of the pickets and around the block houses was a glacis, a wall of earth eight feet thick, sloping upwards and outwards from the feet of the pickets, supported by a log wall on the side of the ditch and by timber and a wall of logs, on the side next the Au Glaize. The ditch, fifteen feet wide and eight feet deep surrounded the whole work except on the side toward the Au Glaize; and diagonal pickets, seven feet long and one foot apart, were secured to the log wall and projected over the ditch. E and F were gateways. F was a bank of earth, four feet wide, but for a passage across

It had been ascertained by the most recent intelligence, that the enemy were collected in great force—that they had been joined by the Detroit militia, and a portion of the regular army—and that they had selected, for the contest, an elevated plain, above the foot of the Rapids, on the left bank of the river, over which a tornado had recently passed, and covered the ground with fallen timber, by which it was rendered unfavorable for the action of cavalry. This information, unpleasant as it was, did not excite any serious apprehension, or in the least degree cool the spirit and ardor of the troops. On the contrary, among the officers and privates, both of the legion and the mounted volunteers, there was but one aspiration heard, and that was to meet the enemy.

Captain Wells, the wily, sagacious, and intrepid warrior of the woods, led his party within so short a distance of the British works, as to ascertain that the Indians were encamped under their protection. He took one or two prisoners, and made a bold, though unsuccessful attempt on a camp of warriors in the night, in which he was wounded. Soon after his return, the army moved slowly and cautiously down the left bank of the Maumee, (or “Miami of the Lake,” and sometimes “Omee,” as the river was then called.)

On the 13th of August, true to the spirit of peace, advised by Washington, General Wayne sent Christian Miller, who had been naturalized among the Shawaneese, as a special messenger to offer terms of friendship. Impatient of delay, he moved forward, and on the 16th, met Miller on his return with the message, that if the Americans would wait ten days at Grand Glaize (Fort Defiance,) they—the Indians—would decide for peace or war. On the 18th, the army arrived at *Roche de Boeuf*, just south of the site of Waterville, where they erected some light works as a place of deposit for their heavy baggage, which was named Fort Deposit. During the 19th, the army labored at their works, and about eight o'clock on the morning of the 20th, moved forward to attack the Indians, who were encamped at the fallen timbers, on the bank of the Maumee, at and around a hill called “Presque Isle,” about two miles south of the site of Maumee city, and four south of the British Fort Miami.

This British post had been occupied by a garrison sent from Detroit the previous spring. There could be no misapprehension of the motives which led to this occupation—taking place, as it did, eleven years after the country had been ceded to the United States; and at a time, too, when the angry and protracted negotiation of

several years relating to it, was supposed to be about terminating in an open rupture. The Indians were all decidedly in favor of the British.

With the jealousy natural to weakness, they were always prone to array themselves against the power which most directly pressed upon their destinies, and which they thought most likely to affect them injuriously. The British were fully aware of this feeling, which their agents were zealously active to excite and foster. They saw in it the means of crippling the growth of a young rival, who was stretching out into the West with giant strides, trampling down the forest, and introducing Christianity and civilization. The country had been ceded by a treaty still in force; but new negotiations were then in progress, under the influence of several disastrous defeats, and as the Indians demanded an independent dominion over the country in dispute, the British Government might expect that a surrender, so desirable to them, would at last be granted. A proposition of a similar character was made by the same government towards the close of the second war with Great Britain. The entire independence of the Indians occupying a wide belt on our north-western frontiers, was formally and seriously demanded, as one of the conditions of peace.

As long as the formidable coalition of tribes which General Wayne found in arms, should continue united and hostile, it was evident that the British pretensions and hopes would remain. It was, therefore, of great moment with General Wayne, and with his country, that his present steps should be taken with the utmost prudence. A new defeat, like that which had terminated almost every previous campaign, commencing with the colonial period, about the middle of the last century, would have proved not only destructive to his army, so far advanced in the wilderness, but probably decided the British to openly espouse the cause of the Indians. General Wayne, in the present case, could feel no assurance that this cause would not then be sustained by such co-operation as the fort and garrison could afford. Indeed, the position of the Indians, under the walls of the fort, rendered it probable that such a course had been determined on.

General Wayne had about three thousand men under his command, and the Indians are computed to have been equally numerous. This is not improbable, as the hostile league embraced the whole Northwestern frontier. As he approached the position of the enemy,

he sent forward a battalion of mounted riflemen, which was ordered, in case of an attack, to make a retreat in feigned confusion, in order to draw the Indians on more disadvantageous ground. As was anticipated, this advance soon met the enemy, and being fired on, fell back, and was warmly pursued towards the main body.

The morning was rainy, and the drums could not communicate the concerted signals with sufficient distinctness. A plan of turning the right flank of the Indians, was not, therefore, fulfilled. But the victory was complete, the whole Indian line, after a severe contest, giving way and flying in disorder. About one hundred savages were killed.

During the action, and subsequently, while General Wayne remained in the vicinity of the British, there did not appear to be any intercourse between the garrison and the savages. The gates were kept shut against them, and their rout and slaughter were witnessed from the walls with apparent unconcern, and without offering any interposition or assistance. After the battle, General Wayne devastated all the fields, and burnt all the dwellings around the fort, some of them immediately under the walls. The house of Colonel McKee, an Indian trader, who was supposed to have exercised great influence over the Indians, was reduced to ashes in the general conflagration.

"It is too important to omit," says Mr. Mann Butler, in his history of Kentucky, "that General Wayne had positive authority from President Washington to attack and demolish the British Fort of Miami. But on reconnoitering it closely, and discovering its strength, added to his own weakness in artillery, the General, with a prudence not always accorded him, most judiciously declined an attack."

In this daring reconnoitre, the General was near falling a victim to his gallantry. He had rode within eighty yards of the fort, accompanied by his aid, Lieutenant William H. Harrison, and within point blank shot of his guns, when a considerable disturbance was perceived on the platform of the parapet. The intelligence of a deserter the next day explained the whole affair. It appeared that a Captain of marines, who happened to be in the garrison when General Wayne made his approach, resented it so highly, that he immediately seized a port fire, and was going to apply it to the gun. At this moment, Major Campbell, the commandant, drew his sword and threatened to cut the Captain down instantly, if he did not desist.

He then ordered him to be arrested. This high-minded forbearance, in all probability, saved the life of General Wayne, with his suite, and possibly the peace of the United States. Major Campbell then opened the following correspondence :

MIAMI (MAUMEE) RIVER, August 21st, 1794.

Sir :—An army of the United States of America, said to be under your command, having taken post on the banks of the Miami (Maumee) for upwards of the last twenty-four hours, almost within the reach of the guns of this fort, being a post belonging to His Majesty the King of Great Britain, occupied by His Majesty's troops, and which I have the honor to command, it becomes my duty to inform myself, as speedily as possible, in what light I am to view your making such near approaches to this garrison. I have no hesitation, on my part, to say, that I know of no war existing between Great Britain and America.

I have the honor to be, sir, with great respect,

Your most obedient and very humble servant,

WILLIAM CAMPBELL,

Major 2d Reg't, Comd'g a British post on the banks of the Miami.

To Major General Wayne, etc.

CAMP, ON THE BANKS OF THE MIAMI, }
(MAUMEE.) August 21st, 1794. }

Sir :—I have received your letter of this date, requiring from me the motives which have moved the army under my command to the position they at present occupy, far within the acknowledged jurisdiction of the United States of America. Without questioning the authority, or the propriety, sir, of your interrogatory, I think I may, without breach of decorum, observe to you, that were you entitled to an answer, the most full and satisfactory one was announced to you from the muzzles of my small arms, yesterday morning, in the action against the horde of savages in the vicinity of your post, which terminated gloriously to the American arms; but, had it continued until the Indians, etc., were driven under the influence of the post and guns you mention, they would not have much impeded the progress of the victorious army under my command, as no such post was established at the commencement of the present war, between the Indians and the United States.

I have the honor to be, sir, with great respect,

Your most obedient and very humble servant,

ANTHONY WAYNE,

Major General, and Commander-in-Chief of the Federal Army.

To Major William Campbell, etc.

FORT MIAMI, August 22d, 1794.

Sir:—Although your letter of yesterday's date fully authorizes me to any act of hostility against the army of the United States in this neighborhood, under your command, yet, still anxious to prevent that dreadful decision which, perhaps, is not intended to be appealed to by either of our countries, I have forborne, for these two days past, to resent those insults you have offered to the British flag flying at this fort, by approaching it within pistol shot of my works, not only singly, but in numbers with arms in their hands. Neither is it my wish to wage war with individuals; but should you, after this, continue to approach my post in the threatening manner you are this moment doing, my indispensable duty to my King and country, and the honor of my profession, will oblige me to have recourse to those measures, which thousands of either nation may hereafter have cause to regret, and which I solemnly appeal to God, I have used my utmost endeavors to arrest.

I have the honor to be, sir, with much respect,

Your most obedient and very humble servant,

WILLIAM CAMPBELL,

Major 24th Reg't, Comd'g at Fort Miami.

To Major General Wayne, etc.

CAMP, BANKS OF THE MIAMI, 22d August, 1794.

Sir:—In your letter of the 21st instant, you declare: "I have no hesitation on my part, to say, that I know of no war existing between Great Britain and America." I, on my part, declare the same, and the only cause I have, to entertain a contrary idea at present, is the hostile act you are now in commission of, *i. e.*, by recently taking post far within the well known and acknowledged limits of the United States, and erecting a fortification in the heart of the settlements of the Indian tribes now at war with the United States. This, sir, appears to be an act of the highest aggression, and destructive to the peace and interest of the Union. Hence it becomes my duty to desire, and I do hereby desire and demand, in the name of the President of the United States, that you immediately desist from any further act of hostility or aggression, by forbearing to fortify, and by withdrawing the troops, artillery, and stores, under your orders and direction, forthwith, and removing to the nearest post occupied by his Britannic Majesty's troops at the peace of 1783, and which you will be permitted to do unmolested by the troops under my command.

I am, with very great respect, sir,

Your most obedient and very humble servant,

ANTHONY WAYNE,

To Major William Campbell, etc.

FORT MIAMI, 22d August, 1794.

Sir:—I have this moment to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of this date; in answer to which I have only to say, that being placed here in the command of a British post, and acting in a military capacity only, I cannot enter into any discussion either on the right or impropriety of my occupying my present position. These are matters that I conceive will be best left to the ambassadors of our different nations.

Having said this much, permit me to inform you that I certainly will not abandon this post at the summons of any power whatever, until I receive orders for that purpose from those I have the honor to serve under, or the fortune of war should oblige me. I must still adhere, *sir*, to the purport of my letter this morning, to desire that your army, or individuals belonging to it, will not approach within reach of my cannon, without expecting the consequences attending it.

Although I have said, in the former part of my letter, that my situation here is totally military, yet, let me add, *sir*, that I am much deceived, if His Majesty, the King of Great Britain, had not a post on this river, at and prior to the period you mention.

I have the honor to be, *sir*, with the greatest respect,

Your most obedient and very humble servant,

WILLIAM CAMPBELL,

Major 24th Reg't, Comd'g at Fort Miami.

To Major General Wayne, etc.

Before General Wayne retired from the Valley, his foresight suggested to him that the erection of a military post near the confluence of Swan creek with the Maumee river, would secure to his government more than all the advantages which could be derived by the possession of the British fort Miami. Under his orders, therefore, a stockade was built below the mouth of Swan creek, and placed in charge of Captain J. Rhea, who held it until after the evacuation of all the British posts in the Northwest, which occurred in pursuance of Jay's treaty. The remains of this fortification were examined by General John E. Hunt, in his early years, when they were in good condition and preservation: and they were not entirely obliterated as late as 1836, when Richard Mott made his first visit to Toledo. Samuel Andrews, now of the Toledo "Blade," and Charles A. Crane, now of East Toledo, and many others, have distinct recollections of this fort, which, in the natural features of

the country, occupied a prominent position on the bluff, on the site near the south side of Summit, between Jefferson and Monroe streets. That a conflict had occurred at Toledo during Wayne's visit to the Maumee, appears probable, from the fact that early settlers procured harvests of bullets on the ground above described, and also other antiquities in the vicinity of the Trinity Church building. In the work of grading the streets, human bones, and remains of garments, to which buttons were attached, were exhumed in considerable quantities; thus affording evidence that a sanguinary conflict had occurred on the plateau now in possession of the busy throng who have established a commercial empire at Toledo.

On the 27th, the troops took up their march, devastating every village and field on the line to Fort Defiance, which they proceeded to render more substantial. September 14th, the legion moved on to the Miami villages, where the long contemplated fort was constructed, and October 22d, 1794, placed under command of Lieutenant Colonel Hamtramck, who, after firing fifteen rounds of cannon, gave the name which the city now bears, of FORT WAYNE.

On the 28th of October, having fully achieved the objects of the campaign, General Wayne started on his return with the main body of the regulars, for Fort Greenville, where, in the following year, he rendered himself as conspicuous in statesmanship and diplomacy as in war, by a treaty which will be found in its proper place in this volume.

Although given the *sobriquet* of "Mad Anthony," he was as prudent as he was valorous; and if there had been reasonable hope of reducing the British Fort Miami, the attack would undoubtedly have been made. However, it became his happy privilege to take peaceful possession, by authority of President Washington, of this fort early in 1796, when the British Government surrendered the northern posts, including Fort Miami, (built in 1794, by the Canadian Governor Simcoe, at the foot of the Rapids of the Maumee,) in pursuance of the treaty negotiated by Chief Justice Jay, in 1793.

General Wayne's reception of this fort was one of his last official military acts, and occurred only a few months prior to his death, near Erie, Pennsylvania, where he was buried, until removed many years after, by his son, to the place of his nativity.

CAPTAIN WILLIAM WELLS.

As the name of this remarkable man is associated with some of the most prominent and thrilling events connected with the history of the Maumee Valley, and his descendants were well known to the pioneers of the country, a brief sketch of him contained in McBride's Pioneer Biography, is here given:

* Of Captain William Wells' birth and parentage, we have no record. He was captured at the age of twelve years, when he was an inmate of the family of Hon. Nathaniel Pope, in Kentucky, by the Miami tribe, and going through the formal adoption, lived to manhood among them. His Indian name was Black Snake. He became quite an influential man among them, and married a sister of the celebrated chief, Little Turtle. He fought by the side of his chief in the contests with General Harmar and St. Clair. Afterward, in times of calm reflection, with dim memories still of his childhood home, of brothers and playmates, he seems to have been harassed with the thought that among the slain, by his own hand, may have been his kindred. The approach of Wayne's army, in 1794, stirred anew conflicting emotions, based upon indistinct recollections of early ties, of country and kindred on the one hand, and existing attachments of wife and children on the other. He resolved to make his history known. With true Indian characteristics, the secret purpose of leaving his adopted nation was, according to reliable tradition, made known in this manner: Taking with him the war-chief, Little Turtle, to a favorite spot on the banks of the Maumee, Wells said: 'I leave now your nation for my own people. We have long been friends. We are friends yet, until the sun reaches a certain hight (which he indicated). From that time we are enemies. Then, if you wish to kill me, you may. If I want to kill you, I may.' At the appointed hour, crossing the river, Captain Wells disappeared in the forest, taking an easterly direction to strike the trail of Wayne's army. Obtaining an interview with General Wayne, he became ever afterward the faithful friend of the Americans.—*Hon. J. L. Williams' Historical Sketch of the First Presbyterian Church of Fort Wayne*, p. 17.

* He was made captain of the spies connected with Wayne's army. His adventures in that capacity are sufficiently detailed by Mr. McBride. After the treaty of Greenville, and the establishment of peace, he was joined by his wife and family, and settled at the 'old orchard,' a short distance from the confluence of the St. Mary and St. Joseph, on the banks of a small stream there, afterward called 'Spy Run,' and which still bears that name. The government subsequently granted him a pre-emption of some three hundred and twenty acres of land, including his improvement, the old orchard, etc. Wells afterward also became, by appointment of the govern-

ment, Indian agent here (Fort Wayne), in which capacity he served several years.'—*Brice's History of Fort Wayne*, p. 148.

"Captain Wells, by his first wife, had three daughters and one son. The daughters were Mrs. Judge Wolcott, of Maumee City, Mrs. Turner and Mrs. Hackley, of Fort Wayne. Mr. Williams says of them: 'Of the first members of this church, two were half Indians, who had before, in 1820, joined the Baptist Church under the labors of Rev. Mr. McCoy, missionary to the Indians at this post. . . . They were educated in Kentucky, and are yet kindly remembered by some in this church and community, as ladies of refinement and intelligent piety.'—p. 16, 17. The son, Wayne Wells, died when a young man, while crossing Lake Erie, in 1823. Captain Wells afterward married another sister of Little Turtle. They had one daughter, Jane, who married a son of an old Fort Wayne pioneer, Matthew Griggs, and settled at Peru, Indiana.

"In the war of 1812, Captain Wells was in command at Fort Wayne. When he heard of General Hull's orders for the evacuation of Fort Dearborn, he made a rapid march to reinforce Captain Heald, and to 'assist in defending the fort, or prevent his exposure to certain destruction by an attempt to reach the head of the Maumee. But he was too late. All means for maintaining a siege had been destroyed a few hours before, and every preparation had been made for leaving the post next day.' On the morning of the 15th of August, the little company, with Captain Wells and his Miamis, evacuated the fort and moved along the shore till they came to Sand Hills, when they were attacked by five hundred 'treacherous and cowardly Pottawatomes.' 'The conflict was short, desperate, and bloody. Two-thirds of the white people were slain or wounded, and all the horses, provisions, and baggage lost. Only twenty-eight strong men remained to brave the fury of about five hundred Indians, who had lost but fifteen in the conflict.' 'Captain Wells displayed the greatest coolness and gallantry. He was by the side of his niece (Mrs. Captain Heald), when the conflict began. 'We have not the slightest chance for life,' he said, 'we must part to meet no more in this world—God bless you.' With these words he dashed forward with the rest. In the midst of the fight, he saw a young warrior painted like a demon climb into a wagon in which were twelve children of the white people, and tomahawked them all! Forgetting his own immediate danger, Wells exclaimed: 'If that is their game, butchering women and children, I'll kill too.' He instantly dashed toward the Indian camp, where they had left their squaws and little ones, hotly pursued by swift-footed young warriors, who sent many a rifle ball after him. He lay close to his horse's neck, and turned and fired occasionally upon his pursuers. When he had got almost beyond the range of their rifles, a ball killed his horse and wounded himself severely in the leg. The young savages rushed forward with a demoniac yell to make

him a prisoner, and reserve him for torture, for he was to them an arch offender. His friends, Win-ne-meg and Wan-ban-see, vainly attempted to save him from his fate. He knew the temper and practices of the savages well, and resolved not to be made a captive. He taunted them with the most insulting epithets to provoke them to kill him instantly. At length he called one of the fiery young warriors Per-so-tum (a *squaw*), which so enraged him that he killed Wells instantly with his tomahawk, jumped upon his body, cut out his heart, and ate a portion of the warm and half-palpitating morsel, with savage delight."—*Lossing's Field Book of the War of 1812*, p. 309.

In a sketch in the same volume, contributed by Mr. McDonald, the following is extracted:

"General Wayne had a bold, vigilant, and dexterous enemy to contend with. It became indispensable for him to use the utmost caution in his movements, to guard against surprise. To secure his army against the possibility of being ambuscaded, he employed a number of the best woodsmen the frontier afforded, to act as spies or rangers. Captain Ephraim Kibby, one of the first settlers at Columbia, eight miles above Cincinnati, who had distinguished himself as a bold and intrepid soldier, in defending that infant settlement, commanded the principal part of the spies. The writer of this article, and his brother Thomas, were attached to Captain Kibby's company of rangers. This will account for the author's intimate knowledge of the subject of which he is giving a relation. A very effective division of the spies was commanded by Captain William Wells.

"Captain Wells had been taken prisoner by the Indians when quite a youth; he grew to manhood with them, and consequently was well acquainted with all their wiles and stratagems. From causes not now remembered, about eighteen months previous to the time of which I am writing, he left the Indians and returned to his relatives and friends in civilized life.

"Being raised by the Indians, well acquainted with the country which was about to be the theater of action, talking several of their languages fluently, and, withal, desperately brave, such a soldier was a real, effective acquisition to the army. Captain Wells was the same gentleman named by the Rev. O. M. Spencer, in the narrative of his capture by the Indians, and release from captivity. It was to Captain Wells that Mr. Spencer was primarily indebted for his liberty. (*See Spencer's Narrative*, page 105.) I am particular in describing this corps of the army, as they performed more real service than any other.

"Attached to Captain Wells' command were the following men: Robert McClellan (whos name has been since immortalized by the graphic pen of Washington Irving, in his "*Astoria*") was one of the most athletic and active men on foot that has appeared on this

globe. On the grand parade at Fort Greenville, where the ground was very little inclined, to show his activity, he leaped over a road-wagon with the cover stretched over; the wagon and bows were eight and a half feet high. Next was Henry Miller. He and a younger brother named Christopher had been made captives by the Indians when young, and adopted into an Indian family. Henry Miller lived with them till he was about twenty-four years of age; and, although he had adopted all their manners and customs, he, at that age, began to think of returning to his relatives among the whites. The longer he reflected on the subject the stronger his resolution grew to make an attempt to leave the Indians. He communicated his intention to his brother Christopher, and used every reason he was capable of, to induce his brother to accompany him in his flight. All his arguments were ineffectual. Christopher was young when made captive—he was now a good hunter, an expert woodsman, and, in the full sense of the word, a free and independent Indian. Henry Miller set off alone through the woods, and arrived safe among his friends in Kentucky. Captain Wells was well acquainted with Miller during his captivity, and knew that he possessed that firm intrepidity which would render him a valuable companion in time of need. To these were added a Mr. Hickman and Mr. Thorp, who were men of tried worth in Indian warfare.

“ Captain Wells and his four companions were confidential and privileged gentlemen in camp, who were only called upon to do duty upon very particular and interesting occasions. They were permitted a *carte blanche* among the horses of the dragoons, and when upon duty went well mounted; whilst the spies commanded by Captain Kibby went on foot, and were kept constantly on the alert, scouring the country in every direction.

“ The headquarters of the army being at Fort Greenville, in the month of June, 1794, General Wayne despatched Captain Wells and his company, with orders to bring into camp an Indian as a prisoner, in order that he could interrogate him as to the future intentions of the enemy. Captain Wells proceeded with cautious steps through the Indian country. He crossed the river St. Mary, and thence to the river Auglaize, without meeting any straggling party of Indians. In passing up the Auglaize they discovered a smoke; they then dismounted, tied their horses, and proceeded cautiously to reconnoiter the enemy. They found three Indians camped on a high, open piece of ground, clear of brush or any underwood. As it was open woods, they found it would be difficult to approach the camp without being discovered. Whilst they were reconnoitering, they saw not very distant from the camp, a tree which had lately fallen. They returned and went round the camp so as to get the top of the fallen tree between them and the Indians. The tree-top being full of leaves would serve as a shelter to screen them from observation. They went forward upon their hands and

knees, with the noiseless movements of the cat, till they reached the tree-top. They were now within seventy or eighty yards of the camp. The Indians were sitting or standing about the fire, roasting their venison, laughing and making other merry antics, little dreaming that death was about stealing a march upon them. Arrived at the fallen tree their purpose of attack was soon settled; they determined to kill two of the enemy and make the third prisoner. McClellan, who, it will be remembered, was almost as swift on foot as a deer of the forest, was to catch the Indian, whilst to Wells and Miller was confided the duty of shooting the other two. One of them was to shoot the one on the right, the other the one on the left. Their rifles were in prime order, the muzzles of their guns were placed on the log of the fallen tree, the sights were aimed for the Indians' hearts—whiz went the balls, and both Indians fell. Before the smoke of the burnt powder had risen six feet, McClellan was running at full stretch, with tomahawk in hand, for the Indian. The Indian bounded off at the top of his speed, and made down the river; but by continuing in that direction he discovered that McClellan would head him. He turned his course and made for the river. The river here had a bluff bank about twenty feet high. When he came to the bank he sprang down into the river, the bottom of which was a soft mud, into which he sunk to the middle. While he was endeavoring to extricate himself out of the mud, McClellan came to the top of the high bank, and, without hesitation, sprang upon him as he was wallowing in the mire. The Indian drew his knife—McClellan raised his tomahawk—told him to throw down his knife, or he would kill him instantly. He threw down his knife, and surrendered without any further effort at resistance.

By the time the scuffle had ceased in the mire, Wells and his companions came to the bank, and discovered McClellan and the Indian quietly sticking in the mire. As their prisoner was now secure, they did not think it prudent to take the fearful leap the others had done. They selected a place where the bank was less precipitous, went down and dragged the captive out of the mud and tied him. He was very sulky, and refused to speak either Indian or English. Some of the party went back for their horses, whilst others washed the mud and paint from the prisoner. When washed he turned out to be a white man, but still refused to speak or give any account of himself. The party scalped the two Indians whom they had shot, and then set off with their prisoner for headquarters. Whilst on their return to Fort Greenville, Henry Miller began to admit the idea that it was possible their prisoner was his brother Christopher, whom he had left with the Indians some years previous. Under this impression he rode alongside of him and called him by his Indian name. At the sound of his name he started, and stared round, and eagerly inquired how he came to know his name. The mystery was soon explained—their prisoner was indeed Chris-

topher Miller ! A mysterious providence appears to have placed Christopher Miller in a situation in the camp by which his life was preserved. Had he been standing on the right or left he would inevitably have been killed. But that fate which appears to have doomed the Indian race to extinction permitted the white man to live, whilst the Indians were permitted to meet the 'fate they can not shun.'

" Captain Wells arrived safely with their prisoner at Fort Greenville. He was placed in the guard house, where General Wayne frequently interrogated him as to what he knew of the future intentions of the Indians. Captain Wells and Henry Miller were almost constantly with Christopher in the guard house, urging him to leave off the thought of living longer with the Indians, and to join his relatives among the whites. Christopher, for some time, was reserved and sulky, but at length became more cheerful, and agreed, if they would release him from confinement, that he would remain with the whites. Captain Wells and Henry Miller solicited General Wayne for Christopher's liberty. General Wayne could scarcely deny such pleaders any request they could make, and, without hesitation, ordered Christopher Miller to be set at liberty, remarking that should he deceive them and return to the enemy, they would be but one stronger. Christopher was set at liberty, and appeared pleased with his change of situation. He was mounted on a fine horse, and otherwise well equipped for war. He joined the company with Captain Wells and his brother, and fought bravely against the Indians during the continuance of the war. He was true to his word, and upon every occasion proved himself an intrepid and daring soldier.

" As soon as Captain Wells and company had rested themselves and recruited their horses, they were anxious for another *bout* with the red men. Time, without action, was irksome to such stirring spirits. Early in July, they left Greenville; their company was then strengthened by the addition of Christopher; their orders were to bring in prisoners. They pushed through the country, always dressed and painted in Indian style; they passed on, crossing the river St. Mary, and then through the country near to the river Anglaize, where they met a single Indian, and called to him to surrender. This man, notwithstanding that the whites were six against one, refused to surrender. He leveled his rifle, and, as the whites were approaching him on horseback, he fired, but missed his mark, and then took to his heels to effect his escape. The undergrowth of brush was so very thick that he gained upon his pursuers. McClellan and Christopher Miller dismounted, and McClellan soon overhauled him. The Indian, finding himself overtaken by his pursuers, turned round and made a blow at McClellan with his rifle, which was parried. As McClellan's intention was not to kill, he kept him at bay till Christopher Miller came up, when they closed in upon him and made him prisoner without

receiving any injury. They turned about for headquarters, and arrived safely at Fort Greenville. Their prisoner was reputed to be a Pottawotamie chief, whose courage and prowess were scarcely equalled. As Christopher Miller had performed his part on this occasion to the entire satisfaction of the brave spirits with whom he acted, he had, as he merited, their entire confidence.

"On one of Captain Wells' peregrinations through the Indian country, as he came to the bank of the river St. Mary, he discovered a family of Indians coming up the river in a canoe. He dismounted, and concealed his men near the bank of the river, whilst he went himself to the bank, in open view, and called to the Indians to come over. As he was dressed in Indian style, and spoke to them in their own language, the Indians, not expecting an enemy in that part of the country, without any suspicion of danger, went across the river. The moment the canoe struck the shore, Wells heard the cocks of his comrades' rifles cry, 'nick, nick,' as they prepared to shoot the Indians; but who should be in the canoe but his Indian father and mother, with their children! As his comrades were coming forward with their rifles cocked, ready to pour in the deadly storm upon the devoted Indians, Wells called to them to hold their hands and desist. He then informed them who those Indians were, and solemnly declared, that the man who would attempt to injure one of them, would receive a ball in his head. He said to his men, that that family had fed him when he was hungry, clothed him when he was naked, and kindly nursed him when sick; and in every respect were as kind and affectionate to him as they were to their own children."

"Those hardy soldiers approved of the motives of Captain Wells' lenity to the enemy. They threw down their rifles and tomahaws, went to the canoe, and shook hands with the trembling Indians in the most friendly manner. Captain Wells assured them they had nothing to fear from him; and after talking with them to dispel their fears, he said, that General Wayne was approaching with an overwhelming force; that the best thing the Indians could do was to make peace; that the white men did not wish to continue the war. He urged his Indian father for the future to keep out of the reach of danger. He then bade them farewell; they appeared grateful for his clemency. They then pushed off their canoe, and went down the river as fast as they could propel her.

"Captain Wells and his comrades, though perfect desperadoes in fight, upon this occasion proved they largely possessed that real gratitude and benevolence of heart, which does honor to human kind.

"Early in the month of August, when the main army had arrived at the place subsequently designated as Fort Defiance, General Wayne wished to be informed of the intentions of the enemy. For this purpose, Captain Wells was again despatched to bring in another prisoner. The distance from Fort Defiance to the British

fort, near the mouth of the Maumee river, was only forty-five miles, and he would not have to travel far before he would find Indians. As his object was to bring in a prisoner, it became necessary for him to keep out of the way of large parties, and endeavor to fall in with some stragglers, who might be easily subdued and captured.

“They went cautiously down the river Maumee, till they came opposite the site on which Fort Meigs was erected by General Harrison, in 1813. This was two miles above the British fort, then called Fort Campbell. On the west bank of the Maumee was an Indian village. Wells and his party rode into the village, as if they had just come from the British fort. Being dressed and painted in complete Indian style, they rode through the village, occasionally stopping and talking to the Indians in their own language. No suspicion of who they were was excited, the enemy believing them to be Indians from a distance, coming to take a part in the battle which they all knew was shortly to be fought. After they had passed the village some distance, they fell in with an Indian man and woman on horseback, who were returning to the town from hunting. This man and woman were made captives without resistance. They then set off for Fort Defiance.

“As they were rapidly proceeding up the Maumee river, a little after dark, they came near a large encampment of Indians, who were merrily amusing themselves around their camp-fires. Their prisoners were ordered to be silent, under pain of instant death. They went round the camp with their prisoners, till they got about half a mile above it, where they halted to consult on their future operations. After consultation, they concluded to gag and tie their prisoners, and ride back to the Indian camp, and give them a rally, in which each should kill his Indian. They deliberately got down, gagged and fastened their prisoners to trees, rode boldly into the Indian encampment, and halted, with their rifles lying across the pummels of their saddles. They inquired when last they had heard of General Wayne, and the movements of his army: how soon, and where it was expected the battle would be fought. The Indians who were standing around Wells and his desperadoes, were very communicative, answering all their interrogatories without suspecting any deceit in their visitors. At length, an Indian, who was sitting some distance from them, said, in an undertone, in another tongue, to some who were near him, that he suspected that these strangers had some mischief in their heads. Wells overheard what he said, and immediately gave the preconcerted signal, and each fired his rifle into the body of an Indian, at not more than six feet distance. The Indian who had suspected them, the moment he made the remark, and a number of others, rose up with their rifles in their hands, but not before Wells and his party had each shot an Indian. As soon as Wells and his party fired, they put spurs to their horses, laying with their breasts on the horses' necks, so as to lessen the mark for the enemy to fire at. They had not got out of

the light of the camp-fire, before the Indians shot at them. As McClellan lay close on his horse's neck, he was shot, the ball passing under his shoulder-blade, and coming out at the top of his shoulder. Captain Wells was shot through the arm on which he carried his rifle: the arm was broken, and his trusty rifle fell.

After having performed this act of military supererogation, they rode at full speed to where their captives were confined, mounted them on horses, and set off for Fort Defiance. Captain Wells and McClellan were severely wounded; and to Fort Defiance, a distance of about thirty miles, they had to travel, before they could rest or receive the aid of a surgeon. As their march would be slow and painful, one of the party was dispatched at full speed to Fort Defiance for a guard and a surgeon. As soon as Captain Wells' messenger arrived at Fort Defiance, with the tidings of the wounds and perilous situation of those heroic and faithful spies, very great sympathy was manifested in the minds of all. General Wayne's feeling for the suffering soldier was at all times quick and sensitive; we can then imagine how intense was his solicitude, when informed of the sufferings and perils of his confidential and chosen band. Without a moment's delay, he dispatched a surgeon, and a company of the swiftest dragoons, to meet, assist, and guard these brave fellows to headquarters. Suffice it to say, they arrived safely in camp, and the wounded recovered in due course of time.

“As the battle was fought, and a brilliant victory won, a few days after this affair took place, Captain Wells and his daring comrades, were not engaged in any further acts of hostility, till the war with the Indians was auspiciously concluded by a lasting treaty of peace.”

From the *Connecticut Evangelical Magazine*, published at Hartford, the following extracts from a report made to the Trustees of the *Missionary Society of Connecticut*, by Rev. David Bacon, is reproduced here, in order to exhibit the religious and moral condition of the race which then maintained dominion in the Maunee Valley:

“The 29th of April, 1802, sat out for the Miami in a canoe with Beaumont and the man that I had hired; but by reason of unfavorable winds, we did not arrive at the mouth of the river until the 4th of May. We were much fatigued with hard rowing, and were several times in danger by the violence of the waves, but God was better to us than our fears. I was obliged to go without the public interpreter, as he could not be spared. I started, however, with hopes of obtaining his brother, who, as I was told, lived but a few miles out of my way. But after traveling till late in the night to see him, with limbs that were wearied with the fatigues of the day, I was disappointed of him, also. But when I came to the Miami, I learned the reason of these disappointments; for there I found an

excellent interpreter, in whom the Indians place the utmost confidence, and who served me faithfully for a much less sum than what either of the others would have asked. His name is William Dragoo. He appears to be a very worthy man, considering the advantages he has enjoyed—was taken prisoner on the Monongahela, when he was ten years of age, and adopted into the head family of the nation, and is considered a chief.

“When I arrived at the mouth of the river, the most of the chiefs were drunk at the traders above. After remaining there two days, and finding it uncertain when they would be down, we went up and stored my provisions and farming tools at Fort Miami, eighteen miles above. Hearing there that the most of them had gone down, we returned the next day to the mouth. The day after I found that Little Otter, the head chief, and one other, were all that were in the main village where we were, and that the rest all lay drunk in the neighboring villages. In the afternoon, I spent several hours with these two, in explaining to them the origin and designs of the Missionary Society, and the benefits, temporal and spiritual, that they might expect to receive from having me among them. They appeared to pay good attention, and when I had concluded, Little Otter observed in reply, that the Great Spirit had been listening, and that they and their young men had been listening to all I had said; that he believed it was true; that the air appeared clear and no clouds in the way, and that he would assemble his chiefs and hear me again as soon as possible; but that till then, he could give me no further answer.

“This was Saturday, the 8th. Through the Sabbath following, we enjoyed peace and quietness in the midst of them. Hitherto, the most of them had remained sober. But the following night we were disturbed by the rattles and drums of a number of individuals who spent the night in conjuring over a poor sick child in order to save its life; but it died within a day or two after. Near morning, they began to drink, and by eight o'clock, several got to fighting. But at the request of the sober Indians, who chose not to interfere, we parted them; and after some time, made out to pacify them, though one of them was so far enraged as to attempt to murder his antagonist. As soon as this disturbance had subsided, I called on Little Otter, who informed me that he should not be able to collect his chiefs that day, as we had expected, as most of them were still drunk; but added, that they would be sober the next day, as they were preparing to have a dance the Tuesday night following, and that if it was possible, he would assemble them in season to attend to my business first, though he thought it doubtful whether they would be able to give me a hearing till after the dance.

“The next day he called upon me and informed me that they would not be collected in season, and observed that as I was sent there by the Great Spirit, and my business was important, it would not do to have it hurried; and that as it was necessary to have

them all sober before we entered on the business, he wished me to wait three days, as they would not be prepared sooner, and as I might expect by that time to find them wise, and ready to attend to me. As there were sick people who needed my charity, and as others were constantly begging from me, I had then disposed of all my provisions, and found it necessary to go up to the fort for more. When I arrived at my interpreter's, which was one mile above, I found there the head chief of Rushdaboo, who is very troublesome when in liquor. I perceived that he was intoxicated, and soon discovered by his gestures, and the tone of his voice, while talking with another Indian, that he had something against me. Within a few minutes he accosted me in an angry manner, told me that he had heard bad news—that he had been informed that the white people were a going to collect all the Indians together, and then fall upon them and kill them; and that he believed that I had come upon that business. But I soon convinced him, by means of my interpreter, that I had neither ability nor inclination to destroy them; and that I had come among them to be one of their people, and to do them all the good that was in my power. He then gave me his hand and told me he would be my friend; but begged that I would lend him a dollar to get some whiskey. But I put him off by telling him that I had been so long from home, that I had spent the most of my money, and that if I had to remain there much longer I did not know but I should have to call on him for assistance. But before we parted, he kissed me more times than I could have wished; and hugged me till he obliged me to return the compliment.

As we had a strong head wind, it was with difficulty that we got but five miles up the river that afternoon. We encamped about a quarter of a mile above their dancing ground. My interpreter advised me to go with him to see them that evening; and I had a desire to be present, as I supposed that I might acquire some information that might be useful; but I thought it would not be prudent to be among them that night, as I knew that some of them were intoxicated, and that such would be apt to be jealous of me at that time; and that nothing would be too absurd for their imaginations to conceive, or too cruel for their hands to perform. But as a son of the head chief was sent early next morning to invite me down, I went to see them. I had the greater desire to go, as this is their annual conjuration-dance, which is celebrated every spring, on their return from hunting, and at no other time in the year. No one is suffered to take a part in it who has not served an apprenticeship, and been regularly admitted. Their number used to be but small, and consisted of men only; but is now very great, and consists of men and women, and children that are above the age of twelve or fifteen. It appears to be a very growing evil among them of late; and is as much of a secret as Free Masonry. My interpreter, who has been bred up with them from a child, told me, that he knew nothing about it, as he had not thought fit to join them. Satan has not

been ignorant of what has been doing of late for the spread of the gospel among them; and I believe that this and spirituous liquor are the principal engines which he is employing against it. And I doubt not but he is flattering himself with hopes of success; and certainly appearances seem to be in his favor. Mr. Anderson, a respectable trader at Fort Miami, told me that they had been growing worse and worse every year since he had been acquainted with them, which is six or seven years; and that they have gone much greater lengths this year than he has ever known them before. He assured me that it was a fact, that they had lain drunk this spring, as much as ten or fifteen days, at several different traders above him; and that some of them had gone fifteen days without tasting a mouthful of victuals while they were in that situation. Mr. Anderson disapproves of the practice; and by not complying with it, has lost the trade, and has turned his attention to his farm. He treated me very kindly, and seemed friendly to my designs, and very desirous to have me come out there.

“The leaders of the dance I have mentioned, may be called conjurers or doctors. They are never without large bags of medicine, and their conjuring apparatus; and are supposed, by the Indians, to possess great skill in medicine, and great power in bewitching. Sickness and ill-success in hunting are commonly ascribed to their agency. It is believed that they are able to poison or bewitch people at any distance; or to afford relief to those who are poisoned or bewitched; which they suppose to be the difficulty with the most who are sick. And if any die without applying to one of these men, their death is usually attributed to this cause. It is supposed, likewise, that they are able to heal the sick, where the Great Spirit does not interfere. In short, life and death, in most instances, are considered to be at their disposal. In cases of extreme illness, they often send great distances for the most noted, and give them whatever they ask, that is at their disposal, which is commonly a large sum, besides storing them with a plenty of provisions, especially with liquor. It is not uncommon for one of this description to require a horse, saddle and bridle before he will undertake to effect the cure. And if he does not succeed in the attempt, in order to give satisfaction, has only to report the Great Spirit killed him. Their pupils, before they can be admitted into their dance, are required to encamp one winter at least near one of their order, for the purpose of receiving their education. Then, when they carry their preceptor a supply of the best provisions they can procure, he will condescend to instruct them in medicine, and learn them the songs and dances that are peculiar to themselves. And at the time they are admitted into the dance, they have to give each of the conjurers a blanket or shirt, or something equivalent. The Indians frequently have other dances, in which any one is allowed to take a part; but no one is admitted into this upon cheaper terms. Then, after serving a number of years in this way,

if there is not likely to be too many of their order, they will instruct them in the black art, and receive them into their number, for about one hundred dollars. But this revenue arising from their disciples is not all: No one dares refuse them a share of any thing they have, if they do but ask for it. They are not chiefs, and have nothing to say in public councils; but they are superior to chiefs. The most of the chiefs have some little respect paid to them by the common people, and they may do something by advice and persuasion; but they have no authority or power to enforce their commands; and they receive no emoluments; and commonly suffer as much from indigence as any in the nation. With few exceptions, the only honor put upon them, that is worth mentioning, is, that they are allowed to transact national affairs, and their voice allowed to be decisive in councils. But in all their decisions, they must take care that they do not offend their conjurers; as they stand in as slavish fear of them as any of the common people. So that these vile imposters are, in fact, the lords and governors of the nation. These are a set of enemies that I was not aware of. I obtained the chief of my information respecting them from Mr. Anderson and my interpreter, at the Miami, whose testimony I am warranted to rely on. It has likewise been confirmed to me by others.

“I think it is not reasonable to suppose that the chiefs will be generally disposed to be friendly to the preaching of the gospel among them, when they come to find that it is addressed to them as well as others; as those who pride themselves in being the first in the nation, and the most fit to give instructions, will doubtless be the last to receive them. But if I mistake not, the conjurers will be much the most bitter, active and successful opposers; for if they have but half an eye, they will perceive at once that their craft is in danger. Surely, no Missionary, who views things as I do, will ever encounter and withstand the united influence of these enemies of all righteousness, and the overbearing influence of spirituous liquor, without a firm and steadfast faith in Him, who has subdued principalities and powers, and is able to subdue all things to himself. God grant that I may soon experience those unknown degrees of grace which are necessary to fit me for the arduous conflict.

“I have conversed with traders and interpreters from most of the different nations in this country, and from what I can learn, there are none but what acknowledge that there is a Great and Good Spirit, who has made all things; and that there is a bad spirit. But what seems remarkable is, that most, if not all their prayers and sacrifices are offered to the bad spirit. The reason they assign for it is, that the good Spirit will not hurt them; and that the bad spirit will, if they do not make use of these to pacify him. It seems that they are literally, worshipers of devils; and I have no doubt but they receive special assistance from them. According to report, the exploits of the conjurers in their dances, could not be performed without the evil agency of invisible beings. However

some may sneer at the idea, I think that it is not unscriptural; and they cannot be rationally accounted for in any other way. These exploits are performed only in the night. What they are, I shall not undertake to say, as I was not present to see them. While I was there, the chief of their time was taken up in conjuring over their medicine, and in rattling and drumming, singing and dancing. Each of these dancers had skins of fur-animals filled with pulverized medicine, which they would puff into each other's faces as they were dancing. This had very different effects on different persons. My interpreter informed me that, when it first strikes the face of the newly received members, they fall down motionless, and remain for ten or fifteen minutes with scarce any signs of life. As they were admitted at the beginning of the dance, I was not witness to this myself; but when I came there they looked like death, and would fall as soon as it reached them, unless held up; but they would commonly rise again within the space of one or two minutes. On the old ones, who were most experienced, it appeared to have much less effect. They did not fall; but they conducted much like persons strangled with snuff. I was told by my interpreter, that when drunken Indians, who did not belong to the dance, have ventured in among them, and accidentally received some of the medicine, it has very near cost them their lives. From all this, I concluded that it was composed of very poisonous materials; and that the different effects which it had on different persons, was owing to habit. The dancers appeared to be about one hundred and fifty in number, and very gaily dressed. Their parade was upon a beautiful eminence upon the bank of the river. The turf was taken off of their dancing ground, which was about twenty feet in width and forty in length. In the middle stood a red post with a white feather in the top, round which the conjurers took their stand, who seemed to be musicians to the rest, who were dancing round them. On each side they had bark roofs erected, under which they smoked their pipes and refreshed themselves when fatigued. The most of them had begun to be intoxicated, and some of them were very noisy and quarrelsome; but when they attempted to fight, the rest would hold them till they got pacified, or till they got them drunk enough to sleep. The Indians who did not belong to the dance, were seated round at some distance from the rest, and were merely spectators. I took my stand by the side of my interpreter at the end of the bark hut, within four or five rods of them, where I had a fair prospect. While I was standing there, I recollect to have seen one of the conjurers walking about for some time, and looking at me, but I paid no attention to him till I saw him advancing very fast towards me, with a countenance that bespoke bad intentions. He was just enough in liquor to feel insolent and courageous. The nearer he advanced, his countenance assumed a more threatening aspect. By the time he came within a rod of me, while approaching me with greater speed, he railed out

at me, flourishing his fist, and charged me with despising them, and with coming there to make game of them. I must acknowledge, with shame, that I was daunted at the first shock, being off from my guard; but on looking to God for grace and strength, and recollecting that this enemy could not raise his hand without His agency, I was immediately strengthened. As soon as the words were interpreted to me, I replied that he was mistaken, and that what he said was not true; that I had a great regard for the Indians, and had come out in a friendly manner to visit them, in order to do them good—that I had been invited there by one of his people, but that I had not come there with the least intention of making sport of them. This, however, did not satisfy him, for he immediately added, that he supposed that I thought that he was poor, and that he did not know much; but he said that he had property at home, and that he thought himself as good as a white man. I replied, that I had a good opinion of the abilities of the Indians, and that he had no reason to think that I was disposed to undervalue them, as I had come out to live with them, to be one of their people, if they were willing to receive me. But he said that he did not want to have me stay there; and observed that when the French came into this country, the Wyandots and some others embraced their religion, but that they had not, and did not like it, and had always continued in their own way; and added, that the Great Spirit had made him an Indian, made him red, and made him every way just as he was, and plac'd him there on that ground; and said that he meant to remain just as he was; and that he did not mean to hear to me. He added further, as I understood my interpreter, that they did not pray; but, pointing to the dance, said that that was the way they did. I suppose his meaning was, that they did not pray to the Good Spirit, but to the bad spirit, as that is undoubtedly the case when they are conjuring. I told him that I was waiting to have a council with the chiefs; and if they were not generally disposed to have me stay, I should go away immediately. And I observed that, if I did stay, he or any other one would be at liberty to do just as they pleas'd about embracing my religion. He held up his medicine bag, and said he supposed I thought that that was a bad thing, and that their way was a bad one; but he said that bag was a good thing, and that there was nothing bad in it; and that their way was a very good one, and much better for them than ours. But he said if we thought our religion was so much better than theirs, he wanted to know why our people did not teach it to their forefathers, when they first came into this country. He said if our people had begun with the Indians then, that they might have learned our religion, and been all of our way now. But he said their forefathers were all dead and gone; and they had continued in their way so long, that they could not turn about now. I told him that our people did do something to Christianize the Indians then, that lived near them, and that they had been doing something

since; but that wars between us and them, and a want of ministers, with many other difficulties, had prevented them from being able to do much till of late. He then related to me the shameful and horrid story respecting the poor innocent Moravian Indians on the Muskingum, who were inhumanly murdered, in the late revolutionary war, by a band of our American volunteers. And he added, that they might expect to experience something similar if they received me amongst them. I replied that we were as angry with those cruel murders as they could be, but that it was difficult to keep wicked men from doing mischief in time of war. I observed, however, that as we were at peace with our red brothers, they had nothing now to fear, as our good people did not wish to hurt them, and our bad people would not be suffered to do it in time of peace. To cut the business short, as he was disposed to be tedious, I offered him my hand, and told him I must leave him, as I was in a hurry to go up the river; that if I remained there, and he wished to have any more talk with me, he must come to see me: and added that, notwithstanding all he had said, if I came there to live, I meant to treat him well: and that I meant to have him for one of my best friends. At first he seemed unwilling to receive my hand, but on hearing that I meant to be a friend to him, he shook my hand, and said if that was the case, he would be a friend to me; and, as a token of this, he invited me to come and eat meat and bear's grease with him.

"This was Wednesday, the 12th of May. I then went up to the fort: and, as I thought it doubtful whether they would receive me, I brought down all my things. When I returned, I found the most of them sober.

"Friday, the 14th, in the afternoon, I got them assembled at the mouth of the river. After a short introduction, I delivered the Trustees' address to them; which I endeavored to make as plain and familiar to them as possible. I had read it, and explained it to my interpreter before; but fearing that that would not be sufficient, I took care now to read him but a few lines at a time, and then, to express the ideas in a language better adapted to his capacity, and more agreeable to their modes of speaking. I think the address was much too long, *i. e.* that it contained too many ideas on that subject, to them so uninteresting, to be delivered to Indians at once, but this made it much longer. Little Otter was too unwell to attend that afternoon. I was glad that I had explained the business to him before; and I apprehend that he heard the most of it now, as he lay in the flag camp, that was close to the door of the bark house that it was delivered in. From what I could discover, the leading ones present, were disposed to treat the matter with neglect, if not with contempt. The most of the chiefs, though not conjurers, belonged to the dance, and I observed that these took a more active part in it than others. Little Otter belongs to the dance, likewise, but he appeared to take a less active part, and he treated what I had to say

with much more respect. When speeches are delivered to them, it is usual for most of the chiefs and old men to give their *huoh* at the end of every paragraph, or interpretation. It seems to be always a sign of attention, and when breathed out strong, of approbation. When such parts of the address were interpreted to them as accorded with their notions of things, such as, that there is a God who made all things, and that we must not murder, steal, cheat or lie, etc., they gave the sign of attention that I have mentioned, though with a degree of backwardness. To other parts of the address they appeared to pay very little attention, and almost wholly withheld the sign of it. We were much disturbed the most of the time by the hallooing, screaming and laughing of a multitude of their young men, who were playing ball round the house. This shows the difficulty of teaching a disorganized people.

“ Before I began the address, I marked out on the ground a map of Lake Erie, the States of New York and Connecticut—divided the latter into towns, and described a great house in the middle of each, where our people met to worship God, and hear his ministers—described another at Hartford for the General Association; and, for convenience, another at New Haven for the Legislature, and a still greater one at the city of Washington for Congress. This excited their curiosity, and served to give them an idea of Connecticut, the number of our ministers, and the regularity of our towns; and it helped them to understand those parts of the address which spoke of the General Association, the Missionary Society, and the Legislature. And it helped me, likewise, to give them a more just idea of the importance of the different characters which compose the honorable Board of Trustees, as I could point them to the great houses to which the different civilians belonged; and tell them what important stations they held in them. I informed them that the other six were as great in the ministry. I had taken care before this to let them know that I had a written recommendation from one of the great chief warriors of the United States. I was the more particular with respect to such characters, as they feel the most dependent on these, and have the greatest respect for them. At the conclusion of the address, I observed to them, that if their patience was not exhausted, I should be glad if they would hear what I had to say to them. And as they readily complied, and seemed to pay better attention, I delivered them a pretty lengthy speech, in which I carefully noticed every thing of importance that appeared to me to be to the purpose. Supposing that they might want to know why we had not sent them a minister before, since we were so urgent to have them receive one then, I informed them we had been prevented by wars, by a want of ministers, and by their living at such a great distance from us, but that we had sent ministers to the other Indian nations who lived nearer to us.

“ Having heard of four objections which I supposed they stood ready to offer, I brought them up and answered them.

“The first objection was, that our religion was not designed for Indians. In answering this, I availed myself of the declarations and promises of Scripture to the contrary, and the command of Christ, to preach it to every creature (which I told them I could show them), and the success which he had given to the ministry.

“The second objection that I noticed was, that our religion was not good for them. In reply to this, I showed them what effects it would have on their children—on their young men who, it was said, did not mind the chiefs as they used to—and on society in general; how it would fit them for heaven, and give them a sure title to it: that it must be good for them if God had designed it for them: that other Indian nations, to whom we had sent ministers, tried it, and found it to be good, and that they would do wrong to condemn it, or reject it without trying it.

“The third objection was, that by listening to me they would expose themselves to the fate of the poor Moravians, who were destroyed by our people, in consequence of their embracing our religion.

“In answering this, I observed to them, that they could have nothing to fear from having me among them, or from listening to me, because that our bad men would not be allowed to hurt them now, as our people were at peace with them, and their great fathers in Congress were disposed to treat them as their children.

“The fourth objection I thought to be much the most important, and the most difficult to answer. It was this: that they could not live together so as to receive any instructions on account of their fighting and killing one another when intoxicated.

“Two had been killed but a few days before at the trader’s above; and I found that they seldom got together without killing some: that their villages there were little more than places of residence for fall and spring, as they were obliged to be absent in the winter on account of hunting, and as they found it necessary to live apart in the summer on account of liquor: and that the most of them were going to disperse in a few days for planting, when they would be from ten to fifteen miles apart, and not more than two or three families in a place. To remove this objection, I acknowledged the difficulty of their living together while they made such free use of spirituous liquor; and proposed to them to begin and build a new village upon this condition, that no one should be allowed to get drunk in it; that if they would drink, they should go off and stay till they had it over, and that if any would not comply with this law, they should be obliged to leave the village.

“I then showed the advantages of adopting the plan—that they would live in peace, as they never quarreled when they were sober; that with my assistance they would be able to give their children an education; for want of which they were going on blindfold in their business with white people, who frequently imposed upon them; but who would not have it in their power, if they once had eyes of their

own, to see for themselves; as would be the case if their young chiefs and others should get an education and learn to speak English; and that then they might have books printed in their own language for them to read; that I would show them and assist them what I could about making carts and ploughs, and about ploughing their ground, so that they might employ their horses, which were then almost useless to them: and raise a plenty of corn and wheat, potatoes, squashes and tobacco, horses and cattle, sheep, hogs and poultry; that I would show them and assist them what I could about building a mill, building houses, and making furniture for their houses; that I would make them wheels and show them about making looms; and that my wife would learn their young women how to make their own cloth; that our good people would send them on school masters enough to school all their children for nothing; that I would try to have them send on a blacksmith, who was a good man, and would mend their guns, and do all their work for them in the best manner, and at a much more reasonable price than what they had to give for it then, besides saving them the trouble of going a great distance for it. I told them that, as their land was excellent, if they would adopt this plan, and their young men would assist their women and children, they might enjoy all these privileges within a few years, without working hard, and that then they would have a comfortable home for their old people, and for those who were sick, where they could remain through the winter whilst the others were gone to their hunting grounds; and, what was infinitely more than all the rest, they might then enjoy the religion of God's word, which, if they would rightly attend to it, would make them unspeakably happy forever. I then brought into view the consequences that would follow if they did not listen to his proposal. I told them that game was growing scarce, and that, as the white people were settling round them, it would soon be too scarce for them to live by hunting; that if they did not teach their children to cultivate the land and raise their living out of it as we did, that they would soon be so poor and hungry that they would not know what to do; that at best they would sell their excellent land for little or nothing, and be obliged to leave that pleasant river and delightful country and seek a home in some distant and unknown wilderness. And I observed to them that, since it was thus, I hoped they would listen to my advice, and that they would not only prevent liquor from being brought into the proposed village, but that they would entirely desist from drinking it; that I would have them more afraid of those who brought it among them than those who came against them with fire-guns. To convince them of this, I assured them that the country between them and the Atlantic, which was once thickly inhabited with Indians, had become almost entirely depopulated, principally by means of this destroying liquor. And I added that this universal drunkenness was very displeasing in the sight of God, and provoked

him to give them up to die, as it were, by their own hands; and that if they continued to go on as others had done, they must expect ere long to be universally swept from the earth in like manner. I told them that they might think that they could not keep from drinking, but that if they would strive against it, and pray to the Great Spirit to help them, that he would enable them to keep from it; that if they had any regard to their welfare, the least they could think of doing would be to accept of my assistance, and follow my advice with respect to the village I had proposed, and not suffer any liquor to come into that. I told them that I might have lived much happier at home among my dear friends and acquaintances, where we had everything that was comfortable around us; but knowing how much they needed my assistance, and having a great love for them, and being commanded by God, I had forsaken all, and had come a great distance to spend my days with them, in order to make them happy in this world and in the world to come; that I had come by the desire of God's ministers and good people, who tenderly loved them, who had always been their best and only true friends, both in time of war and in time of peace, and had always been praying to God for them, that they might enjoy those great privileges which they had now been at so much pains and expense to help them to; that I had not come merely of my own accord, or by the desire of those good people, but that I was sent there by God himself, who commanded them to listen to me; that since it was thus, if they did not receive me, and attend to the good things which I was sent to teach them, they would make me very sorrowful, exceedingly grieve the hearts of God's ministers and people, and, what was inconceivably worse, they would dreadfully offend the God who had sent me, and make him very angry with them. To conclude my speech to them, I told them that they were not to blame for not having this good religion sent to them before, but that if they rejected it now it was sent, rejected the goodness of God in sending it to them, and all our kind offers to them, which had cost us so much trouble and expense, they would certainly be inexcusable, and that I therefore hoped they would give me a favorable answer.

"I was thus urgent with them, because I suspected that the most of them were determined not to receive me. They heard me with the more patience on account of my having furnished them, in the first place, with as much tobacco as they could smoke. As the Trustees' address took up so much time, I should have been glad to have been much shorter: but as I thought the case doubtful, I was unwilling to omit anything which might be to the purpose. The most of the chiefs remained together that night. They assembled on the grass the next day, at about twelve o'clock, and sent for me. Little Otter was well enough to attend; and he delivered me the following speech, with several of the ideas often repeated:

"Brother, we listened to you yesterday, and heard all you had to

say to us. Since that, we have been thinking of what you said to us, and have been talking it over among ourselves, and have made up our minds. Now, brother, if you will listen to us, we will give you an answer. But it is our way to be very short. Our white brothers, when they make speeches, are very lengthy. They read and write so much, that they get in a great many little things. But it is not so with your red brothers. When we go on any great business, and have any great things to say, we say them in a few words. Brother, we understand that you are sent out here by the Great Spirit, and by his good people, who live in one of the sixteen fires. Brother, we believe you have not come alone, or of your own accord, but that you are sent out here, as you say, by the Great Spirit, and by some of his great black-gowns and great men who make laws. And we thank those great Fathers for being so kind to us. Brother, we like what you have said to us. We know that it is all true, and all very good. When you was talking, you kept looking up, and said a great deal to us about the Great Spirit. We believe that there is a Great Spirit, who has made the world, the sun, the moon, the stars, the ground, the water, the trees, and all the men, creatures and things that are in the world. Brother, we understand that you have come to teach us and our children how to worship the Great Spirit, and what we must do to please Him, and be happy in this world and in the world to come. We understand that you want to have us raise a plenty of corn and wheat, horses and cattle, and all the other creatures and things that you raise; and that you want us to live like the people that wear hats. And we believe that you and our great fathers that sent you, wish to do us all the good you can; that you want to make us happy, not only here, but in the world to come. Brother, we know that you spoke true, when you told us that our game was growing scarce, and that it would soon be so that we could not live by hunting as we used to. We feel very poor, and we do not know how we are going to live or what we shall do. Now, brother, if you and your great black gowns and chiefs want to help us and make us happy, why don't you stop your people from settling so near us? If you would do this we might have game enough and do very well.

“Brother, we know that it is all true what you say to us about the stuff the white people make, which we like so well. We know that it makes us foolish, and quarrelsome, and poor, and that it destroys us, and has greatly diminished our number; that we used to be much happier before it came among us, and that it would be much better for us to be entirely without it. We do know how to make it; Indians don't know how to make it, and have nothing to make it of. If your people did not make it and bring it to us we should not have it. And if we did not see it we should not care anything about it. But when we get a taste of it we love it so well we do not know how to stop drinking. Brother, since it is so, why do you not stop your people from bringing it among us? If you would do this,

then perhaps you might get us to come and live together in one village, so that you might have an opportunity to instruct us and do us good. But until this liquor is stopped we shall quarrel so among ourselves, when we get it, that we cannot many of us live together in the same village, and you will not be able to do anything with us.

“Brother, what you have said to us is all true, but we would not wish to steal the good words or keep them to ourselves. We understand that you was sent out to travel round and visit the Indians in order to find out their minds respecting this business. You have seen but a few Indians yet. There are a great many that live away back of us. If you was to go and see them all it would take you two or three years. We think you had better go and talk with them all, and see what they think about it: and if they will agree to have black gowns, we will agree to have one too. This is all the red brothers have to say to you.

I suppose they meant to require me to stop all the liquor and get the consent of all the Indians to receive ministers before they would receive me. This, they doubtless thought, would be putting the matter off far enough for the present, and that it would be a more polite way of answering me than saying *no*. But I was not disposed to take even *no* for an answer till I had a farther trial. Therefore, as soon as he had finished his speech, I begged another hearing, and delivered them another speech as lengthy as my first, in which I was enabled with the greatest ease to remove every difficulty they had artfully flung in my way; to represent things in the clearest light, and to press the matter home in such a manner as forced them to a fair explanation. But time and patience require me to be very brief in my account of it. I told them the fault with respect to our people's settling too near them was their own, as they sold them the land: that their observations against liquor were very encouraging, especially as the same had been made by Little Turtle in his speech to the President, which was in behalf of several nations, and as the same had been warmly expressed by the head chief of the Shawanese; that it was not in the power of our good people who had sent me to put a stop to it, but that they would rejoice to hear that they were opposed to having it come among them; and that if they would get the other nations to join them, and petition Congress against it, our good people would undoubtedly do the same in their behalf, and that there would be but little danger but that the united influence of the whole would prevail, and that Congress would pass a law to prevent liquor from being carried into the Indian country. I assured them that nothing should be wanting on my part to bring this about.

“Here I enlarged on the transientness of the pleasures derived from it, and the mischievous and destructive consequences attending it; and on the happy consequences that would follow the prohibition of it, and urged them to use their utmost endeavors to get as many

of the Indian nations as possible to join them, and send in their petition without delay. I informed them that some of the six nations on the Allegheny, through the influence of the Quakers who were among them, had come to the noble resolution to dash the heads of every keg of liquor that was offered for sale to their people, and had acted accordingly; and that if they should not be successful in petitioning Congress, it would not only be justifiable in them but their indispensable duty to follow their example. But I told them that it would do by no means for them to think of doing without a minister till this experiment could be made; that if they thought they had not resolution enough in general to adopt and pursue the plan I had proposed, there would probably be some who would be willing to attempt it; that if they would make choice of a place for a village, I would begin it if I could not get more than one or two families to begin with me; that I would be learning their language, schooling their children and receiving new members into the society as fast as they were disposed to comply with the regulations of it; and that I would do what I could for the comfort of the aged or the sick who might be left there during winter, and exert myself to promote the general interests of the whole. I then pointed out the advantages that would occur to the children, the aged, the sick and all who would be so wise as to comply with my proposals. And I represented the flourishing state the village would probably be in before many years if they would suffer me to make this beginning, as the most of them must soon be convinced that it was for their interest to come and live in it and follow my advice. I told them that it was all in vain for them to think that they could prosper and do well while they rejected what God had to say to them by his ministers; that he had been very angry with the Indians for their wickedness (showing them in what it consisted) and had suffered them for several hundred miles to melt away before the white people like the snow before the sun, and that the only way that they could expect to prosper was by listening to what he had to say to them by me. I assured them that if they would come and live together and build a great house for God, and meet in it and worship him every seventh day as our good people did, and do as God told them to do in his book and by his ministers, that he would not suffer them to be destroyed as he had the other Indians, but would preserve them and prosper them as he had the white people.

“With respect to visiting all the other Indians, I observed to them that it would be of no service to get the consent of every tribe, as I could serve but one, and as our good people were not prepared to send out any more at present; that if I travelled round as they had proposed, I might not find any Indians who were so well inclined as they were, or who would be disposed to receive me; that they had a sufficient number about them for me to begin with; that if they wished to have all the other Indians join them in these things, the best way was for them to set the example and show them the

happy consequences, which would preach louder to them than anything I could say or do. I concluded what I had to say to them in the following words: Fathers, you see that I am very unwilling to leave you. I have come a great way to visit you, and I find there is a prospect of my doing you so much good if I remain here that I do not know how to think of going away. You see that it is just with me as it is with your children. If you tell them that you cannot have them with you, and that they must go off and look out for another home, they will tell you that they love you so that they cannot leave you. And if you insist on their going away, they will hang round you and tell you they cannot, and they will plead with you to let them live with you, and will tell you how much good they will do you if you will let them stay. Now, fathers, if you will not turn away your children who love you and are willing to do anything for you, and who plead with you in this manner to keep them, I think I may conclude that you will not turn me away. I then left them to prepare an answer.

“This extract is much shorter than the original, though much longer than I intended. But they paid better attention than before, and I believe they were very much puzzled for some time to know what reply to make to it, as they wished to put me off, if possible, without assigning the true cause for it. They went alone, and were very secret in their consultations with respect to an answer. After deliberating for some time, they sent for me to hear Little Otter’s reply. The first part of it was mere repetitions of a few things that were nothing to the purpose, occasioned as I suppose, by a reluctance to come to the main point. The principal ideas contained in it, expressed in fewer words, are as follows: Brother, the most of our horses are wild. In order to catch them, we have to catch one of the tame ones first, and then we can draw the rest in so as to secure them too. It seems that you think that the Indians are like these horses. You consider us to be the tamest, and imagine that if you begin with us that you will be able to draw in the whole. But we are all wild, and if you were to try ever so long, you could never get us to live together. You can go home, or write home to the great fathers who sent you, and let them know how it is. Tell them that it is not with their red brothers as it is with the white people; that you have tried all that you could to have us live together, and that you could not get us to do it, and that if they were to try ever so much, they would never be able to do anything with us, and that this is the way of their red brothers. Brother, your religion is very good, but it is only good for white people. It will not do for Indians. They are quite different sort of people. When the Great Spirit made white people, he made them just as they be, and put them on another island and gave them farms and tools to work with; and he made horses and horned cattle, and sheep and hogs for them, so that they might get their living that way. And he learned them to read, and gave them their religion

in a book. When he made Indians, he made them wild and put them in the woods on this island, and gave them the game that they have, so that they might live by hunting. So that he did not make us to live like the white people. The religion which we used to have was very much like yours. But we found that that would not do for us: and we have lately discovered a much better way. We have now got so that some of us come to life again. There, [stripping up his shirt-sleeve,] do you see that black spot on my arm? Well, that was put into my arm when I lived before, away in the open country. Afterwards I came to life here on this ground where you see me. If you had only proposed to school our children, you might have got here and there one to attend to you, but we are afraid of your religion. We find that it will not answer for us, and therefore we cannot listen to you. You mentioned that you had come a great ways to see us. We go a great ways some times to see folks and get news; but if we do not get any news, or make out anything, we do not mind it, or think anything of it. This is all that your red brothers have to say to you.

“The Interpreter told me that what they meant by the new way was conjuration.

“Little Otter, though said to be clever, is a very shrewd old man, and capable of deceiving if he is disposed for it; but, from what I could discover, I am of opinion that he was in favor of having me come there at first; and am inclined to believe that in delivering these speeches he spoke for the conjurers, rather than himself. It was evident at least that he was not half so bitterly opposed to me.

“At the close of this last speech I told them that I had nothing more to say, only that I thanked them for treating me so civilly, and should always wish well to them; that I was sorry to find them so dreadfully deluded, and that they would be forever sorry for it in the world to come. I then shook hands with the whole and left them. The Interpreter appeared very sorrowful. This was Saturday, the 15th, and near night; but as we had everything in readiness, and the wind favorable, we sailed out and went several miles that evening. As the wind was fair the next day, and as we were on the lake shore where we were liable to be detained with contrary winds for many days, and were on expense, and my call to be home was very urgent, we sailed about half of the day; and we were so far favored as to be enabled, with hard rowing, to reach home before noon the Tuesday following. We were blessed with good health, though we were exposed to wind and weather, and were obliged to lie upon the ground almost every night.

“In pursuance of my original plan, to visit the Indians at Arbor-crosh, I set sail the 2d of June, with my family, in a convenient schooner, for this place. Our accommodations were good, our captain all kindness and attention, and were gently wafted to this place in seven days. The Indians are vastly more numerous here than at Detroit. I see none here but Ottawas and Chipeways. I

believe that the Ottawas are much the most numerous just about here. They are accounted by both nations to be the fathers of the Chipeways. I find, as I had been informed, that there is a good deal of difference between the language of these Indians, and those of the same nations about Detroit. Some words seem wholly unlike; but the difference in general appears to be in the pronunciation, which is not so drawling, but much more agreeable to the English pronunciation. These Indians appear much more sprightly, cleanly, industrious and agreeable than those. I have not been able to talk with them much yet, for the want of an interpreter. I am disappointed with respect to the public interpreter, as he is a Frenchman and can scarce speak any English. In order to speak with them by him, it is necessary to have another to interpret French. I am in some hopes that the interpreter at St. Joseph's, whom I mentioned in one of my letters last winter, will be here within a few days, as there is a vessel expected in from that place. But if I do not succeed in getting him, I do not know but I am like to make out about as well; for I have lately seen a young man from the main land, who speaks good English and Indian, and who has partly agreed to serve me for his board and schooling. Such an interpreter would be of great service to me in getting the language. Indeed, it would be next to impossible for me to get it without an interpreter, unless I could be all the time with the Indians, and even then it would be very difficult.

“From what I can learn, I fear that it is not much better with the Indians at Arborerosh, on account of drinking and fighting, than it is with those at the Miami. Hearing that they were mostly drunk, and not having an interpreter, I have not visited them yet. Or, if it had not been for these difficulties I do not know but I should have waited for the assistance of Colonel Hunt, as he is now expected every day, to take the command of this post. Knowing that he was to be here so soon, I rather wished not to see them till he came. For it is said there are no Indians who pay so great respect to the commanding officer as what these do; and he told me he would use all his influence in my favor. With all the forbidding circumstances in view, which I see attending my mission to these Indians, as I am to look for miracles, I considered it a matter of the utmost importance to avail myself of every circumstance in my favor, at my first introduction. With all these, I think it is very doubtful whether I shall be received by the chiefs. There are two circumstances against me which I have not mentioned. One is, that these Indians at Arborerosh have formerly had Roman Catholic priests with them, to whom they adhered as strictly as could have been expected.

“Another circumstance not mentioned is, the Indians in general have an idea that ministers have a power to send distempers or sickness among people, like their conjurers. And if any mortal disease breaks out among them while they are with them, they are

supposed to be the authors of it. The Indians to this day tell that the priests whom they had with them at Arborcrosch, sent sickness among them. So that though they would be more likely to prefer the Roman Catholic than us, yet it does not seem very likely that they would wish for either to come among them. But if I cannot prevail on the chiefs to receive me, I mean to insist hard on their letting me have a number of their sons to educate here on the island, whilst I am learning their language, and I shall require them to find them food and clothes.

“My present determination is to remain about here till in one way or another I get the language; and if I can get a good interpreter at a moderate expense, be preaching through the summer to all the Indians who will hear me. As they are always absent through the winter, I must try in that part of the time to be doing something to help support myself, either by a school (which must be small) or by some kind of labor.”

The editor of the Magazine appends the following comments upon the report of Mr. Bacon :

“The reader will perceive from Mr. Bacon’s account of the Indians that one of the greatest obstacles in the way of propagating the gospel among them is the influence of the conjurers. These conjurers are the same as the powows spoken of in the history of the New England Indians, which has been published in several numbers of this Magazine. They have sense enough to see that the introduction of the Christian religion among the Indians will destroy their influence and *endanger their craft*. They will, therefore, exert themselves to the utmost to prevent Missionaries being received; and as Mr. Bacon very justly observes, they are, doubtless, the instruments of satan in preserving idolatry and opposing the true God. But the failure of this first attempt of Mr. B. ought not to discourage the friends to the Missionary cause; it should rather stimulate them to more vigorous exertions. The Indians on the Miami, from their proximity to the white people, have more free access to spiritous liquors, and are much more opposed to everything good than the tribes which live more remote. There is still reason to hope that to some of the tribes God will give a listening ear, and that he will prosper the labors of the Missionaries that may be sent among them. It is certainly the duty of Christians, and it is a duty the obligation of which they cannot but feel, when they see to what a deplorable state of sin and wretchedness the Indians are reduced, to make every possible exertion to recover some of them at least from that state. They ought always to remember the promise that the fullness of the Gentiles shall come in; that the glorious head of the church is infinitely superior to satan and all his instruments; and, believing these things, they should exert themselves, and submissively wait God’s time to bless their exertions with success.”

CHAPTER II.

WAR OF 1812-15.

The war declared against Great Britain by the United States, June 12, 1812, may be regarded as a continuation of the Revolution, and as an effort on the part of the latter to compel respect for the provisions of the treaty of peace made in 1783. It resulted in the consummation of the independence of the States and the enforcement of the terms of that treaty. The immediate causes that produced the war, were the interference with American trade, enforced by the blockade system; the impressment of American seamen; the encouragement of the Indians in their barbarities; and the attempt to dismember the Union by the mission into the New England States of Henry. Through the winter of 1811-12, these causes of provocation were discussed in Congress and the public prints, and a war with Great Britain openly threatened. Even in December, 1811, the proposal to invade Canada in the following spring, before the ice broke up, was debated in the House of Representatives; and in particular was urged the necessity of such operations at the outset of the anticipated contest, as should wrest from the enemy the command of the upper lakes, and secure the neutrality or favor of the Indian tribes by the conquest of Upper Canada. While, therefore, measures were taken to seize the lower province, other steps were arranged for the defense of the Northwest frontier against Indian hostility, and which, in the event of a rupture with Great Britain, would enable the United States to obtain the command of Lake Erie. The following letter which now makes its first public appearance in this volume, was addressed by General Solomon Sibley, a distinguished citizen of Detroit, to Thomas Worthington, then Senator in Congress from Ohio, and will convey some idea of the situation and the apprehensions of the inhabitants on the exposed Northwestern frontier during the few months preceding the war, and when it became clearly evident that that event was

inevitable. On the back of this letter is endorsed, "Received March 26, 1812, answered the same day, and put into the hands of the Secretary of War on the same evening."

DETROIT, February 26, 1812.

Dear Sir:—I have taken the liberty of addressing you on a subject highly interesting and important to myself in common with my friends in this place, and although I cannot expect that you will embrace my individual private feelings, yet I flatter myself that your humanity will draw your thoughts towards this quarter. I am connected with a lady, the daughter of an old friend of yours. We are favored with children. Their happiness, their safety, is dear to me. Will you not accept my anxiety on a subject so interesting, for an apology in troubling you at this time?

From a careful perusal of the proceedings of Congress, I am led to believe that war with England is probable. Our situation exposes us in a peculiar manner to the calamity of war. But, sir, a war with England, simply, has no terrors compared with those arising from their savage allies. Our melancholy fate, should we unfortunately fall into the hands of the Indians, need not be pointed out. The consequences are too obvious to require description.

On reading the President's communication, delivered at the opening of Congress, slight mention is made of the Indians. The little said on this head is, however, important, inasmuch as it convinces those who read it, that the President is not furnished with full and correct information by his agents on so important a point. It is feared that the agent rests satisfied with the transmission of the public speeches; that having done this, he flatters himself that he has discharged his duty. If this surmise should prove correct, it will exhibit one of two things, either that the man is a stranger to the arts, subtlety and deceit of the Indian character, or afraid to express himself in terms contradicting the open professions, lest he should give umbrage. The Government ought to be advised of their secret movements and resolves, to enable them to meet and counteract them. It has always been noted, that when an Indian is bent on mischief, he is more than usually open in his professions of friendly attachment. He smiles upon and caresses the victim devoted to destruction. A secret cause of hatred and disaffection exists, and has been nourished for some years by the savages, against the United States. This spirit has been encouraged by secret enemies of the United States, until it has pervaded the whole Indian nations. Early the ensuing spring, it will burst upon the whole line of frontier, involving them equally in ruin. This fact, I am assured of in that way as to force full conviction upon my mind. Our local government is satisfied of the impending dangers that hang over us. Else why has the Governor, Secretary and Judges adopted measures

of individual safety—some by leaving the Territory personally; others by sending their families out of the country? Are we to expect from these movements that the general government will not support and protect us by timely and adequate means? If such is the determination of the general government, why not communicate it to the citizens, and thereby afford them a chance of providing for individual safety, and that of their families? Far be it from me, the thought that our government will adopt a course so derogatory of the national dignity. I am confident the country will be defended with promptitude and energy, and that nothing is wanted but correct information to draw the attention of government to this or any other point of the Union where threatened with danger.

I have stated it is my opinion that this country will be attacked early in the spring, and will submit some of the grounds to your consideration on which I have drawn the conclusion. It is unnecessary for your information, for me to remark that the first settlers of this country were Frenchmen, and that their descendants form a large proportion of our present population. This class of citizens, in some instances, are allied to the savages by intermarriage, thereby cementing a union previously formed by habits of trade and familiar intercourse. To these may be added the fact that the Canadian is familiarly acquainted with the several Indian languages. These causes have at all times secured to the Canadians the friendship and confidence of their Indian neighbors. To the enlightened French merchant, trader and farmer I have therefore applied for information; and to them am I indebted for the knowledge upon which I have formed the opinion of their hostile views, already expressed, and shall be happy should it prove incorrect. Several Canadian gentlemen, entitled to credit, and well disposed towards our government, have stated to me that they have been repeatedly called upon lately, by Indians whom they believed their friends, who have requested them not to mingle or identify themselves with the Americans, or "Long Knives;" that early in the spring, (at the first swelling of the buds) the Indians would strike upon Detroit and the whole frontier. That if they were found at home, attending to their private concerns, they would be respected and their property remain safe; otherwise, that they would be involved in the fate of their neighbors, the Americans. That their determination was to clear the country north and west of the Ohio of every American, and in future establish that river for a boundary. That the scheme had been long in agitation, and now was endorsed generally by the Indians. That such natives, or tribes, as refused to join the confederacy, would also be cut off. These communications from the Indians to their friends, have made deep impressions upon the well disposed Canadians. How the majority will act, should an attack be made, is doubtful. It would be unwise for the government to calculate much on their assistance. It is further stated by those gentlemen that the impending storm has no immediate connection with our

understandings with Great Britain; that the attack will be made by the savages, whatever may be the result of our pending negotiations with England. They state further, that the Indians are amply supplied with arms, ammunition, blankets, &c., to enable them to prosecute war with vigor. The mode of attack is not so fully communicated. From some hints which have fallen, it is believed a force will have in charge to waylay the roads leading to the Ohio, with a view of interrupting and cutting off re-inforcements and supplies. Should this plan be adopted and adhered to for a few months, this post would be in great danger. We have no competent force in this quarter to force a communication.

Having made the above remarks on this subject, considered simply in relation to the Indians, I wish to draw your attention to this question in the event a war with England should take place. The present military force stationed at Amherstburg, unaided by Indian auxiliaries, is not such as to excite apprehensions for the safety of Detroit. But, sir, it has heretofore been the policy of Great Britain, in her wars in America, to call upon the savages for aid. And when the immense sums of money that government expends annually to retain them in her interest is considered, no reasonable doubts can be entertained of her future policy in case of war with the United States. The fact is notorious, and well attested here by every person who has lately visited Amherstburg, that every possible exertion is making to render that fortress secure and tenable, and also to retain command of the upper lakes. The government has already a large armed vessel upon Lake Erie, equipped and fully manned, superior to any naval force the United States can bring against it. Not content with this force, they are actually employed in building a second vessel of equal or superior force, which will be completed and manned at the first opening of navigation. By means of this force, all communication by water will be cut off between our ports. While one is stationed upon Lake Erie, the other will be ordered to Lake Huron to aid in the reduction of Michilimackinac and Chicago. In addition to the naval force, it is reported and believed by many that the British will seize upon and erect works at the mouth of the Detroit River, at or near what is called Big Creek, on the United States territory—a place strong by nature, and well situated to aid the navy in cutting off all supplies designed either by land or water for this garrison. It is believed that the point last mentioned will be occupied previous to a declaration of war, and the moment it is thought to be unavoidable. Several officers of distinction have lately visited Amherstburg. In their number is included an engineer and barrack-master; also a Col. St. George. They report that the British are greatly enlarging their works, building extensive barracks, and apparently under an expectation of a much larger force than has ever been stationed in the upper country. From the various steps and movements of that government, it is to me evident that they will make a firm and

formidable stand in this upper country, contrary from what appears to be a prevailing sentiment in Congress. Great calculations are made from the aid which they expect to derive from the Indians. Should Detroit fall, it is evident it would cost the United States much blood and treasure to regain what they will have lost. By it an extensive wilderness will be thrown between the upper province and the physical force of the Western States. Our whole line of frontier will be ravaged and kept in a state of alarm. These are consequences calculated upon by the British government, and, in my opinion, on correct principles. It is, however, in the power of our government to defeat their views, by marching six or eight hundred militia or volunteers from the State of Ohio or Kentucky before the lakes break up. If troops are not at Detroit before May or June, the opportunity and season of saving us will be lost. We shall be sacrificed with the interest of the public.

I hope, sir, you will receive the remarks contained in this letter as intended by the writer. It has been hastily written, and is full of defects. The object I had in view was frankly to disclose my opinion of our dangerous situation. I sincerely wish you to have an interview with the Secretary of War. Impress him with the necessity of succor for this place. A few days delay may lose the place to the United States. Should you discover any part of my letter that can give umbrage, suppress it. If it contains any remarks that you think can be of service, you are at liberty to make use of them. Will you inform me if we may expect assistance shortly? I am, dear sir,

Your most obedient servant,

SOL. SIBLEY.

Governor Hull had communicated similar warnings to the War Department, and had recommended the adoption of a like policy; and the same measures were also urged by General Armstrong, in a private letter of January 2d, 1812; yet the government proposed to use no other than military means, and hoped, by the presence of two thousand soldiers, to effect the capture or destruction of the British fleet. Nay, so blind was the War Department, that it refused to increase the number of troops to three thousand, although informed by Governor Hull that that was the least number from which success could be hoped. When, therefore, Governor, now General Hull, (to whom, in consideration of his revolutionary services, and his supposed knowledge of the country and the natives, the command of the army destined for the conquest of the Canadas had been confided,) commenced his march from Dayton on the 1st of June, it was with means which he himself regarded as utterly inadequate to the object aimed at—a fact which, in some degree, mitigates his vascillating, nerveless conduct. Regarding the appoint-

ment of General Hull, John Johnston, who, in the early part of the year 1812, was transferred from the agency at Fort Wayne to a new agency at Piqua, having in charge all the Indians of Ohio, with the Delawares, of Indiana, and who was in Washington at the time Congress was discussing the question of a declaration of war, communicated in 1846 to Cist's Miscellany the following: "Whilst at Washington, I learned that Hull was an applicant for the command of the Northwestern Army. Governor Worthington was then in the Senate. I took the liberty of warning him against the appointment. The people of the country where he was to operate had no confidence in him; the Indians despised him; he was too old, broken down in body and mind, to conduct the multifarious operations of such a command. The nomination was made, objected to, referred to a committee, reported on favorably, and confirmed. On the very same day he passed the Senate, the poor, weak, vain old man was seen in full dress uniform, parading the streets of Washington, making calls."

Through the whole month of June, General Hull and his troops toiled toward the Maumee country, busy with their roads, bridges and block-houses. On the 24th, advices from the Secretary of War, dated on the 18th, came to hand, but not a word contained in them made it probable that the long-expected war would be immediately declared, although Colonel McArthur, at the same time, received word from Chillicothe, warning him, on the authority of Thomas Worthington, that before the letter reached him, the declaration would have been made public. This information McArthur laid before General Hull; and when, upon reaching the Maumee, that commander proposed to place his baggage, stores, and sick on board a vessel, and send them by water to Detroit, the backwoodsman warned him of the danger, and refused to trust his own property on board. Hull, however, treated the report of war as the old story which had been current through all the spring, and refused to believe it possible that the government would not give him information at the earliest moment that the measure was resolved on. He accordingly, on the 1st of July, embarked his disabled men, and most of his goods on board the Cuyahoga packet, suffering his aide-camp in his carelessness to send by her even his instructions and army roll, and then proceeded upon his way.

On the 1st of June, Mr. Madison recommended war to the Senate; on the 3d of June, Mr. Calhoun reported in favor of it, and in an

able manifesto set forth the reasons; and on the 19th, proclamation of the contest was made. Upon the day preceding, Congress having passed the needful appropriation bill, the Secretary wrote to General Hull one letter, saying nothing of the matter, and sent it by a special messenger,—and a second containing the vital news, which he confided to a half-organized post as far as Cleveland, and thence literally to accident. And, as if to complete the circle of folly, the misled General, through neglect, suffered his official papers, which he owned ought never to have passed out of his possession, to pass into that of the foe, and thus informed them of his purposes and strength.

But that strength, compared with their own, was such that it proved adequate to deter the British from making any attempt to prevent the march of the Americans to Detroit, or to interfere with their passage across the river to Sandwich, where they established themselves on the 12th of July, preparatory to attacking Malden itself, and commanding the conquest and conversion of Upper Canada. And here, at once, the incapacity of Hull manifested itself. By his own confession, he took every step under the influence of two sets of fears: He dared not, on the one hand, act boldly, for fear that his incompetent force would all be destroyed; while on the other hand, he dared not refuse to act, for fear his militia, already uneasy, would utterly desert him. Thus embarrassed, he proclaimed freedom, and the need of submission to the Canadians; held out inducements for the British militia to desert, and to the Indians to keep quiet, and sat still at Sandwich, striving to pacify his blood-thirsty backwoodsmen, who itched to be at Malden. To amuse his own army, and keep them from trying dangerous experiments, he found cannon needful to the assault of the British posts, and spent three weeks making carriages for five guns. While these were under way, Colonel Cass and Colonel Miller, by an attack upon advanced parties of the enemy, demonstrated the willingness and power of their men to push their conquests, if the chance were given, but Hull refused the opportunity; and when, at length, the caannon were prepared, the ammunition placed in wagons, and the moment for assault agreed on, the General, upon hearing that a proposed attack on the Niagara frontier had not been made, and that troops from that quarter were moving westward, suddenly abandoned the enterprise, and, with most of the army, on the 7th of August, returned to Detroit, having effected nothing except the

destruction of all confidence in himself on the part of the whole force under his control, officers and privates.

Meantime, upon the 29th of July, Colonel Proctor had reached Malden, and perceiving instantly the power which the position of that post gave him over the supplies of the army of the United States, he commenced a series of operations, the object of which was to cut off the communications of Hull from Ohio, and thus not merely neutralize all active operations on his part, but starve him into surrender, or force him to detail his whole army, in order to keep open his way to the only point from which supplies could reach him. The following letters from army contractors, now first published in these pages, will show the straits to which Hull's command had been so easily driven :

DETROIT, July 28th, 1812.

Sir:—I have a contract with the Government of the United States for the supply of all rations which may be required by the army at Chicago, Michillimackinac, Fort Wayne and this place, and also all other places in the State of Ohio and Indiana Territory, north of the forty-first degree of latitude, and also in the Territory of Michigan. This contract was entered into by me in time and with a view to a state of peace, and with an expectation that the supplies might be furnished as they have heretofore been, and transported in vessels over the lakes.

Previous to the declaration of war, I had made large purchases of provisions along the shores of Lake Erie, within the States of Ohio and Pennsylvania, and had just commenced removing them to this place when war was declared. The navigation of that lake is now shut against us by the enemy, and of course it is impossible for me to furnish the army by water. There then remains no other means than to forward supplies from the State of Ohio through the wilderness for one hundred and fifty or two hundred miles, where the roads are so bad that it is almost impossible for wagons to travel, and where, no doubt, the cheapest mode will be to transport by packing on horses. In addition to these embarrassments, is that of the hostile disposition of the Indians, who are daily committing depredations on travelers on their route, and will, no doubt, do all in their power to prevent supplies from passing.

Under these circumstances you will see at once, *Sir*, that the efforts of an individual can produce but little effect, and that nothing short of the energies of government can furnish necessary supplies.

Some time ago I wrote to the Secretary of War on this subject, and requested that he would devise means to overcome these difficulties, but have not received his answer.

Understanding that General Hull was about to address you on the

subject of an additional force to his army, and supplies for that and the force already here, I am induced to make this communication.

There is one circumstance relating to these supplies which I will mention; that is that the army which came on with General Hull, very soon after their arrival, passed into Canada *without* the limits of my contract; but notwithstanding have been supplied by me; since, as a matter of necessity, should an additional force come on, I conclude they would also pass into Canada, and of course be placed out of the reach of any government contract for supplies.

I leave to-morrow to proceed eastward along the southern shore of Lake Erie, with a view of sending on some supplies in boats from New Connecticut; but the success of this attempt must be doubtful, and not to be relied on. I should wish that your Excellency might adopt such measures to furnish supplies as your better judgment may direct, without considering me as the contractor.

I am, sir, with great respect,

Your obedient servant,

AUGUSTUS PORTER.

To His Excellency Governor Meigs.

URBANA, 20th Aug., 1812.

His Excellency, R. J. Meigs, Governor of Ohio :

SIR: On the 10th of July I was appointed by the Hon. Brig. Gen. Wm. Hull, an agent to supply the Northwestern army with provisions, in the Michigan Territory and State of Ohio north of the 41st degree of N. Lat., under the contract of Augustus Porter, Esq., the said contractor having failed to furnish agreeable to his contract. Gen. Hull having only advanced me a sufficiency of funds to purchase two hundred thousand rations, and to furnish them at the Detroit post. The additional force now going on from this State and Kentucky, makes it necessary that a large quantity should be sent on. Communication being cut off with the army precludes the possibility of procuring funds from General Hull. I therefore have to request your excellency to advance me ten thousand dollars to enable me to furnish the army now going on.

With respect, I am your obedient servant, JOHN H. PIATT.

A proper force on Lake Erie, or the capture of Malden, would have prevented these annoying and fatal embarrassments, but the imbecility of the government and that of the General combined to favor the plans of Proctor. Having, by his measures, stopped the stores on their way to Detroit, at the river Raisin, he next defeated the insufficient band of two hundred men under Van Horne, sent by Hull to escort them; and so far withstood that of five hundred under Miller, as to cause Hull to recall the remnant of that victo-

rious and gallant band, though it had completely routed the British and Indians. By these means Proctor amused the Americans until General Brock reached Malden, which he did upon the 13th of August, and prepared to attempt the conquest of Detroit itself. And here again occurred a most singular want of skill on the part of the Americans. In order to prevent the forces in Upper Canada from being combined against Hull, General Dearborn had been ordered to make a diversion in his favor at Niagara and Kingston, but in place of doing this, he made an armistice with the British commanders, which enabled them to turn their attention entirely to the more distant West, and left Hull to shift for himself. On the 14th of August, therefore, while a third party, under McArthur, was dispatched by Hull to open his communications with the river Raisin, though by a new and impracticable road, General Brock appeared at Sandwich and began to erect batteries to protect his further operations. These batteries Hull would not suffer any to molest, saying that if the enemy would not fire on him he would not on them; and though when summoned to surrender on the 15th, he absolutely refused, yet upon the 16th, without a blow struck, the Governor and General crowned his course of indecision and unmanly fear by surrendering the town of Detroit and territory of Michigan, together with fourteen hundred brave men, longing for battle, to three hundred English soldiers, four hundred Canadian militia disguised in red coats, and a band of Indian allies. The following were the terms of General Hull's capitulation:

CAMP AT DETROIT, 16th August, 1812.

Capitulation for the surrender of Fort Detroit, entered into between Major General Brock, commanding His Britannic Majesty's Forces, on the one part, and Brigadier General Hull, commanding the Northwestern Army of the United States, on the other part.

1st. Fort Detroit, with all the troops, regulars as well as militia, will be immediately surrendered to the British forces, under the command of Major General Brock, and will be considered prisoners of war, with the exception of such of the militia of the Michigan Territory who have not joined the army.

2d. All public stores, arms, and all public documents, including everything else of a public nature, will be immediately given up.

3d. Private persons and property of every description will be respected.

4th. His excellency, Brigadier General Hull, having expressed a desire that a detachment from the State of Ohio, on its way to join his army, as well as one sent from Fort Detroit, under the command of Colonel McArthur, shall be included in the above capitulation,—it is accordingly agreed to. It is, however, to be understood that such part of the Ohio militia as have not joined the army, will be permitted to return to their homes on condition that they will not serve during the war. Their arms, however, will be delivered up, if belonging to the public.

5th. The Governor will march out at the hour of twelve o'clock this day, and the British forces will take immediate possession of the fort.

[Signed,]

J. McDONNELL,
Lt. Col. Militia, P. A. D. C.;
J. B. GLEGG,
Major A. D. C.;
JAMES MILLER,
Lt. Col. 5th U. S. Infantry;
E. BRUSH,
Col. 1st Regt. Mich. Militia.

Approved:

WILLIAM HULL,
Brig. Gen. Comd'g the N. W. Army.

Approved:

ISAAC BROCK,
Major General.

For this conduct he was accused of treason and cowardice, and found guilty of the latter. Nor can we doubt the justice of the sentence. However brave he may have been personally, he was, as a commander, a coward; and, moreover, he was influenced, confessedly, by his fears as a father, lest his daughter and her children should fall into the hands of the Indians. His faculties had become paralyzed by the intemperate use of alcoholic stimulants, which produced a cowardly fear—fear that he should fail, fear that his troops, whose confidence and respect he could not fail to discover he had lost, would prove untrue to him; fear that the savages would spare no one, if opposed with vigor; fear of some undefined and horrid evil impending. His conduct throughout was such as might have been reasonably expected from a man who had reached premature dotage and physical decay by the excessive use of spirituous liquors.

But the fall of Detroit, though the leading calamity of this unfortunate summer, was not the only one. The misfortune did not come singly. Word had been sent through the kindness of some

friend under a frank from the American Secretary of the Treasury, informing the British commander at St. Joseph, a post about forty miles from Mackinac, of the declaration of war; while Lieutenant Hanka, commanding the American fortress itself, received no notice from any source. The consequence was, an attack upon the key of the Northwestern lakes, on the 17th of July, by a force of British, Canadians, and savages, numbering in all one thousand and twenty-one. The garrison, amounting to but fifty-seven effective men, felt unable to withstand so formidable a body, and to avoid the constantly threatened Indian massacre, surrendered as prisoners of war, and were dismissed on parole.

Less fortunate in its fate was the garrison of Fort Dearborn at Chicago. General Hull sent word to the commander at the fortress (Captain Heald) of the loss of Mackinac, and directed him to distribute his stores among the Indians, and retire to Fort Wayne. Heald, as heretofore explained, proceeded to do this, but it was soon evident that the neighboring savages were not to be trusted, and he in consequence determined not to give them, what they most of all wanted, the spirits and the powder in the fortress. This they learned, and this it was, as Blackhawk asserted, which led to the catastrophe. On the 15th of August, all being ready, the troops left the fort, but before they had proceeded more than a mile and a half, they were attacked by the Indians, and two-thirds of them (from fifty to sixty) massacred at once.

Thus, by the middle of August, the whole Northwest, with the exception of Fort Wayne and Fort Harrison, was again in the hands of the British and Indians. Early in September, these two posts were also attacked, and the latter, had it not been defended with the greatest vigor, would have been taken. Its defence was entrusted to Captain Z. Taylor, who subsequently won distinguished honors in the war with Mexico, and in 1848 was elected President of the United States.

Captain Rhea, who, subsequent to Wayne's campaign, was commandant of the post below Swan creek, but who, during the succeeding war, held the garrison at Fort Wayne, addressed a letter to Governor Meigs, of which the following is a copy. He had not then been advised of the surrender of Hull's army, which had occurred four days prior to the date of his letter:

FORT WAYNE, August 20th, 1812.

Honored Sir:—I am requested by Chingwinthah, or the Little Turtle's nephew, the present chief of the Miamies, who has just returned with part of the escort, lately under the command of Captain Wells, to assist in the evacuation of Fort Dearborn, to inform you that as soon as he can collect his men, women and children together, they will repair to the great council at Piqua with all possible dispatch. Both they and the Pottawottamies of this country would have been at the council before this period, had not the necessity of assisting Captain Heald intervened. I have no doubt of the attachment of this young chief to the American interest.

Any information you can give us of the success of General Hull and his army will afford us much satisfaction.

I have the honor to be, with respect, sir,

Your obedient servant,

J. RHEA, *Capt. Comd'g.*

To his Excellency Governor Meigs.

In reference to the trial of General Hull, General Jessup addressed the following letter to Governor Ethan Allen Brown :

ALBANY, N. Y., 6th February, 1814.

Dear Sir: I arrived in this city on the 3rd inst., after a most tiresome and disagreeable journey. The trial of General Hull progresses slowly. The court has been a month in session, and not more than eight or ten witnesses are examined. The General's guilt, however, is so apparent from the testimony already adduced, that even his own counsel, I understand, have abandoned the idea of disproving the fact contained in the charges. They will attempt to show, it is said, that his conduct was the consequence, not of cowardice or treason, but of extreme fatigue and anxiety of mind! When such is the defence, how hopeless must be the cause.

Sincerely yours,

TH. J. JESSUP.

Hon. E. A. Brown.

The following letters from distinguished sources illustrate important movements occurring at the time, and may here be properly introduced, as none of them have hitherto been made public :

IN CAMP, URBANA, June 8, 1812.

Dear Sir: We reached this place yesterday. On arriving at Staunton, and making inquiry respecting the route down the Auglaize, it was found that at this season of the year that stream was useless for any purpose of navigation, and that a road along it would

be difficult and circuitous. It was concluded to change our direction, to proceed to this place, and from here on the best ground to the foot of the rapids. In this determination I concurred. A road from here to the rapids would open to Detroit the centre of the State; and in the event of a war with England our supplies must be drawn from here. It is indisputably the shortest and probably the best route.

Boyd's regiment joins us to-morrow. Things go on well in camp. This morning four companies marched for Manary's Block House to open the road.

We have had a council with the Indians. They have agreed to permit us to open the road, and to establish along it a line of block-houses. You well know the situation of the men who compose this detachment. They were generally in respectable standing and of good prospects. They have made great sacrifices. They did not come for money, because all the money they can receive will be but a poor compensation.

[And here follows an appeal urging the necessity of a more prompt payment of the troops, and the letter concludes:]

Rely upon it, it must be done. And still further rely, that you are the man who must see it done. Your standing, influence and the confidence your fellow-citizens place in you, all justify them in looking to you. I know they will not be disappointed.

Sincerely ever yours,

LEW. CASS.

RIVER RAIDS, August 11, 1812.

Sir: I improve the first opportunity by the bearer, Major Taylor, to inform you that I arrived at the rapids of the Miami on the morning of the 9th inst., but have been delayed on the road for want of grain for the horses. I came here yesterday accompanied by twenty-one rangers from Manary's Block House, who volunteered as an escort for the purpose mentioned in your letter addressed to Captain Manary.

I regret that I cannot send you an accurate detail from headquarters, but this is now impossible. The communication with the army is entirely obstructed by the enemy. On Wednesday last the mail was escorted by between two hundred and three hundred men. A severe engagement ensued on the way. Our troops retreated, formed, and fought valiantly for a time, until overpowered by the enemy, which consisted of both Indians and British. *Twenty-five* of the escort went from this place, and but *seven* of them have returned, and some of them are wounded. From the best information we have, about one-half of the escort were killed and missing. It seems to have been a dreadful havoc. The road was strewed with the mangled bodies of the dead! A prisoner escaped from Malden, and

came in here yesterday, who states on oath that he saw the mail opened in the British garrison, which was supposed to have been taken in the battle of Wednesday last, and that there was much sport in Malden in consequence of arresting the public papers, which were examined by the enemy.

I have also to state that a severe engagement took place day before yesterday three or four miles the other side of Brownstown, very near the place of the battle ground of Wednesday, and it is confirmed by two Frenchmen who fled from a boat (being there prisoners,) that our troops were victorious, and the enemy experienced a total defeat. Such are the reports here; and such the general opinion relative to the battles of Wednesday and Sunday. But, sir, we are all in doubt and anxiety about the details of the two last engagements. As many as five different expresses have been sent from this place to General Hull to get tidings from the army, and not one has been heard of or returned. The expresses sent were confidential men and persons well acquainted with the woods. An express man is here now waiting from Buffalo, in the State of New York, who says the British have started three vessels to reinforce Malden; and one of the Frenchmen from Malden states that the three vessels have arrived at Malden with reinforcements. A rejoicing ensued at the fort, and the guns were heard at this place.

Captain Brush's company arrived here on the 9th, all in good health and good spirits. There are now about one hundred and sixty troops here (exclusive of the militia, which cannot be relied on.) Great suspicion is attached to the Frenchmen living in and about this place. The people are flocking into the stockade for protection, and the town and country around are alarmed.

I cannot inform you, sir, what course will be pursued here. If there is even a probable chance of seeing Detroit without incurring the reputation of rashness, I shall proceed to headquarters. If not, I shall wait with the rest of the troops till I can hear from General Hull.

I have but little time to write. The bearer now waits. I must, however, be permitted to suggest that I think our army is in a *precarious* situation. There are many sick or unable to do duty—several have been killed or wounded; and it is possible the whole corps may dissolve for reasons known to your excellency, unless encouraged by *immediate* reinforcement. Would not the volunteers from Gallia and Athens counties march without delay to this place, with orders to report themselves to the commandant here?

With deference I submit to your excellency this hasty summary, and meanwhile am, sir, very respectfully,

Your obedient servant,

JESSUP N. COUCH.

His Excellency, Return J. Meigs.

Before the surrender of Hull took place, extensive preparations had been made in Ohio, Kentucky, Virginia and Pennsylvania, to

bring into service a large and efficient army. Three points needed defence, Fort Wayne and the Maumee Valley, and the Wabash and Illinois country. The troops destined for the Maumee were to be under the command of General Winchester, a Revolutionary officer resident in Tennessee, and but little known to the frontier men.

Reaching Cincinnati, he addressed Governor Meigs the following letter:

CINCINNATI, 9th September, 1812.

Sir:—I am thus far on my way to assume the command of the army on your Northwestern frontier. I shall leave this place to-morrow for Piqua, where I shall be extremely glad to see you, in order to consult with you relative to the best possible means of protecting the exposed frontier of the State of Ohio, without losing sight, at the same time, of Upper Canada. I am authorized by the Secretary of War to call on your excellency for reinforcements of militia. On this subject, also, a personal interview is desirable.

Should it, however, be inconvenient to you, sir, to meet me at Piqua, or at some other place on my route, you will be good enough to communicate to me in writing your ideas on the subject of the protection of your frontier inhabitants, as well as the extent of militia you can furnish upon my requisition.

I have the honor to be, with high consideration,

Your obedient servant,

J. WINCHESTER,
Brigadier General U. S. Army.

To His Excellency R. J. Meigs, Governor of the State of Ohio.

And from his headquarters at Fort Wayne the following:

HEADQUARTERS, FORT WAYNE, 22d September, 1812.

Sir:—I had the honor last night of receiving your excellency's dispatch of the 16th instant, covering a communication from General Wadsworth, for which I beg you will accept my sincere thanks. With you, I rejoice at the prospect of regaining lost territory, and at the determination of the President on a vigorous course of measures: and I still hope to winter in Detroit or its vicinity the ensuing season.

To enable me, in part, to effect this purpose, I avail myself of the authority given me by the Secretary of War, to call upon your excellency for such reinforcements as I may deem necessary. You will please to furnish two regiments of infantry to join me at the Rapids of the Miami of the lake, about the 10th or 15th of October

next, well clothed for a fall campaign. Arms and ammunition can be drawn from Newport, Kentucky. It is extremely desirous to me that no time may be lost in supplying this requisition. The cold season is fast approaching, and the stain on the American character at Detroit not yet wiped away.

If you could furnish one other regiment to rendezvous at Piqua, and proceed to open and improve the road, by causeways, etc., to Defiance, it would greatly facilitate the transportation of supplies to this army, which is imperatively requisite to its welfare. This latter regiment might then return, or proceed on after the army, as circumstances should dictate.

I have the honor to be, with high respect,

Your obedient servant,

J. WINCHESTER,

Brig. Gen. U. S. Army.

To His Excellency Return J. Meigs, Governor of the State of Ohio.

And on the 15th of October, 1812, not having been informed of the appointment of General Harrison, on the previous month, to the chief command of the Northwestern army, General Winchester addressed Governor Meigs the following letter :

CAMP DEFIANCE, MOUTH OF THE AUGLAIZE, }
15th October, 1812. }

Sir :—Captain Wood, commanding a small party of spies, came into this camp yesterday, and reports that he was detached from Urbana to visit the rapids, etc.; that he fell in with other spies who had just returned from that place, and had obtained all the information that he possibly could. I therefore have directed him to return and report, deeming it unnecessary that he should proceed, as the information required had been obtained, and being desirous, too, to communicate to your excellency that this army could immediately march and take possession of the rapids, if supplies of provisions, &c., could certainly reach us in a few days after our arrival. Many days provisions could not be carried with us, because it is not here. Neither have we the means of transportation, and it is important that the corn at that place should be saved if it could be done.

At this place a picketed post with four block-houses, two stone houses and a house for the sick, will be finished this day. Then I shall turn my attention to building pirogues for the purpose of transporting heavy baggage and provisions down the river, and anxiously wait your answer with relation to supplies. I shall remain in readiness to march as soon as it is received.

If General Harrison is at Urbana, you will communicate the contents of this letter to him. If I knew where he could be found, I should address a letter to him on the same subject.

I have the honor to be, with great respect,

Your Excellency's obedient servant,

J. WINCHESTER,
Brigadier General U. S. Army.

To His Excellency Return J. Meigs, Urbana.

The appointment of Harrison to the post of Commander-in-Chief over all the forces in the West and Northwest was made on the 17th of September, 1812, and officially ratified on the 24th of that month.

The following judicious instructions, liberal in their spirit, and just to the administration and to General Harrison, were forwarded from the War Department:

WAR DEPARTMENT, September 17, 1812.

Sir: The President is pleased to assign to you the command of the Northwestern army which, in addition to the regular troops and rangers in those quarters, will consist of the volunteers and militia of Kentucky, Ohio and three thousand detached militia from Virginia and Pennsylvania, making your whole force consist of ten thousand men.

Having proceeded for the protection of the western frontier, you will re-take Detroit and, with a view to the conquest of Upper Canada, you will penetrate that country as soon as the force under your command will justify. Every exertion is making to give you a train of artillery from Pittsburgh, to effect which, you must be sensible, requires time. Major Stoddard, the senior officer of artillery at that place, will advise you of his arrangements and projects, and receive your instructions. Captain Gratiot, of the engineers, will report himself to you from Pittsburgh. He will receive your orders and join you with the first pieces of artillery which can be prepared, or receive such orders as you may direct. Major Ball of the Second Regiment of Dragoons will also report himself and join you immediately. Such staff officers as you may appoint, conformably to law, will be approved by the President.

Copies of all the contracts for supplying provisions have been transmitted. Mr. Denny, the contractor at Pittsburgh, is instructed to furnish magazines of provisions at such points as you may direct. The Deputy Quartermaster at Pittsburgh will continue to forward stores and munitions of every kind, and will meet your requisitions.

Colonel Buford, Deputy Commissioner at Lexington, is furnished with funds and is subject to your orders. Should an additional purchasing commissary become necessary, you will appoint one, and authorize him to draw and sell bills on this department. It seems desirable to keep the local contractors in requisition as far as they can supply. With these objects in view you will command such means as may be practicable. Exercise your own discretion and act in all cases according to your own judgment.

Very respectfully, I have the honor to be,

Sir, your obedient servant,

W. EUSTIS.

To General Wm. H. Harrison, Commanding the N. W. Army.

Meantime Fort Wayne had been relieved, and the line of the Maumee secured; so that, when Harrison found himself placed at the head of military affairs in the West, his main objects were, as will have been noted, first, to drive the hostile Indians from the western side of the Detroit river; second, to take Malden; and third, having thus secured his communications, to recapture the Michigan territory and its dependencies.

The plan adopted by General Harrison to meet the duties incumbent upon him was, to collect the troops at four points, Wooster, Urbana, Fort Defiance and St. Mary's. From these places the object for concentration for his troops was the rapids of the Maumee. The forced expedition at first adopted against Detroit was now abandoned, because the infantry could not be in readiness to secure and retain the acquisition, should it be made.

The base line of the new campaign was one drawn from Upper Sandusky along the southerly side of the swampy district to St. Mary's. These two places, with Fort McArthur between them, were intended as the depots for provisions, artillery and military stores. The troops at Defiance were intended to act as a corps of observation, and when the artillery should be brought to Upper Sandusky, they were to advance to the rapids. At Lower Sandusky a corps of observation was also stationed, which, with that at Defiance, would form the extremities of the new military base, when the army should have reached the advanced position mentioned on the Maumee. These arrangements covered the frontiers by the different corps, and kept the troops within the bounds of the ordinary contractors; while the quartermasters were accumulating provisions

farther in advance, and procuring means of transportation across the difficult district of country so well termed the Black Swamp. General Winchester was in command of the troops at Fort Wayne, and General Harrison had proceeded to St. Mary's, where about three thousand men were collected for the purpose of the expedition against Detroit already alluded to. This expedition had been abandoned by the commanding General, for reasons which have been already assigned. While in this position, information was received by Quartermaster Thomas D. Carneal, that a large force of British and Indians, with artillery, was passing up the left bank of the Maumee, towards Fort Wayne. General Harrison immediately determined by a rapid march upon the confluence of the Auglaize with the Maumee, to try and intercept the return of this detachment, knowing it would be met in front by the return of Winchester. The force under the immediate command of the General at this time consisted of some troops of cavalry from Ohio and Kentucky; the mounted corps of Finley of the former State, and of R. M. Johnson belonging to the latter; together with the infantry regiments of Poague, Barbee and Jennings. The latter officer with his regiment had previously been detached to erect an intermediate post between St. Mary's and Defiance, called Fort Jennings.

On the 30th of September,* General Harrison set out on the proposed expedition. Apprehensive that the infantry would too much retard his progress, after the first day's march, the two regiments were ordered to return; and the General, at the head of the cavalry, continued his march. No weather, or condition of a country, could be more trying to the feelings and the subordination of irregular troops, than during this forced expedition of General Harrison. The rain fell in torrents: the flat beech woods were covered with water, and they were so swampy that the horses sank half leg deep at every step. On the close of the second day's march, the troops encamped in a bottom of the Auglaize.

“A description of the *bivouac* of this night might well serve for that of many similar ones which were passed by the General and his troops during this campaign, with the exception of the increase of suffer-

* Here is an error in date, made by Mr Butler, in his History of Kentucky, authority which is generally regarded, and justly, too, of the highest character. It must have been several days later than September 30th; for, on the 15th of October, General Winchester writes to Governor Melgs that he was desirous of communicating with General Harrison, but did not “know where he could be found.”

ing from the severe cold of winter. The troops being on a forced march, were not suffered to encamp as long as there was light enough to march. They were formed as well as possible in an order of encampment, and guards placed out. The ground of the encampment here spoken of, was on the side of the Auglaize river, in a flat beech bottom, which was nearly covered by the water from the rain, which fell in torrents during the whole night. The troops were without axes, and their tomahawks could effect nothing with the large green beech trees. Happy were they who could find a dry log in which a fire could be kindled. Those who had not this good fortune were obliged to content themselves with passing the night sitting on their saddles at the roots of the trees, against which they leaned and procured a little sleep. Being separated from the baggage, there were few who had anything to eat, or spirits to drink. In a situation of this kind, men are peevish and ill-natured, in the venting of which a thousand circumstances continually occur. To prevent ebullitions of this kind, and to produce more pleasant feelings, the General, seated round a small fire with his staff, wrapped in his cloak, and taking the rain as it fell, directed one of his officers to sing an Irish glee. The humor of this song, and the determination which seemed to exist at *headquarters* to put circumstances at defiance, soon produced cheerfulness and good humor throughout the camp."

By day-break of the next morning, the march was resumed, the troops being required to be in readiness to mount by reveille. In the course of the next day, the General was met by an officer from General Winchester, who informed him of the latter officer's arrival at Fort Defiance, and the united body of British and Indians had retired down the Maumee. He then prosecuted his march, with a small escort, to Winchester's camp, leaving his detachment to come up more at their leisure. He arrived late at night.

At Fort Defiance a revolt in the Kentucky regiment of Colonel Allen took place, which, for its honorable termination, as well as from motives of historical fidelity, requires to be mentioned. It has been but obscurely alluded to by General McAfee and Mr. Dawson.

Soon after General Harrison's arrival at camp, and after he had retired to enjoy some little repose, so welcome to any one who had been exposed on the preceding comfortless and forced expedition,

he found himself suddenly awakened by Colonel Allen and Major M. D. Hardin. These officers were the bearers of the mortifying news that Allen's regiment, exhausted by the hard fare of the campaign, and disappointed in the expectation of an immediate engagement with the enemy, had, in defiance of their duty to their country, and all the earnest, impassioned remonstrances of their officers, determined to return home. These officers assured General Harrison that they could do nothing with their men; that their representations were answered by insults alone. They begged the General to rise and interfere, as the only officer who had any prospect of bringing the mutineers back to their duty. He refused to interfere at that time, but assured the gentlemen that he would attend to the serious object of their request in his own way, and at his own time. The officers retired. In the meantime, General Harrison sent one of his aids to direct General Winchester to order the alarm, or point of war, to be beat on the following morning, instead of the reveille. This adroit expedient brought all the troops to their arms the first thing in the morning. It diverted the spirits of the discontented troops into a new channel of feeling, and prepared them for the subsequent events.

On the parading of the troops at their posts, General Winchester was ordered to form them into a hollow square. General Harrison now appeared upon parade, much to the surprise of the troops, who, from his late arrival in camp, were unapprised of his presence. If the sudden and unexpected arrival of their favorite commander had so visible an effect upon the men, his immediate address to them fully preserved the impression. He began by lamenting that there were, as he was informed, considerable discontent in one of the Kentucky regiments; this, although a source of mortification to himself, on their account, was happily of little consequence to the government. He had more troops than he knew well what to do with at the present stage of the campaign; he was expecting daily the arrival of the Pennsylvania and Virginia quotas. It is fortunate, said this officer, with the ready oratory for which his native Virginia is so famed, that he had found out this dissatisfaction before the campaign was farther advanced, when the discovery might have been mischievous to the public interests, as well as disgraceful to the parties concerned. Now, so far as the government was interested, the discontented troops, who had come into the woods with the expectation of finding all the luxuries of home and of peace, had

full liberty to return. He would, he continued, order facilities to be furnished for their immediate accommodation. But he could not refrain from expressing the mortification he anticipated for the reception they would meet from the old and the young, who had greeted them on their march to the scene of war, as their gallant neighbors.

What must be their feelings, said the General, to see those whom they had hailed as their generous defenders, now returning without striking a blow, and before their term of plighted service had expired? But if this would be the state of public sentiment in Ohio, what would it be in Kentucky? If their fathers did not drive their degenerate sons back to the field of battle to recover their wounded honor, their mothers and sisters would hiss them from their presence. If, however, the discontented men were disposed to put up with all the taunts and disdain which awaited them wherever they went, they were, General Harrison again assured them, at full liberty to go back.

The influence of this animated address was instantaneous. This was evinced in a manner most flattering to the tact and management of the commander. Colonel J. M. Scott, the senior Colonel of Kentucky, and who had served in the armies of Harmar, St. Clair, and Wayne, in the medical staff, now addressed his men. These were well known in the army as the "Iron Works," from the neighborhood from which they had come. "You, my boys," said the generous veteran, "will prove your attachment for the service of your country, and your General, by giving him three cheers." The address was attended with immediate success, and the air resounded with the shouts of both officers and men.

Colonel Lewis next took up the same course, and with the same effect.

It now became the turn of the noble Allen again to try the temper of *his* men. He begged leave of the General to address them: but excess of emotion choked his utterance; at length he gave vent to the contending feelings of his heart, in a broken, but forcible address, breathing the fire which ever burned so ardently in his breast. At the close of it, however, he conjured the soldiers of his regiment to give the General the same manifestation of their patriotism and returning sense of duty, which the other Kentucky regiments had so freely done. The wishes of their high spirited officer were complied with; and a mutiny was nipped in its bud, which might, if persisted

in, have spread disaffection through the Kentucky troops, to the disgrace of that gallant State, and the lasting injury of the public cause. No troops, however, behaved more faithfully or zealously through the remainder of their service, till the greater part of them offered up their lives in defence of their country on the fatal field of Raisin.

General Harrison having quelled this unhappy disturbance, in the subordination of the troops, now made his arrangements with General Winchester, for the full command of the left wing. To this officer were committed the regulars under Colonel Wells, the regiments of Scott, Lewis and Allen, already mentioned, and the additional regiments under Colonels Poague, Barbee, and Jennings. Colonel Bodley, the quartermaster of this wing, an efficient and zealous officer of Kentucky, was fully empowered by General Harrison to draw upon the treasury for the carrying into effect all orders which he might receive from General Winchester for the supply of his command.

It now became necessary for the commanding General to direct his attention to the arrangements for the accommodation of the troops, which were marching to his reinforcement from Pennsylvania and Virginia. These, together with the brigade of General Perkins, of the Ohio militia, constituted the right wing of the army. Not only provisions were to be collected for this body of men, but all the materiel of war, ammunition and artillery, were yet to be obtained. It will hardly be believed in the future history of America, that when but two pieces of disposable artillery of small calibre had, by the disgraceful surrender of Hull, been left in the Western country, and which the commanding General informed the Secretary of War he had rather be without, cannon should have been sent to Pittsburgh without their carriages. Yet such was the fact; and when the whole country supposed General Harrison was thoroughly supplied with all the munitions of war, which the government was so able to furnish, the trees were still growing about Pittsburgh, out of which the carriages of the artillery were to be manufactured.

This was the state of protracted destitution of the army, in regard to a most important military arm.

Colonel Morrison, an old Revolutionary officer, and Colonel William Piatt, had been appointed deputy Quartermasters-General in the service, to act at the head of their department in the Northwestern army. These officers were placed under the command of

General Winchester; and he was fully informed of the general plan of the campaign by General Harrison, and thus became responsible for the part assigned him, in the general operations of the military service.

General E. W. Tupper, commanding the central column, addressed to Governor Meigs the following letter:

CAMP, NEAR MCARTHUR'S BLOCK-HOUSE, }
November 9th, 1812. }

Sir:—I have for some time thought a prisoner from near the Maumee Rapids would at this time be of much service, and highly acceptable to General Harrison. For this purpose I ordered Captain Hinkton to the Rapids, with his company of spies, with orders to take a prisoner, if possible. He has just returned, and brought in with him Captain A. Clark, a British subject, who resides two miles above Malden, and was out with a party of about five hundred Indians and fifty British, with two gunboats, six bateaux, and one small schooner at the foot of the Rapids, to gather in and carry over to Malden the corn. Captain Clark had but just arrived with the van of the detachment. The vessels and boats had not yet anchored when the spies surprised him as he advanced a few rods from the shore to reconnoitre, and brought him off undiscovered; and this from a number of Indians, who were killing hogs and beginning to gather corn. At the same time, several of Captain Hinkton's spies lay concealed on the bank within five rods of the place where some of the first boats were landing. Captain Hinkton has conducted this business with great skill and address. Captain Clark was taken prisoner on the 7th instant, a little before sun setting. He informs me that the force now at the Rapids contemplated remaining there from ten to fifteen days, in order to convey the whole of the corn in that neighborhood to Malden. I know not, sir, whether it will meet your approbation, or that of our commander-in-chief; but I have ordered every man in the brigade who does not fear the fatigues of a rapid march, and is in a condition to perform it, to draw five days' provisions, and march with me for the Rapids in the morning, taking nothing with them but their provisions, knapsacks and blankets. Although the force will not exceed six hundred and fifty, I am convinced it is sufficient to rout the force now at the Rapids, and save the greater part of the corn, which is all-important to us. A moment is not to be lost. We shall be at the Rapids in three days.

I have also sent an express to General Winchester, advising him of the situation of the enemy, and of our march; but as we can reach the Rapids one day sooner than General Winchester waiting for my express, I could not think of losing one day, and thereby suffer the enemy to escape with the forage.

Captain Clark informs me that there are but few Indians now at Malden; that they have principally been in and received their annuities and returned to their families. The Brownstown Indians are now at the Rapids with the foraging party—amounting to about sixty mounted warriors. The other Indians now at the Rapids are Chippeways, Ottawas and Pottawotamies, who came up in the vessels and canoes. Detroit is now garrisoned with fifty men of the forty-first regiment, under the command of General Proctor. They have made no improvement on the fort. The battery opposite to Detroit is demolished. Eight large pieces of cannon taken at Detroit, now lie on the wharf at Malden. Captain Clark cannot say what number of cannon are mounted at Detroit;—he thinks but few, and those small. Malden is garrisoned with about five hundred regular troops of the forty-first regiment, and about two hundred militia. It mounts four heavy cannon in each bastion, consisting of 18-pounders and long 9-pounders. The greatest force of militia they have ever been able to raise was about four hundred. The Indian force at the surrender of Detroit did not exceed seven hundred—the British regulars and militia between six and seven hundred. Captain Clark must be a good judge of the force, having been in the battles of Brownstown and Magnaga, and at the surrender of Detroit. At Malden they are strengthening the fortifications, though they do not calculate on an expedition from the United States this season. They are apprised of General Winchester's force, but understand he is building a fort at Defiance, and is to remain there during the winter. They have no knowledge of any other preparations making in the State of Ohio.

This contains the most important part of the information I have gained from Captain Clark. I have given him to understand that his treatment hereafter will depend entirely upon the truth of his relations. I send him off in the morning to General Harrison. I write you, sir, in great haste. The preparations making for our march will employ me the whole night. I take with me one light 6-pounder, drawn by six horses. I am in hopes of finding some of those vessels in the river, and with this piece I can advance thirty miles per day.

I am, very respectfully,

Your Excellency's most obedient servant,

EDWARD W. TUPPER,
Brigadier Gen. Ohio Quota.

To his Excellency R. J. Meigs, Governor of Ohio.

P. S.—I shall not take a man with me but such as volunteer their services. I have assured them that they will have to endure hunger, fatigue, difficulties and dangers. Such as fear to risk their lives, or encounter the sufferings of a rapid march, on short rations, I leave behind to guard our camp.

The troops commanded by General Tupper were raised chiefly from the county of his residence, (Gallia,) and from Lawrence and Jackson counties.

Thus, at the close of the year 1812, nothing effectual had been done towards the re-conquest of Michigan. Winchester, with the left wing of the army, was at Defiance, on his way to the Rapids, his men enfeebled by sickness, want of clothes, and want of food; the right wing at Upper Sandusky, and the centre resting at Fort McArthur.

Several smaller operations had taken place, and one of some importance occurred near the close of the year, when General Harrison dispatched a party of six hundred men against the Miami villages upon the Mississinneway, a branch of the Wabash. This body, under the command of Lieutenant Colonel Campbell, destroyed several villages and fought a severe battle with the Indians, who were defeated; but the severity of the weather, the number of his wounded (forty-eight), the scarcity of provisions, and the fear of an attack from Tecumseh, at the head of six hundred fresh savages, led Colonel Campbell to retreat immediately after the battle, without destroying the principal town of the enemy. The expedition, however, was not without valuable results, as it induced some of the tribes to come openly and wholly under the protection and within the borders of the Republic.

On the 10th of January, 1813, Winchester with his troops reached the Rapids. From the 13th to the 16th, messengers arrived at Winchester's camp from the inhabitants of Frenchtown on the river Raisin, representing the danger to which that place was exposed from the hostility of the British and Indians, and begging for protection. These representations and petitions excited the feelings of the Americans, and led them, forgetful of the main objects of the campaign, and of military caution, to determine upon the step of sending a strong party to the aid of the sufferers. On the 17th, accordingly, Col. Lewis was despatched with 550 men to the river Raisin, and soon after Col. Allen followed with 110 men. Marching along the frozen borders of the Bay and Lake, on the afternoon of the 18th the Americans reached and attacked the enemy who were posted in the village, and after a severe contest defeated them. Having gained possession of the town, Colonel Lewis wrote for reinforcements and prepared himself to defend the position he had gained. And it was evident that all his means of defence would be

needed, as the place was but eighteen miles from Malden, where the whole British force was collected under Proctor. Winchester, on the 19th, having heard of the action of the previous day, marched with 259 men, which was the most he dared detach from the Rapids, to the aid of the captor of Frenchtown, which place he reached on the next evening. But instead of placing his men in a secure position, and taking measures to prevent the secret approach of the enemy, Winchester suffered the troops he had brought with him to remain in the open ground, and took no efficient measures to protect himself from surprise, although informed that an attack might be expected at any moment. The consequence was that during the night of the 21st the whole British force approached undiscovered, and erected a battery within 300 yards of the American camp. From this, before the troops were fairly under arms in the morning, a discharge of bombs, balls, and grapeshot, informed the devoted soldiers of Winchester of the folly of their commander, and in a moment more the dreaded Indian yell sounded on every side. The troops under Lewis were protected by the garden pickets behind which their commander, who alone seems to have been upon his guard, had stationed them; the troops yielded, broke and fled, but fled under a fire which mowed them down like grass: Winchester and Lewis (who had left his pickets to aid his superior officer), were taken prisoners. Upon the party who fought from behind their slight defences, however, no impression could be made, and it was not till Winchester was induced to send them what was deemed an order to surrender that they dreamed of doing so. This Proctor persuaded him to do by the old story of an Indian massacre in case of continued resistance, to which he added a promise of help and protection for the wounded, and of a removal at the earliest moment: without which last promise the troops of Lewis refused to yield even when required by their General. But the promise, even if given in good faith, was not redeemed, and the horrors of the succeeding night and day will long be remembered by the inhabitants of the frontier. Of a portion of those horrors we give a description in the words of an eye-witness:

NICHOLASVILLE, Kentucky, April 24th, 1813.

Sir:—Yours of the 5th instant, requesting me to give you a statement respecting the late disaster at Frenchtown, was duly received. Rest assured, sir, that it is with sensations the most

unpleasant that I undertake to recount the infamous and barbarous conduct of the British and Indians after the battle of the 22d January. The blood runs cold in my veins when I think of it.

On the morning of the 23d, shortly after light, six or eight Indians came to the house of Jean Baptiste Jereanne, where I was, in company with Major Graves, Captains Hart and Hickman, Doctor Todd, and fifteen or twenty volunteers, belonging to different corps. They did not molest any person or thing on their first approach, but kept sauntering about until there was a large number collected (say one or two hundred), at which time they commenced plundering the houses of the inhabitants, and the massacre of the wounded prisoners. I was one amongst the first that was taken prisoner, and was taken to a horse about twenty paces from the house, after being divested of part of my clothing, and commanded by signs there to remain for further orders. Shortly after being there, I saw them knock down Captain Hickman at the door, together with several others with whom I was not acquainted. Supposing a general massacre had commenced, I made an effort to get to a house about one hundred yards distant, which contained a number of wounded, but on my reaching the house, to my great mortification, found it surrounded by Indians, which precluded the possibility of my giving notice to the unfortunate victims of savage barbarity. An Indian chief of the Tawa tribe of the name of M'Carty, gave me possession of his horse and blanket, telling me by signs to lead the horse to the house which I had just before left. The Indian that first took me, by this time came up, and manifested a hostile disposition towards me, by raising his tomahawk as if to give me the fatal blow, which was prevented by my very good friend M'Carty. On my reaching the house which I had first started from, I saw the Indians take off several prisoners, which I afterwards saw in the road, in a most mangled condition, and entirely stripped of their clothing.

Messrs. Bradford, Searls, Turner and Blythe, were collected round a carryall, which contained articles taken by the Indians from the citizens. We had all been placed there, by our respective captors, except Blythe, who came where we were entreating an Indian to convey him to Malden, promising to give him forty or fifty dollars, and whilst in the act of pleading for mercy, an Indian more savage than the other, stepped up behind, tomahawked, stripped and scalped him. The next that attracted my attention, was the houses on fire that contained several wounded, whom I knew were not able to get out. After the houses were nearly consumed, we received marching orders, and after arriving at Sandy Creek, the Indians called a halt and commenced cooking: after preparing and eating a little sweetened gruel, Messrs. Bradford, Searles, Turner and myself, received some, and were eating, when an Indian came up and proposed exchanging his moccasins for Mr. Searls' shoes, which he readily complied with. They then exchanged hats, after which the Indian inquired how many men Harrison had with him, and, at the same

time, calling Searls a Washington or Madison, then raised his tomahawk and struck him on the shoulder, which cut into the cavity of the body. Searls then caught hold of the tomahawk and appeared to resist, and upon my telling him his fate was inevitable, he closed his eyes and received the savage blow which terminated his existence. I was near enough to him to receive the brains and blood, after the fatal blow, on my blanket. A short time after the death of Searls, I saw three others share a similar fate. We then set out for Brownstown, which place we reached about 12 or 1 o'clock at night. After being exposed to several hours' incessant rain in reaching that place, we were put into the council house, the floor of which was partly covered with water, at which place we remained until next morning, when we again received marching orders for their village on the river Rouge, which place we made that day, where I was kept six days, then taken to Detroit and sold. For a more detailed account of the proceedings, I take the liberty of referring you to a publication which appeared in the public prints, signed by Ensign J. L. Baker, and to the publication of Judge Woodward, both of which I have particularly examined, and find them to be literally correct, so far as came under my notice.

I am, sir, with due regard, your fellow-citizen.

GUSTAVUS M. BOWER,

Surgeon's Mate Fifth Regiment Kentucky Volunteers.

Jesse Bledsoe, Esq., Lexington.

Of the American army, which was about 800 strong, one-third were killed in the battle and the massacre which followed, and but 33 escaped.

General Harrison, as we have stated, was at Upper Sandusky when Winchester reached the Rapids: on the night of the 16th word came to him of the arrival of the left wing at that point, and of some meditated movement. He at once proceeded with all speed to Lower Sandusky, and on the morning of the 18th sent forward a battalion of troops to the support of Winchester. On the 19th he learned what the movement was that had been meditated and made, and with additional troops he started instantly for the Rapids, where he arrived early on the morning of the 20th; here he awaited the arrival of the regiment with which he had started, but which he had outstripped; this came on the evening of the 21st, and on the following morning was despatched to Frenchtown, while all the troops belonging to the army of Winchester yet at the Rapids, 300 in number, were also hurried on to the aid of their commander. But it was, of course, in vain: on that morning the battle was fought, and General Harrison with his reinforcements met the few survivors

long before they reached the ground. A council being called, it was deemed unwise to advance any further, and the troops retired to the Rapids again: here, during the night, another consultation took place, the result of which was a determination to retreat yet farther in order to prevent the possibility of being cut off from the convoys of stores and artillery upon their way from Sandusky. On the next morning, therefore, the block-house which had been built was destroyed, together with the provisions it contained, and the troops retired to Portage river, eighteen miles in the rear of Winchester's position, there to await the guns and reinforcements which were daily expected, but which, as it turned out, were detained by rains until the 30th of January. Finding his army 1700 strong, General Harrison on the 1st of February again advanced to the Rapids, where he took up a new and stronger position, at which point he ordered all the troops as rapidly as possible to gather. He did this in the hope of being able before the middle of the month to advance upon Malden, but the causes which compelled him to abandon this hope are clearly set forth in the following letter addressed to the Secretary of War:

HEADQUARTERS, FOOT OF THE MIAMI RAPIDS, }
11th February, 1813. }

Sir :—Having been joined by General Leftraech, with his brigade, and a regiment of the Pennsylvania quota at Portage river, on the 30th ultimo, I marched from thence on the 1st instant, and reached this place on the morning of the 2d, with an effective force of about sixteen hundred men. I have been since joined by a Kentucky regiment, and General Tupper's Ohio brigade, which has increased our numbers to two thousand non-commissioned officers and privates. Your letter of the 27th ultimo, was received before I left the camp at Portage river, and although the injunctions contained in it were such as to produce many doubts of the propriety of pushing on the arrangements calculated for the accomplishment of the principal objects of the campaign during the present winter, yet there were other considerations which produced a preponderance in my mind in favor of prosecuting them with vigor as long as a hope remained of their being successful. I accordingly ordered the whole of the troops of the left wing, excepting one company for each of the six forts in that quarter—the balance of the Pennsylvania brigade, and the Ohio brigade, under General Tupper, and a detachment of regular troops and twelve months' volunteers, under the command of Lieutenant Colonel Campbell, to march to this place as soon as possible, believing I should be able to advance from hence by this day or to-mor-

row; and if it were not in my power to take heavy artillery for the siege of Malden, I should be enabled to scour the whole country—disperse the Indians—destroy all the shipping of the enemy and the greater part of their provisions, and leave a portion at or near Brownstown until a further supply of cannon and stores could be brought up. Such was my plan when I marched from Portage river on the 1st instant, and my situation was such as to authorize the strongest hopes of success. Although the aggregate amount of all the effective men in all the corps above mentioned was only a number that will greatly surprise you to be furnished with so many nominal brigades, and the period of service of the Kentucky and Ohio troops was rapidly terminating—some of them expiring about the middle of the month, and all before the last of it—I had established with them the principal that I had a right to march them to any point before the day which would complete their fourteen months' tour; and I know them too well to believe that they would abandon me in the country of the enemy. Provisions and ammunition were also on the road from the Sanduskys [Upper and Lower] and McArthur's Block-house, in considerable quantities, and measures taken to supply the means of transportation for the advance from this place. These fair prospects have been entirely destroyed by circumstances which no human being could control. The present is precisely the season, in common years, when the most intense frosts prevail in this country, giving the most perfect security and facility in passing the lakes, rivers and swamps with which it abounds. For the last twelve or fifteen days, however, it has been so warm that the roads have become entirely broken up, and for a considerable distance in our rear absolutely impassable for wagons or sleds, and can with great difficulty be traversed with single horses. A number of wagons and sleds, loaded with ammunition and other munitions of war, have been eighteen days coming from Upper Sandusky, and are yet twenty-five miles off. Eight days they were stopped by an uncommon freshet in the Tymocta, and have been two more in getting twenty-five miles. The weather has even affected the ice of the lake. On the evening before last, I went with a detachment in pursuit of a body of Indians, who were driving off the cattle from a small French settlement about fourteen miles from this place. We pursued them for about twenty-six miles upon the ice, which was so weak in many places that a 6-pounder which was taken with us broke through and was nearly lost, as did several of the officers who were mounted. I have waited with an anxiety which I cannot describe for a change in the weather; and until this day I never abandoned the hope of being able to execute the plan which I had formed. It is now, however, the 11th of the month, the period for which the Kentucky troops, which first took the field, were to serve, expires in four days; but if I were ready to advance, I am satisfied they would not hesitate to follow me. To persevere longer under the expectation of accomplishing the objects of the campaign during the winter,

is, in my opinion, no longer proper, considering the enormous expense which a continuance of these efforts at this season daily produces, and which could only be justified by a reasonable hope of success under present appearances. I can no longer indulge such hopes. Indeed, I fear I shall be censured for having cherished them too long, and that I have sacrificed the public interests in a vain pursuit. I have no hesitation, however, in asserting that I have it in my power to satisfy the government that their wishes would have been accomplished but for the unfortunate event of the River Raisin, and others over which I could have no control; and that until a few days since my calculations of succeeding were supported by the opinion of every general and field officer in the army.

It remains for me, sir, to inform you of the disposition I shall make of the troops for the remaining part of the winter. A battalion of the militia lately called out from this State, with the company of regular troops now at Fort Winchester, will garrison the posts upon the waters of the Auglaize and St. Mary's. The small block-houses upon Hull's trace, will have a subaltern's command in each. A company will be placed at Upper Sandusky, and another at Lower Sandusky. All the rest of the troops will be brought to this place, amounting to from fifteen to eighteen hundred men.

I am erecting here a pretty strong fort—capable of resisting field artillery at least. The troops will be placed in a fortified camp, covered on one flank by the fort. This position is the best that can be taken to cover the frontiers, and the small posts in the rear of it, and those above it on the Miami and its waters. The force placed here ought, however, to be strong enough to encounter any that the enemy may detach against the forts above. Twenty-five hundred would not be too many. But anxious to reduce the expenses during the winter within as narrow bounds as possible, I have desired the Governor of Kentucky not to call out, but to hold in readiness to march, the fifteen hundred men lately required of him. All the teams which have been hired for the public service will be immediately discharged, and those belonging to the public which are principally oxen, disposed of in the settlements, where forage is cheaper, and every other arrangement made which can lessen the expenses during the winter. Attention will still, however, be paid to the deposit of supplies for the ensuing campaign. Little remains to complete these. Immense supplies of provisions have been accumulating upon the Auglaize river, and boats and pirogues prepared to bring them down as soon as the river opens. I shall have the honor to give you a more particular account of these in a few days.

I regret that I had the misfortune to be misunderstood by Colonel Munroe, in his letter of the 17th ultimo. He supposed that I had asserted in mine of the 4th, that Malden could not be taken by first marching to Detroit and crossing the strait there with an army sufficiently strong, and taking with it everything which it would want, either for its subsistence or for annoying the enemy. It would certainly not be material at what point it would cross the strait,

The whole tenor of my argument, whenever the subject has been mentioned in my letters, is this: That by going around by Detroit more time would be required to effect the object, and more provisions of course wanted; and that if supplies of these were to be drawn from the rear, each convoy must be strong enough to resist the whole of the enemy's disposable force, because the line of operation upon which these convoys would move—passing almost in sight of Malden, and the enemy having the means of crossing the strait, they could attack them when and where they pleased. I never doubted that our army would be able to go anywhere, if sufficiently strong, and having with it such a quantity of provisions and other necessaries as to require no supplies from the deposits in the rear.

I have the honor to enclose you the deposition of a certain —, who was at the River Raisin the 22d ultimo, and remained there until the 6th inst. His account of the loss of the enemy in the action is corroborated by several others; nor is there the least reason to doubt his statement as regards the horrible fate of our wounded men. There is another circumstance which plainly shows that the British have no intention to conduct the war (at least in this quarter,) upon those principles which have been held sacred by all civilized nations. On the 30th ultimo I dispatched Doctor McGeehan, a Surgeon's mate in the militia, with a flag of truce to ascertain the situation of our wounded. He was attended by one of our militia men and a Frenchman. On the night after their departure, they halted near this place for the purpose of taking a few hours sleep in a vacant cabin upon the bank of the river. The cariole in which they travelled was left at the door with the flag set up in it. They were discovered by a party of Indians, accompanied, it is said, by a British officer, and attacked in the manner described in the deposition. Le Monte, the militia man, was killed and scalped, and the doctor and Frenchman taken. Dr. McGeehan was furnished with a letter addressed to any British officer whom he might meet with, describing the character in which he went, and the object for which he was sent. An open letter to General Winchester, and written instructions to himself, all of which he was directed to show to the first officer he met with. He was also supplied with one hundred dollars in gold to procure necessaries for the wounded.

Should any opportunity occur of doing anything in advance, by way of a *coup de main*, it shall not be neglected, and there is a probability that a stroke of this kind may reach the Queen Charlotte, although she is covered by the guns of Malden.

I have not yet received the promised letter of Colonel Munroe, with the late acts of Congress for raising an additional force. When I do receive it, I will immediately communicate my sentiments as to what may be done under them in the western country.

I have the honor to be, with great respect, sir,

Your obedient humble servant,

WM. HENRY HARRISON.

To Hon. John Armstrong, Secretary of War.

The communications which follow will afford a view of the state of the country and of the public opinion which followed the disaster at River Raisin :

DAYTON, February 2d, 1813.

Gov. MEIGS :

Sir :—Since the news reached this place of the destruction of the left wing of the Northwestern Army under Winchester, the inhabitants are much alarmed. Many families, even in this town, are almost on the wing for Kentucky. If the posts at Greenville are to be abandoned, this place will be a part of the frontier in ten days after. The collections of Indians on our frontiers also heighten the alarm. I verily believe that if the Indians are not removed from Piqua, the people will rise in a mass and drive them off. I am sorry the second expedition to Mississinnaway is given up for the present. I am confident, from very recent information, that Tecumseh is now at Mississinnaway, with upwards of 1,000 warriors. He has not been sent there by Proctor to be an idle spectator of passing events: the frontier and rear of our army, I presume, is marked out for him to act upon.

Lieutenant Graves, who bears this, and a memorial from the citizens of the town, can relate to you information received from Colonel Wells, who is immediately from General Harrison's camp, &c. I have just heard the officers of the three regiments of militia have been exchanged, but know nothing as respects my situation.

With great respect,

Your obedient, humble servant, A. EDWARDS.
General Meigs, Chillicothe.

MIAMI COUNTY, State of Ohio, Feb. 3d. 1813.

To His Excellency R. J. Meigs, Gov. of said State :

The petition of the undersigned humbly sheweth : That whereas there are a considerable number of Indians of the Delaware tribe called in by order of General Harrison, and are now in our county; that it is but thinly settled on the frontier, distant from a market where provisions can be furnished them, and the people of the neighborhood feel themselves in a dangerous situation in consequence of their being exposed to invasion and depredations from them, they being contiguous to the enemy: hence every opportunity of conveying information to them of our situation, moving off and joining them, and doing much mischief from their knowledge of our country, &c. This brief petition we would humbly beg your Excellency to take into consideration, and relieve us from a state of uneasiness and alarm, by having them removed into the interior of the State, where, from its population, they will be awed into submission to the authorities having charge over them, and supported at a much less expense to the Government. And we shall as in duty bound, &c.,

G. SMITH HOUSTON, and 52 others,

HAMILTON COUNTY, Feb. 14th, 1813.

Dear Sir:—I have just read the journal of an American officer (captured at Queenstown on 10th October), kept on his passage from Fort George to Boston, stating that while at Quebec, between fifteen and twenty Irishmen (naturalized citizens, and several of them having families in the United States) were separated from the American prisoners, and put on board a ship-of-war to be sent to Botany Bay, or executed, for having borne arms against a Power which, by its multiplied oppressions, had driven them from their native homes to seek shelter in a foreign land. I have no doubt of the foregoing statement being correct. The British have adopted this system of cruelty in order to deprive the United States of the aid of a numerous class of citizens.

It was my lot to be born in Ireland. I have been sixteen years in the United States, married here, and have a numerous family. I am on the next class for duty, (and it appears our land forces are in the habit of being taken prisoners.) To march in the ranks with native citizens who, if overpowered, might find safety in surrendering, appears for me to be highly imprudent: what would be safety for them would be certain destruction to me. I have talked with several well-informed persons on the subject, whose opinions coincide with mine, and I have no doubt the same sentiment pervades the breast of every Irishman in the State. I would march cheerfully enrolled with native citizens against the Indians. Our cases would be equal: but to march against the British in the same manner, there would be no equality whatever. Let us be enrolled in a distinct corps, armed and provided, and placed under the direction of General Harrison, and I have no doubt we will deserve well of our adopted country. We would expect no mercy and take no prisoners.

If enrolled in a distinct corps, I would prefer marching against the British (the Indians have done me no "essential injury"). I have received much injury from the British personally, and they have plundered and insulted my progenitors these twelve hundred years. Therefore, vengeance calls aloud, and the voice is irresistible.

Dear sir, pardon the liberty I have taken in suggesting the foregoing. The urgency of the case is evident. Therefore, I pray your Excellency to divine how (I presume) six or eight hundred men may be of service to their country, and at the same time take ample vengeance on their enemies.

I am, with great respect, your ob't servant,

JOHN CAMPBELL,

Ensign 1st Battalion 2d Regiment 1st D. O. Militia.

His Excellency Governor Meigs.

P. S.—Since the Prince Regent has declared this shall be a war of extermination, the sooner we commence business the better. I would glory to march in the ranks of a Spartan band whose best alternative would be to die with face to the enemy. J. C.

So far the military operations of the Northwest had certainly been sufficiently discouraging: the capture of Mackinac, the surrender of Hull, the massacre at Chicago, and the overwhelming defeat at Frenchtown, are the leading events. Nothing had been gained, and of what had been lost, nothing had been retaken. The slight successes over the Indians by Hopkins, Edwards and Campbell, had not shaken the power or confidence of Tecumseh and his allies; while the fruitless efforts of Harrison through five months, to gather troops enough at the mouth of the Maumee to attempt the reconquest of Michigan, which had been taken in a week, depressed the spirits of the Americans, and gave new life and hopes to their foes.

About the time that Harrison's unsuccessful campaign drew to a close, a change took place in the War Department, and General Armstrong succeeded his incapable friend, Dr. Eustis. Armstrong's views were those of an able soldier. In October, 1812, he had again addressed the government, through Mr. Gallatin, on the necessity of obtaining command of the Lakes, and when raised to power determined to make naval operations the basis of the military movements in the Northwest. His views in relation to the coming campaign in the West, were based upon two points, viz.: the use of regular troops alone, and the command of the Lakes, which he was led to think could be obtained by the 20th of June.

Although the views of the Secretary in regard to the non-employment of militia, were not, and could not be, adhered to, the general plan of merely standing upon the defensive until the command of the lake was secured, was persisted in, although it was the 2d of August, instead of the 1st of June, before the vessels on Erie could leave the harbor in which they had been built. Among these defensive operations in the spring and summer of 1813, that of Fort Meigs, the new post taken by Harrison at the foot of the rapids, and that at Lower Sandusky, deserve to be especially noticed, as they form historical wealth which the whole country, and especially the inhabitants of the Maumee valley, will ever regard with feelings of pride and interest. It had been anticipated that, with the opening of spring, the British would attempt the conquest of the position upon the Maumee, and measures had been taken by the General to forward reinforcements, which were detained, however, as usual, by the spring freshets and the bottomless roads. It was no surprise, therefore, to General Harrison, that on the breaking up of the ice in Lake Erie, General Proctor, with all his disposable force, consisting of regulars and

Canadian militia from Malden, and a large body of Indians under Tecumseh, amounting in the whole to two thousand men, made him a hostile visit, and laid siege to Fort Meigs. To encourage the Indians, he had promised them an easy conquest, and assured them that General Harrison should be delivered up to Tecumseh. On the 26th of April, the British columns appeared on the other bank of the river, and established their principal batteries on a commanding eminence opposite Fort Meigs. On the 27th the Indians crossed the river, and established themselves in the rear of the American lines. The garrison not having completed their wells, had no water except what they obtained from the river, under a constant firing from the enemy.

At this point it may not be out of place to turn aside from the regular narrative and introduce the following characteristic letter of the gallant Major Oliver, which will exhibit the condition of affairs in the neighborhood:

FORT FINDLAY, April 29, 1813.

To His Excellency Governor Meigs:

Sir: You will observe the seal of the letter from His Excellency General Harrison, has been broken. This I did to take a copy and transmit Governor Shelby, pursuant to directions from General Harrison on that subject at the moment I was setting off.

General Harrison has not written you at such length as he would, could he have confidently calculated on my getting through safe.

Yesterday the British let loose a part of their savage allies upon the fort from the opposite shore, whilst the former were concerting plans below. There is little doubt the enemy intends erecting batteries on the opposite shore. No force can reduce the fort. All are in fine spirits, anxiously waiting a share of the glory to be acquired over the British and their savage allies; though one thing is certain, whilst their forces are so far superior, they cannot be driven from their position on the opposite shore. Captain Hamilton, who was detached with a discovering party, estimated their forces at three thousand—independent of the Indians lurking in the neighborhood.

I am now in pursuit of General Clay, and expect to come up with him to-day.

Yesterday's mail had been opened before it arrived at the rapids—from what cause to the General unknown; in consequence of which he directed that the earliest possible inquiry be made to

ascertain the source ; that, if treason be on foot, it may be suppressed in the bud.

You will be pleased to have all express mails stopped beyond Franklinton towards the rapids until General Harrison directs their resumption.

With sentiments of highest respect, I have the honor to be,

Your obedient servant,

WILLIAM OLIVER.

On the 1st, 2d and 3d of May, the British kept up an incessant shower of balls and shells upon the fort. On the night of the third the enemy erected a gun and mortar battery upon the left (or Maumee City bank) of the river, within two hundred and fifty yards of the American lines. The Indians climbed the trees in the neighborhood of the fort, and poured in a galling fire upon the garrison. In this situation, General Harrison received a summons from Proctor for a surrender of the garrison, greatly magnifying his means of annoyance. This was answered by a prompt refusal, assuring the British General that if he obtained possession of the fort, it would not be by capitulation, and that the post would not be surrendered upon *any* terms; that should it fall into his (General Proctor's) hands, it would be in a manner calculated to do him more honor, and give him higher claims upon the gratitude of his government, than any capitulation could possibly do. Anticipating, as before stated, this attack, General Harrison had made the Governors of Kentucky and Ohio minutely acquainted with his situation, and stated to them the necessity of reinforcements for the relief of Fort Meigs. His requisitions had been zealously anticipated, and General Clay was at this moment descending the Maumee with twelve hundred Kentuckians, conveyed on flat boats for his relief.

At twelve o'clock in the night of the fourth, Captain William Oliver arrived from General Clay, with the welcome intelligence of his approach, stating that he was just above the rapids, and could reach him in two hours, and requesting his orders. Harrison at once determined upon a general sally, and directed Clay to land eight hundred men on the left bank, take possession of the British batteries and spike their cannon, immediately return to their boats and cross over to the American fort. The remainder of Clay's force were ordered to land on the right bank and fight their way to the fort, while sorties were to be made from the garrison in aid of these

operations. Captain Hamilton was ordered to proceed up the river in a pirogue, land a subaltern force on the right bank, who should be a pilot to conduct General Clay to the fort; and then cross over and station his pirogue at the place designated for the other division to land. General Clay, having received these instructions, descended the river in order of battle, in solid columns, each officer taking position according to rank.

Colonel Dudley, being senior in command, led the van, and was ordered to take the men in the twelve front boats, and execute General Harrison's orders on the left bank. He effected his landing at the place designated without difficulty. General Clay kept close along the right bank until he came opposite the place of Dudley's landing, but not finding the subaltern there, he attempted to cross over and join Colonel Dudley; but this was prevented by the violence of the current on the rapids, and he again attempted to land on the right bank, and effected it with only fifty men amid a brisk fire from the enemy on shore, and made his way to the fort, receiving their fire until within protection of its guns. The other boats, under command of Colonel Boswell, were driven further down the current, and landed on the left to join Colonel Dudley. Here they were ordered to re-embark, land on the right bank and proceed to the fort.

In the meantime, two sorties were made from the garrison, one on the left in aid of Colonel Boswell, by which the Canadian militia and Indians were defeated, and he enabled to reach the fort in safety; and one on the right against the British batteries, which was also successful. The troops in this attack on the British battery were commanded by Colonel John Miller, of the Nineteenth United States Regiment, and consisted of about two hundred and fifty of the Seventeenth and Nineteenth Regiments, one hundred twelve month volunteers, and Captain Seebro's company of Kentucky militia. They were drawn up in a ravine under the east curtain of the fort, out of reach of the enemy's fire; but to approach the batteries it was necessary, after having ascended from the ravine, to pass a plain of two hundred yards in width, into the woods, beyond which were the batteries protected by a company of grenadiers and another of light infantry, upwards of two hundred strong. These troops were flanked on the right by two or three companies of Canadian militia, and on the left by a large body of Indians, under Tecumseh. After passing along the ranks and encouraging the men to do their duty, the Gen-

eral placed himself upon the battery of the rear right angle to witness the contest. The troops advanced with loaded but trailed arms. They had scarcely reached the summit of the hill when they received the fire of the British infantry. It did them little harm; but the Indians being placed in position, and taking sight or aim, did great execution. They had not advanced more than fifty yards on the plain, before it became necessary to halt and close the ranks. This was done with as much order by word of command from the officers as if they had been on parade. The charge was then made, and the enemy fled with so much precipitation that although many were killed none were taken. The General, from his position on the battery, seeing the direction that part of them had taken, dispatched Major Todd with the reserve of about fifty regulars, who quickly returned with two officers and forty-three non-commissioned officers and privates. In this action the volunteers and privates suffered less than the regulars, because, from their position, the latter were much sooner unmasked by the hill, and received the first fire of all the enemy. It was impossible that troops could have behaved better than they did upon this sortie.

Colonel Dudley, on the left bank, with his detachment of eight hundred Kentucky militia, completely succeeded in driving the British from their batteries, and spiking their cannon. Having accomplished this object, his orders were peremptory to return immediately to his boats and cross over to the fort; but the blind confidence which generally attends militia when successful, proved their ruin. Although repeatedly ordered by Colonel Dudley, and warned of their danger and called upon from the fort to leave the ground, and although there was abundant time for that purpose before the British reinforcements arrived, yet they commenced a pursuit of the Indians, and suffered themselves to be drawn into an ambuscade by some feint skirmishing, while the British troops and large bodies of Indians were brought up, and intercepted their return to the river. Elated with their first success, they considered their victory as already gained, and pursued the enemy nearly two miles into the woods and swamps, where they were suddenly caught in a defile and surrounded by double their numbers. Finding themselves in this situation, consternation prevailed; their line became broken and disordered, and huddled together in unresisting crowds, they were obliged to yield to the fury of the savages. Fortunately for these unhappy victims of their own rashness, Gen.

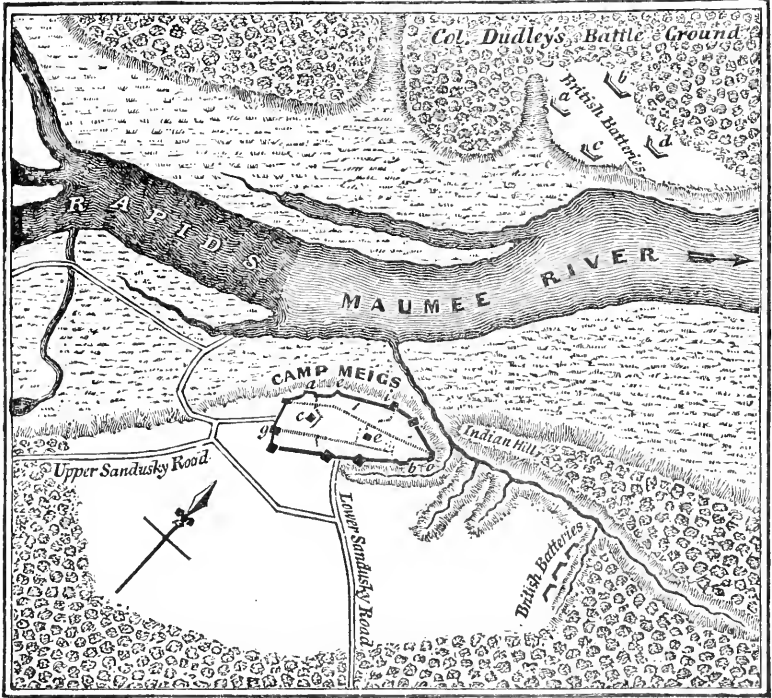
Tecumseh commanded at this ambuscade, and had imbibed, since his appointment, more humane feelings than his brother Proctor. After the surrender, and all resistance had ceased, the Indians, finding five hundred prisoners at their mercy, began the work of massacre with the most savage delight. Tecumseh sternly forbade it, and buried his tomahawk in the head of one of his chiefs who refused obedience. This order accompanied with this decisive manner of enforcing it, put an end to the massacre. Of eight hundred men, only one hundred and fifty escaped. The residue were slain or made prisoners. Colonel Dudley was severely wounded in the action, and afterwards tomahawked and scalped.

Proctor, seeing no prospect of taking the fort, and finding his Indians fast leaving him, raised the siege on the 9th of May, and returned with precipitation to Malden. Tecumseh and a considerable portion of the Indians remained in service; but large numbers left it in disgust, and were ready to join the Americans. On the right bank, in the several sorties of the 5th of May, and during the siege, the American loss was eighty-one killed and one hundred and eighty wounded.

When the enemy raised the siege, they gave a parting salute, which killed ten or twelve and wounded double that number. "However," says one who was present, "we were glad enough to see them off on any terms. The next morning found us something more tranquil. We could leave the ditches and walk about with something more of an air of freedom than we had done for the last fourteen days; and here I wish I could present to the reader a picture of the condition we found ourselves in, when the withdrawal of the enemy gave us time to look at each others' outward appearance. The scarcity of water had put the washing of our hands and faces, much less our linen, out of the question. Many had scarcely any clothing left, and that which they wore was so begrimed and torn by our residence in the ditch, and other means, that we presented the appearance of so many scarecrows."

Henry Howe, in his *Ohio Historical Collections*, (to whom we are chiefly indebted for the material relating to this and the second siege of Fort Meigs,) estimates the British force under Proctor, during the siege, at three thousand two hundred men, of whom six hundred were British regulars, eight hundred Canadian militia, and one thousand eight hundred Indians. Those under Harrison included the troops who arrived on the morning of the 5th, under General

Clay, were about one thousand two hundred. The number of his men fit for duty, was, perhaps, less than one thousand one hundred.



Fort Meigs and its Environs.

Explanations:—*a*, grand battery, commanded by Captain Daniel Cushing; *b*, mortar battery; *e*, *i*, *o*, minor batteries; *g*, battery commanded at the second siege by Colonel Gaines; *c*, magazines. The black squares on the lines of the fort represent the position of the block houses. The dotted lines show the traverses, or walls of earth thrown up. The longest, the grand traverse, had a base of twenty feet, was twelve in height, and about nine hundred in length. The traverses running lengthwise of the fort, were raised as a protection against the batteries on the opposite side of the river, and those running cross-wise were to defend them from the British batteries on this side. The British batteries on the north side of the river were named as follows: *a* Queen's; *b*, Sailors'; *d*, King's; and *c*, Mortar. The fort stood upon high ground, on the margin of the bank, elevated about sixty feet above the Maumee. The surface is nearly level, and is covered by a green sward. The outline of the fort is now well defined, and the grand traverse yet rises six or eight feet from the surrounding ground.

In an excursion of the veterans of the war of 1812-13, made to Fort Meigs, in June, 1870, Mayor Tyler, in his address of welcome to the soldiers remarked, with regard to the present condition of this consecrated ground:

"On to-morrow you will be escorted to the old fortifications of Fort Meigs. There you will find its earthworks faithfully preserved, save, only as far as the hand of time has marred its former war-frowning front. No instrument of agriculture has torn down or plowed up any part of the old Fort. Two of the original pickets, placed there in 1812, are there yet. Then you will find, marked by stones long since placed over them, the graves of your fallen comrades, there the trenches, there the magazine, there all the outlines of the ancient warfare. Mr. Michael Hayes and his brothers, who own the soil of the old fort, have faithfully performed their duty in guarding this landmark of history from destruction or desolation. They have preserved many of the relics of the battle-field—grape-shot, canister, bayonets, and many other evidences of the conflict."

The work originally covered about ten acres, but was reduced in area between the two sieges, to accommodate a smaller number of troops. Just above, a large number of sunken graves indicate the locality of the soldiers' burying ground. The graves of Lieutenant Walker and Lieutenant Mc'ullough—the last of whom was shot while conversing with General Harrison—are within the fort. The first is surmounted by a small stone, with an inscription—the last is enclosed by a fence. To understand the position of Fort Meigs, with reference to the British fort and surrounding country, see map in this volume of the "Plan illustrating the battles of the Maumee."

Below is an extract from an article on the siege of Fort Meigs, by Rev. A. M. Lorraine, originally published in the Ladies' Repository for March, 1845:

"One afternoon, as numbers were gathered together on the 'parade,' two strangers, finely mounted, appeared on the western bank of the river, and seemed to be taking a very calm and deliberate survey of our works. It was a strange thing to see travellers in that wild country, and we commonly held such to be enemies, until they proved themselves to be friends. So one of our batteries was cleared forthwith, and the gentlemen were saluted with a shot that tore up the earth about them, and put them to a hasty flight. If that ball had struck its mark, much bloodshed might have been prevented: for we learned subsequently that our illustrious visitors were Proctor and Tecumseh. The garrison was immediately employed in cutting deep traverses through the fort, taking down the tents and preparing for a siege. The work accomplished in a few hours, under the excitement of the occasion, was prodigious. The grand traverse being completed, each mess was ordered to excavate, under the embankment, suitable lodgings, as substitutes for our tents. Those rooms were shot proof and bomb proof, except in the event of a shell falling in the traverse and at the mouth of a cave.

“The above works were scarcely completed before it was discovered that the enemy, under cover of night, had constructed batteries on a commanding hill north of the river. There their artillery men were posted: but the principal part of their army occupied the old English fort below. Their Indian allies appeared to have a roving commission, for they beset us on every side. The cannonading commenced in good earnest on both sides. It was, however, more constant on the British side, because they had a more extensive mark to batter. We had nothing to fire at but their batteries, but they were coolly and deliberately attended to: and it was believed that more than one of their guns were dismounted during the siege. One of our militia men took his station on the embankment, and gratuitously forewarned us of every shot. In this he became so skillful, that he could, in almost every case, predict the destination of the ball. As soon as the smoke issued from the muzzle of the gun, he would cry out “shot,” or “bomb,” as the case might be. Sometimes he would exclaim, “Block-house No. 1,” or “Look out, main battery:” “Now for the meat-house:” “Good-by, if you will pass.” In spite of all the expostulations of his friends, he maintained his post. One day there came a shot that seemed to defy all his calculations. He stood silent—motionless—perplexed. In the same instant he was swept into eternity. Poor man! he should have considered, that when there was no obliquity in the issue of the smoke, either to the right or left, above or below, the fatal messenger would travel in the direct line of his vision. He reminded me of the peasant, in the siege of Jerusalem, who cried out, “Woe to the city! woe to myself!” On the most active day of the investment, there were as many as five hundred cannon balls and bombs* thrown at our fort. Meantime, the Indians, climbing up

* “A large number of cannon balls were thrown into the fort, from the batteries on the opposite side of the river. Being short of a supply, Harrison offered a gill of whisky for every cannon ball delivered to the magazine keeper, Mr. Thomas L. Hawkins, since resident of Fremont. Over 1,000 gills of whisky were thus earned by the soldiers.

“For safety against bombs, each man had a hole dug under ground in rear of the grand traverse, which, being covered over with plank, and earth on top, fully protected them. When the cry *bomb* was heard, the soldiers either threw themselves upon the ground, or ran to the holes for safety. A bomb is most destructive when it bursts in the air, but it rarely explodes in that way: it usually falls with so much force as to penetrate the earth, and when it explodes, flies upward and in an angular direction, in consequence of the pressure of the earth beneath and at its sides; consequently, a person lying on the ground is comparatively safe.

“A heavy rain at last filled up the holes, rendering them uninhabitable, and the men were obliged to temporarily sleep in their tents. Then every once in a while, the startling cry, “*БОМБ!*” aroused them from their slumbers. Rushing from their tents, they watched the course of the fiery messenger of death, as it winged its way through the midnight sky, and if

into the trees, fired incessantly upon us. Such was their distance, that many of their balls barely reached us, and fell harmless to the ground. Occasionally they inflicted dangerous and even fatal wounds. The number killed in the fort was small, considering the profusion of powder and ball expended on us. About 80 were slain, many wounded, and several had to suffer the amputation of limbs. The most dangerous duty which we performed within the precincts of the fort, was in covering the magazine. Previous to this, the powder had been deposited in wagons, and these stationed in the traverse. Here there was no security against bombs; it was therefore thought to be prudent to remove the powder into a small block-house, and cover it with earth. The enemy, judging our designs from our movements, now directed all their shot to this point. Many of their balls were red-hot. Wherever they struck, they raised a cloud of smoke, and made a frightful hissing. An officer, passing our quarters, said, "Boys, who will volunteer to cover the magazine?" Fool-like, away several of us went. As soon as we reached the spot, there came a ball and took off one man's head. The spades and dirt flew faster than any of us had before witnessed. In the midst of our job, a bombshell fell on the roof, and lodging on one of the braces it spun round for a moment. Every soldier fell flat on his face, and with breathless horror awaited the vast explosion which we expected would crown all our earthly sufferings. Only one of all the gang presumed to reason on the case. He silently argued that, as the shell had not bursted as quickly as usual, there might be something wrong in its arrangement. If it bursted where it was, and the magazine exploded, there could be no escape: it was death anyhow: so he sprung to his feet, seized a boat-hook, and pulling the hissing missile to the ground, and jerking the smoking match from its socket, discovered that the shell was filled with inflammable matter, which, if once ignited, would have wrapped the whole building in a sheet of flame. This circumstance added wings to our shovels, and we were right glad when the officer said, "That will do; go to your lines."

The following particulars of the defeat of Colonel Dudley, were published in a public print many years since, by Joseph R. Under-

it fell near, fell flat upon the ground; otherwise, return to their tents, only to be aroused again and again, by the starling cry. So harassing was this, so accustomed had the men become to the danger, and so overpowering the desire for sleep, that many of the soldiers remained in their tents locked in the embrace of sleep, determined, as one said, not to be disturbed in their slumbers 'if ten thousand bombs burst all around them.'—*H. Howe.*

wood, who was present on the occasion, in the capacity of lieutenant in a volunteer company of Kentuckians, commanded by Captain John C. Morrison.

“After a fatiguing march of more than a month, General Clay’s brigade found itself, on the night of the 4th of May, on board of open boats, lashed to the left bank of the Miami of the Lakes, near the head of the rapids, and within hearing of the cannon at Fort Meigs, which was then besieged by the British and Indians. Very early on the morning of the 5th, we set off, and soon began to pass the rapids. We were hailed by a man from the right bank, who proved to be Captain Hamilton, of the Ohio troops, with orders from Gen. Harrison, then commanding at the fort. He was taken to the boat of General Clay, and from that to Colonel Dudley’s, this last being in advance of the whole line. Captain Morrison’s company occupied the boat in which the Colonel descended. It being a damp, unpleasant morning, I was lying in the stern, wrapped in my blanket, not having entirely recovered from a severe attack of the measles. I learned that we were to land on the left bank, storm the British batteries erected for the purpose of annoying the fort; but what further orders were given, I did not ascertain. Hearing that we were certainly to fight, I began to look upon all surrounding objects as things which to me might soon disappear forever, and my mind reverted to my friends at home, to bid them a final farewell. These reflections produced a calm melancholy, but nothing like trepidation or alarm. My reveries were dissipated by the landing of the boat, about a mile or two above the point of attack. Shortly before we landed, we were fired upon by some Indians from the right bank of the river, and I understood that Captain Clarke was wounded in the head. The fire was returned from our boats, and the Indians fled, as if to give intelligence of our approach. Captain Price and Lieutenant Sanders, of the regular army, landed with us and partook in the engagement, having under command a few regular soldiers, but I think not a full company. The whole number of troops that landed amounted probably to 700 men. We were formed on the shore in three parallel lines, and ordered to march for the battery at right angles with the river; and so far as I understood the plan of attack, one line was to form the line of battle in the rear of the battery, parallel with the river; the other two lines to form one above and one below the battery, at right angles to the river. The lines thus formed were ordered to advance, and did so, making as little noise

as possible—the object being to surprise the enemy at their battery. Before we reached the battery, however, we were discovered by some straggling Indians, who fired upon us and then retreated. Our men, pleased at seeing them run, and perceiving that we were discovered, no longer deemed silence necessary, and raised a tremendous shout. This was the first intimation that the enemy received of our approach, and it so alarmed them that they abandoned the battery without making any resistance. In effectuating the plan of attack, Captain J. C. Morrison's company were thrown upon the river, above the battery. While passing through a thicket of hazel, toward the river, in forming the line of battle, I saw Colonel Dudley for the last time. He was greatly excited; he railed at me for not keeping my men better dressed. I replied, that he must perceive from the situation of the ground, and the obstacles that we had to encounter, that it was impossible. When we came within a small distance of the river, we halted. The enemy at this place had gotten in the rear of our line, formed parallel with the river, and were firing upon our troops. Captain J. C. Morrison's company did not long remain in this situation. Having nothing to do, and being without orders, we determined to march our company out and join the combatants. We did so accordingly. In passing out, we fell upon the left of the whole regiment, and were soon engaged in a severe conflict. The Indians endeavored to flank and surround us. We drove them between one and two miles, directly back from the river. They hid behind trees and logs, and poured upon us, as we advanced, a most destructive fire. We were from time to time ordered to charge. The orders were passed along the lines, our field officers being on foot. . . . Shortly after this, Captain J. C. Morrison was shot through the temples. The ball passing behind the eyes and cutting the optic nerve, deprived him of his sight. . . . Having made the best arrangement for the safety of my much esteemed Captain that circumstances allowed, I took charge of the company and continued the battle. We made several charges afterwards, and drove the enemy a considerable distance. . . . At length orders were passed along the line directing us to fall back and keep up a retreating fire. As soon as this movement was made, the Indians were greatly encouraged, and advanced upon us with the most horrid yells. Once or twice the officers succeeded in producing a temporary halt and a fire on the Indians; but the soldiers of the different companies soon became mixed—confusion ensued—and a

general rout took place. The retreating army made its way towards the batteries, where I supposed we should be able to form and repel the pursuing Indians. They were now so close in the rear, as to frequently shoot down those who were before me. About this time I received a ball in my back, which yet remains in my body. It struck me with a stunning, deadening force, and I fell on my hands and knees. I rose and threw my waistcoat open to see whether it had passed through me; finding it had not, I ran on, and had not proceeded more than a hundred or two yards before I was made prisoner. In emerging from the woods into an open piece of ground, near the battery we had taken, and before I knew what had happened, a soldier seized my sword and said to me, "Sir! you are my prisoner!" I looked before me and saw, with astonishment, the ground covered with muskets. The soldier, observing my astonishment, said: "Your army has surrendered," and received my sword. He ordered me to go forward and join the prisoners. I did so. The first man I met whom I recognized, was Daniel Smith, of our company. With eyes full of tears, he exclaimed, "Good Lord, Lieutenant, what does all this mean?" I told him we were prisoners of war. . . .

"On our march to the garrison, the Indians began to strip us of our valuable clothing and other articles. One took my hat, another my hunting shirt, and a third my waistcoat, so that I was soon left with nothing but my shirt and pantaloons. I saved my watch by concealing the chain, and it proved of great service to me afterwards. Having read, when a boy, Smith's narrative of his residence among the Indians, my idea of their character was that they treated those best who appeared the most fearless. Under this impression, as we marched down to the old garrison, I looked at those whom we met with all the sternness of countenance I could command. I soon caught the eye of a stout warrior painted red. He gazed at me with as much sternness as I did at him, until I came within striking distance, when he gave me a severe blow over the nose and cheek-bone with his wiping stick. I abandoned the notion acquired from Smith, and went on afterwards with as little display of hauteur and defiance as possible.

"On our approach to the old garrison, the Indians formed a line to the left of the road, there being a perpendicular bank to the right, on the margin of which the road passed. I perceived that the prisoners were running the gauntlet, and that the Indians were whipping, shooting and tomahawking the men as they ran by their

line. When I reached the starting place, I dashed off as fast as I was able, and ran near the muzzles of their guns, knowing that they would have to shoot me while I was immediately in front, or let me pass, for to have turned their guns up or down the lines to shoot me, would have endangered themselves, as there was a curve in their line. In this way I passed without injury except some strokes over the shoulders with their gun-sticks. As I entered the ditch around the garrison, the man before me was shot and fell, and I fell over him. The passage for a while was stopped by those who fell over the dead man and myself. How many lives were lost at this place I cannot tell—probably between twenty and forty. The brave Captain Lewis was among the number. When we got within the walls we were ordered to sit down. I lay in the lap of Mr. Gilpin, a soldier of Captain Henry's company, from Woodford. A new scene commenced. An Indian, painted black, mounted the dilapidated wall, and shot one of the prisoners next to him. He re-loaded and shot a second, the ball passing through him into the hip of another, who afterwards died, I was informed, at Cleveland, of the wound. The savage then lay down his gun and drew his tomahawk, with which he killed two others. When he drew his tomahawk and jumped down among the men, they endeavored to escape from him by leaping over the heads of each other, and thereby to place others between themselves and danger. Thus they were heaped upon one another, and as I did not rise, they trampled upon me so that I could see nothing that was going on. The confusion and uproar at this moment cannot be adequately described. There was an excitement among the Indians, and a fierceness in their conversation, which betokened on the part of some a strong disposition to massacre the whole of us. The British officers and soldiers seemed to interpose to prevent the further effusion of blood. Their expression was—“*Oh, nichoo, wah!*” meaning, “*Oh! brother, quit!*” After the Indian who had occasioned this horrible scene, had scalped and stripped his victims, he left us, and a comparative calm ensued. The prisoners resumed their seats on the ground. While thus situated, a tall, stout Indian walked into the midst of us, drew a long butcher-knife from his belt and commenced whetting it. As he did so, he looked around among the prisoners, apparently selecting one for the gratification of his vengeance. I viewed his conduct, and thought it probable that he was to give the signal for a general massacre.

But after exciting our fears sufficiently for his satisfaction, he gave a contemptuous grunt and went out from among us.

“About this time, but whether before or after, I do not distinctly recollect, Colonel Elliott and Tecumseh, the celebrated Indian chief, rode into the garrison. When Elliott came to where Thos. Moore, of Clark county, stood, the latter addressed him, and inquired “if it was compatible with the honor of a civilized nation, such as the British claimed to be, to suffer defenseless prisoners to be murdered by savages?” Elliott desired to know who he was. Moore replied that he was nothing but a private in Captain Morrison’s company—and here the conversation ended. . . . Elliott was an old man; his hair might have been termed, with more propriety, white than gray, and to my view he had more of the savage in his countenance than Tecumseh. This celebrated chief was a noble, dignified personage. He wore an elegant broadsword, and was dressed in the Indian costume. His face was finely proportioned, his nose inclined to the aquiline, and his eye displayed none of that sage and ferocious triumph common to the other Indians on that occasion. He seemed to regard us with unmoved composure, and I thought a beam of mercy shone in his countenance, tempering the spirit of vengeance inherent in his race against the American people. I saw him only on horseback.

“Shortly after the massacre in the old garrison, I was the object of a generous act. A soldier, with whom I had no acquaintance, feeling compassion for my situation, stripped off my clothes, muddied and bleeding, and offered me his hunting shirt, which the Indians had not taken from him. At first I declined receiving it, but he pressed it upon me with an earnestness that indicated great magnanimity. I inquired his name and residence. He said that his name was James Boston, and that he lived in Clarke county, and belonged to Captain Clarke’s company. I have never since seen him, and regret that I should never be able to recall his features, if I were to see him.

“Upon the arrival of Elliott and Tecumseh, we were directed to stand up and form in lines, I think four deep, in order to be counted. After we were thus arranged, a scene transpired scarcely less affecting than that which I have before attempted faintly to describe. The Indians began to select the young men whom they intended to take with them to their towns. Numbers were carried off. I saw Corporal Smith, of our company, bidding farewell to his friends,

and pointing to the Indian with whom he was to go. I never heard of his return. The young men, learning their danger, endeavored to avoid it by crowding into the centre, where they could not be so readily reached. I was told that a quizzical youth, of diminutive size, near the outside, seeing what was going on, threw himself upon his hands and knees, and rushed through the legs of his comrades, exclaiming, 'Root, little hog, or die!' Such is the impulse of self-preservation, and such the levity with which men inured to danger will regard it. An Indian came up to me and gave me a piece of meat. I took this for proof that he intended carrying me off with him. Thinking it the best policy to act with confidence, I made a sign to him to give me his butcher knife—which he did. I divided the meat with those who stood near me, reserving a small piece for myself—more as a show of politeness to the savage, than to gratify any appetite I had for it. After I had eaten it and returned the knife, he turned and left me. When it was near night, we were taken in open boats about nine miles down the river, [near the mouth of Swan creek,] to the British shipping. On the day after, we were visited by the Indians in their bark canoes, in order to make a display of their scalps. These they strung on a pole, perhaps two inches in diameter, and about eight feet high. The pole was set up perpendicularly in the bow of their canoes, and near the top the scalps were fastened. On some poles I saw four or five. Each scalp was drawn closely over a hoop about four inches in diameter; and the flesh sides, I thought, were painted red. Thus their canoes were decorated with a flag-staff of a most appropriate character, bearing human scalps, the horrid ensigns of savage warfare. We remained six days on board the vessel—those of us, I mean, who were sick and wounded. The whole of us were discharged on parole. The officers signed an instrument in writing, pledging their honors not to serve against the King of Great Britain and his allies during the war, unless regularly exchanged. It was inquired whether the Indians were included in the term 'allies.' The only answer was 'that his Majesty's allies were known.' The wounded and sick were taken in a vessel commanded by Captain Stewart, at the mouth, I think of Vermillion river, and there put on shore. I afterwards met Captain Moore, a prisoner of war, at Frankfort, Kentucky, together with a midshipman, who played Yankee Doodle on a flute, by way of derision, when *we* were first taken on board *his* vessel. Such is the fortune of war. They

were captured by Commodore Perry, in the battle of Lake Erie. I visited Captain Stewart to requite his kindness to me when, like him, I was a prisoner."

General Harrison having repaired the fort from the damage occasioned by the siege, left for the interior of the State, to organize new levies, and entrusted the command to General Green Clay. The enemy returned to Malden, where the Canadian militia were disbanded. Shortly after commenced the second siege of Fort Meigs.

On the 20th of July, the boats of the enemy were discovered ascending the Maumee to Fort Meigs, and the following morning a party of ten men were surprised by the Indians, and only three escaped death or capture. The force which the enemy had now before the post, was five thousand men under Proctor and Tecumseh, and the number of Indians was greater than any ever before assembled on any occasion during the war, while the defenders of the fort amounted to but a few hundred.

The night of their arrival, General Clay dispatched Captain McCune, of the Ohio militia, to General Harrison, at Lower Sandusky, to notify him of the presence of the enemy. Captain McCune was ordered to return and inform General Clay to be particularly cautious against surprise, and that every effort would be made to relieve the fort.

It was General Harrison's intention, should the enemy lay regular siege to the fort, to select four hundred men, and by an unfrequented route reach there in the night, and at any hazard break through the lines of the enemy. The subjoined letter conveys its own explanation :

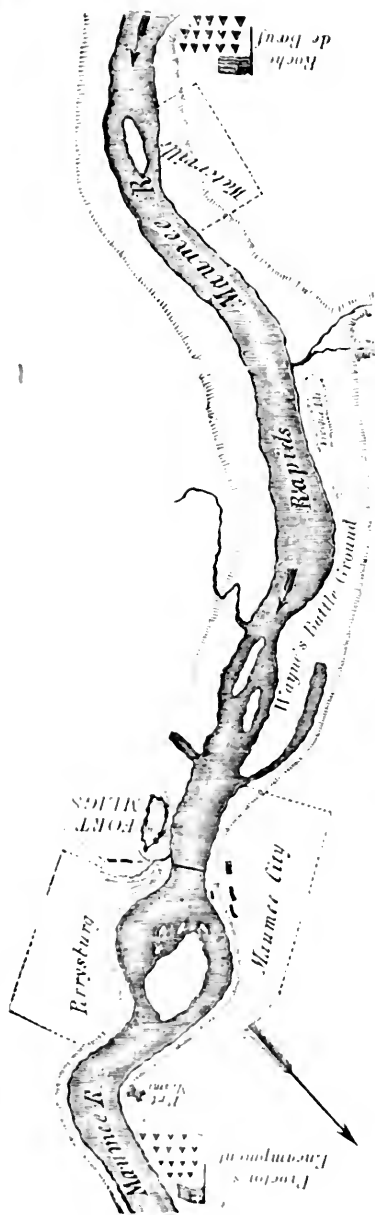
HEADQUARTERS, LOWER SANDUSKY, }
July 22d, 1813 }

Dear Sir:—The enemy have again attacked Fort Meigs. They commenced their operations against it yesterday. Come on as soon as possible, and bring with you all the troops you can collect. Write to the Governor, and get him to turn out as many militia as possible. My force will not be sufficient for anything but defensive operations, unless I get a large reinforcement of militia.

Yours,

WM. HENRY HARRISON.

Brigadier General McArthur.



PLAN ILLUSTRATING THE BATTLES OF THE MAUMEE

Explanations.—The map shows about 8 miles of the country along each side of the Maumee, including the towns of Perryburgh, Maumee City and Waterville.

Just previous to the battle of the Fallen Timbers, in August, 1794, Wayne's army was encamped at a locality called *Roche de Bouf*, a short distance above the present site of Waterville. The battle commenced at the *Presque Isle* hill. The routed Indians were pursued to even under the guns of the British *Fort Miami*.

Fort Meigs, memorable from having sustained two sieges in the year 1813, is shown on the east side of the Maumee, with the *British batteries* on both sides of the river, and above the *British fort*, the position of *Proctor's encampment*.

Captain McCune was sent out a second time, with the intelligence to Harrison, that about eight hundred Indians had been seen from the fort, passing up the Maumee, designing, it was supposed, to attack Fort Winchester, at Defiance. The General, however, believed that it was a ruse of the enemy to cover their design upon Upper Sandusky, Lower Sandusky, or Cleveland; and accordingly kept out a reconnoitering party to watch.

On the afternoon of the 25th, Captain McCune was ordered by Harrison to return to the fort and inform General Clay of his situation and intentions. He arrived near the fort about day break on the following morning, having lost his way in the night, accompanied by James Doolan, a French Canadian. They were just upon the point of leaving the forest and entering upon the cleared ground around the fort, when they were intercepted by a party of Indians. They immediately took to the high bank with their horses, and retreated at full gallop up the river for several miles, pursued by the Indians, also mounted, until they came to a deep ravine, putting up from the river in a southerly direction, when they turned upon the river bottom and continued a short distance, until they found their further progress in that direction stopped by an impassable swamp. The Indians, foreseeing their dilemma, from their knowledge of the country, and expecting they would naturally follow up the ravine, galloped thither to head them off. McCune guessed their intention, and he and his companion turned back upon their own track for the fort, gaining, by this manœuvre, several hundred yards upon their pursuers. The Indians gave a yell of chagrin, and followed at their utmost speed. Just as they neared the fort, McCune dashed into a thicket across his course, on the opposite side of which other Indians had huddled, awaiting their prey. When this body of Indians had thought them all but in their possession, again was the presence of mind of McCune signally displayed. He wheeled his horse, followed by Doolan, made his way out of the thicket by the passage he had entered, and galloped around into the open space between them and the river, where the pursuers were checked by the fire from the block-house at the western angle of the fort. In a few minutes after their arrival their horses dropped from fatigue. The Indians probably had orders to take them alive, as they had not fired until just as they entered the fort; but in the chase McCune had great difficulty in persuading

Doolan to reserve his fire until the last extremity, and they therefore brought in their pieces loaded.

The opportune arrival of McCune, no doubt, saved the fort, as the intelligence he brought was the means of preserving them from an ingeniously devised stratagem of Tecumseh, which was put into execution that day, and which we here relate.

Towards evening, the British infantry were secreted in the ravine below the fort, and the cavalry in the woods above, while the Indians were stationed in the forest, on the Sandusky road, not far from the fort. About an hour before dark, they commenced a sham battle among themselves, to deceive the Americans into the belief that a battle was going on between them and a reinforcement for the fort, in the hopes of enticing the garrison to the aid of their comrades. It was managed with so much skill, that the garrison instantly flew to arms, impressed by the Indian yells, intermingled with the roar of musketry, that a severe battle was being fought. The officers, even of the highest grades, were of that opinion and some of them insisted on being suffered to march out to the rescue. General Clay, although unable to account for the firing, could not believe that the General had so soon altered his intention, as expressed to Captain McCune, not to send or come with any troops to Fort Meigs, until there should appear further necessity for it. This intelligence in a great measure satisfied the officers, but not the men, who were extremely indignant at being prevented from going to share the danger of their Commander-in-Chief and brother soldiers; and perhaps had it not been for the interposition of a shower of rain, which soon put an end to the battle, the General might have been persuaded to march out, when a terrible massacre of the troops would have ensued.

The enemy remained around the fort but one day after this, and on the 28th embarked with their stores and proceeded down the lake. A volunteer aid of General Clay makes the statement that preparations were made to fire the magazine, in case the enemy succeeded in an attempt to storm the fort, and thus involve all friend and foe, in one common fate. This terrible alternative was deemed better than to perish under the tomahawks and scalping knives of the savages.

[GENERAL ORDERS.]

HEADQUARTERS, LOWER SANDUSKY, 1
14th May, 1813.

The troops which now form the garrison of Lower Sandusky, will

be relieved to-day by a detachment furnished by his Excellency General Meigs, to the senior officer of which Colonel Stevenson will deliver the post, and the public property in his possession.

The militia belonging to General Wadsworth's division, now at this place, will, as soon as relieved, commence their march for Cleveland, where they will remain for the protection of that town.

Colonel Stevenson will furnish the senior officer of this detachment with a copy of this order, and the Quartermaster here will provide the means of a transport for them. By order

R. GRAHAM, *Aid-de-Camp.*

FORT STEPHENSON, May 22, 1813.

May it Please Your Excellency :

Sir : Agreeably to your orders, sent by Mr. Bishop, I have forwarded all the articles specified therein. The carriages on which they are to be mounted, have not yet arrived, but are daily expected, as teams have been sent from this place under an escort from the garrison. If you deem it necessary that one of the carriages should be forwarded on to Cleveland, the same will be done on your order.

Considerable manual labor has been done to the garrison since you left this, and improvements are daily making.

The troops in general in the garrison are afflicted with bad colds. No epidemic or contagious disorder prevails. One person has been buried since you left this. He came from Fort Meigs with part of the baggage of Major Todd. No news, or any apprehension of danger. By order of the Major commanding.

R. E. POST, *Adjutant.*

R. J. Meigs, Esq.,

Governor State of Ohio.

[GENERAL ORDERS.]

HEADQUARTERS, CLEVELAND, {

May 22, 1813 }

The Governor of Ohio finds that the safety of the frontier of the State requires capacity, discretion and vigilance in the officers commanding at the different garrisons. Major Harper, now commanding at Lower Sandusky, will surrender the command of that garrison to Captain Vance.

Captain Vance will immediately repair to Lower Sandusky, and assume command of that garrison. He will exercise all his faculties in establishing order among the troops. Such repairs as he may think necessary for the security and convenience of his command, he will cause to be made.

Captain Vance will discharge two Captains and two Lieutenants, and conform as nearly as possible to the War Office Regulations of March 19, 1813.

R. J. MEIGS.

Governor of Ohio.

The following extracts from "Samuel Bayless' Book of General Orders," will exhibit the manner in which, following the siege, the tedium of the camp was relieved. The original manuscript is in the hands of Mrs. Thompson, wife of the Sheriff of Franklin county, Ohio, to whom the writer would express his obligations for its use.

[REGIMENTAL COURT MARTIAL.]

CAMP MEIGS, May 15, 1813.

The United States vs. Samuel Stewart:

Captain Patrick Shaw, Captain Nathan Hatfield, Captain Theophilus Simonton appeared as members of said court martial and were sworn.

Adjutant Samuel Bayless, acting Judge Advocate, was sworn.

Charge laid in by Major Anthony Pitzer, for putting fire to a bombshell containing powder. The charge being read to the defendant by the Judge Advocate, and the question do you plead guilty or not guilty put, he answers not guilty.

Testimony on behalf of the United States: Alexander Tucker sworn, deposeth and saith that he thought Stewart was the man that did the crime, but did not see him set fire to the bombshell, and further saith not.

Testimony on behalf of the defendant: J. Boggs, sworn, deposeth and saith that for ten hours previous to the report of the bombshell on the 11th inst., and for some two after, said Stewart was writing on a drumhead in the tent with the deponent, and was not out of the tent, and further saith not.

Testimony continued on behalf of defendant: E. Sprig, sworn, deposeth and saith that he stood by when fire was set to the bombshell, and that said Stewart was not the man who set fire thereof, and further saith not.

Testimony closed: The court martial, after seeing the charges and hearing the testimony against and for the said Stewart, do adjudge that Samuel Stewart is not guilty. Given under my hand this 15th of May, 1813. PATRICK SHAW, *President.*

Attest: Samuel Bayless, *Judge Advocate.*

Approved: James Mills,

Captain First Regiment Third Dept. Ohio Militia.

[REGIMENTAL ORDER.]

CAMP MEIGS, May 24, 1813.

Samuel Bayless, Adjutant:

You are commanded to summon a regimental court martial for the trial of James Kelley, Corporal in Captain Simonton's company. JAMES MILLS, *Captain.*

Agreeable to the above order the following officers were summoned and appeared and took their seats

Major J. Lodwick, Captain P. Shane, Captain N. Hatfield, sworn.
Samuel Bayless, Acting Judge Advocate, sworn.

Charge laid against said Kelley by William Oliver, Assistant Commissary, with having suffered public whisky to be used from the barrel under his charge on the night of the 22d inst.

Testimony on behalf of the State: J. Davis, sworn, deposeth and saith that on the morning of the 23d the barrel, which we drew whisky from, had had whisky drawn from it during the night, the spigot being about an inch and a half further out than when left, and the bung appeared to have been out.

Question—Was there more whisky in the barrel at night than in the morning? He believed there was, and further saith not.

The court martial, after seeing the charges and hearing the testimony against said Kelley, do adjudge that said James Kelley, Corporal, was not guilty.

Given under my hand this 24th of May, 1813.

JOHN LODWICK, *President.*

Attest: Samuel Bayless, *Acting Judge Advocate.*

Approved: James Mills,

Colonel Fifth Regiment Third Dept. O. M.

[GARRISON ORDER.]

CAMP MEIGS, May 24, 1813.

The commandants of the different corps at this place will make out and deliver to Major Pondell, Acting Adjutant General, complete returns of their respective commands on the 5th day of June ensuing, for the month of May, instant.

Fighting is especially forbidden after this date unless authorized.

Every soldier shall be entitled to one gill of whisky for every cannon ball or bomb he may find and deliver to Captain Cushing or Lieutenant Hawkins.

JOHN MILLER,

Colonel Nineteenth Regiment Inf. Commandant.

[REGIMENTAL COURT MARTIAL.]

CAMP MEIGS, June 4, 1813.

United States of America vs. Enoch Galloway:

Captains Patrick Shaw, Nathan Holfield and Robert Irwin were summoned, and appeared at two o'clock and sworn.

Adjutant Samuel Bayless was sworn Judge Advocate.

The charge with abusing and threatening his First Sergeant was read, and the question asked, guilty or not guilty. Answer, guilty and ask merey of court.

Evidence—John Haines, sworn, deposeth and saith that before that time said Galloway had uniformly done his duty when able, and never given any abusive language.

The court martial, after hearing the prisoner's confession and the testimony of John Haines, do adjudge that the said Galloway may

return to his company, and parade with the general fatigue on the 5th and 6th inst., and do that duty faithfully these two days.

PATRICK SHAW, *President.*

AUST Samuel Bayless, *Judge Advocate.*

Approved James Mills,

Captain First Regiment Third Div. U. S. A.

[GENERAL ORDER.]

HEADQUARTERS FRANKLINTON, O.

June 13, 1813.

The commanding General, with great satisfaction, communicates the following extract from a letter of the honorable Secretary of War, viz.:

"The President has been pleased to direct that I should communicate to you, and through you to the troops composing the garrison of Fort Meigs, his thanks for the valor and patriotism they displayed in the defense of that post. And particularly to the different corps employed in sorties made on the 5th of May."

The General is persuaded that the gallant troops which served at Fort Meigs will duly appreciate the approbation of the Chief Magistrate of their country, and that it will prove a stimulus to future exertion.

ROBERT BUTLER,

Captain 24th Reg. Inf., A. A. A. G. for Z. Bailey

[REGIMENTAL COURT MARTIAL.]

FORT MEIGS, June 26, 1813.

Herewith commit Thomas Gregory, who is charged with abusing and threatening me as First Sergeant of Captain Hamilton's company.

JOHN HAINES, *First Sergeant.*

Captains Shane and Holfield, and Ensign McMaken, sworn.

Samuel Bayless, Judge Advocate, sworn.

Question—Do you plead guilty or not guilty? Answer—Not guilty.

Adam Stonebraker, sworn, deposes and saith that the evening said Gregory was sent to provost guard, he said he would threaten and abuse said Haines until he sent him to the provost guard, and further saith not.

Robert Jordan, sworn, deposes and saith that he did not hear said Gregory threaten or abuse said Sergeant Haines on the 26th of June, and further saith not. On being re-summoned, saith that before that time said Gregory had threatened said Haines, and shook his fist at him, and said that he would break his cabbage head.

The court martial, after seeing the charge and hearing the testimony, do adjudge that the said Thomas Gregory was guilty of the charge against him, and we do sentence him to acknowledge his fault to and ask forgiveness of his Orderly Sergeant in presence of

the battalion, or be compelled to go on fatigue for three days, and put in the guard house each night, at his option; and that this sentence shall be read on batallion parade by the Adjutant this evening.

PATRICK SHAW, *President.*

Attest: Samuel Bayless, *Judge Advocate.*

Approved: James Mills,

Colonel First Reg. Third Dept. O. M.

[GENERAL ORDER.]

CAMP MEIGS, July 4, 1813.

The General commanding announces to the troops under his command the return of this day, which gave liberty and independence to the United States of America; and orders that a national salute be fired under the superintendence of Captains Gratiot and Cushing. All the troops reported fit for duty shall receive an extra gill of whisky. And those in confinement and those under sentence attached to their corps, be forthwith released and ordered to join their respective corps.

The General is induced to use this lenience alone from consideration of the ever memorable day, and flatters himself that in future, the soldiers under his command will better appreciate their liberty by a steady adherence to duty and prompt compliance with the orders of their officers, by which alone they are worthy to enjoy the blessings of that liberty and independence, the only real legacy left us by our fathers.

All courts martial now constituted in this camp are hereby dissolved. There will be fatigue this day.

ROBERT BUTLER, *A. Adjt. Gen.*

[GENERAL ORDER.]

CAMP MEIGS, July 8, 1813.

The commanding General directs that the old guard, on being released, will march out of camp and discharge their arms at a target placed in some secure position, and as a reward for those who may excel in shooting, eight gills of whisky will be given to the nearest shot, and four gills to the second. The officer of the guard will cause a return, signed for that purpose, signifying the names of the men entitled to the reward.

By order of

G. CLAY, *Gen. Com.*

Robert Butler, *A. Adjt. Gen.*

The ship building going on at Erie had not, meanwhile, been unknown to, or disregarded by the English, who proposed all in good time to destroy the vessels upon which so much depended and to appropriate the stores of the Americans. "The ordnance and naval stores you require," said Sir George Prevost to General

Proctor — must be taken from the enemy, whose resources on Lake Erie must become yours. — I am much mistaken, if you do not find Captain Barclay disposed to play that game. — Captain Barclay was an experienced, brave, and able seaman, and was waiting anxiously for a sufficient body of troops to be spared him, in order to attack Erie with success. — A sufficient force was promised him on the 18th of July, at which time the British fleet went down the lake to reconnoitre, and, if it were wise, to make the proposed attempt upon the Americans at Erie. — None, however, was made.

Finding no progress made, Proctor next moved to Lower Sandusky, i. e. the neighborhood of the Commander-in-Chief. The principal stores of Harrison were at Upper Sandusky, while he himself was at Seneca, and Major Croghan at Fort Stephenson or Lower Sandusky. This latter post being deemed indefensible against heavy cannon, and it being supposed that Proctor would of course bring heavy cannon if he attacked it, the General, and a council of war called by him, thought it wisest to abandon it; but before this could be done, after the final determination of the matter, the appearance of the enemy upon the 31st of July, made it impossible. The garrison of the little fort was composed of one hundred and fifty men, under a commander just past his twenty-first year, and with a single piece of cannon, while the investing force, including Tecumseh's Indians, was, it is said, three thousand strong, and with six pieces of artillery, all of them, fortunately, light ones.

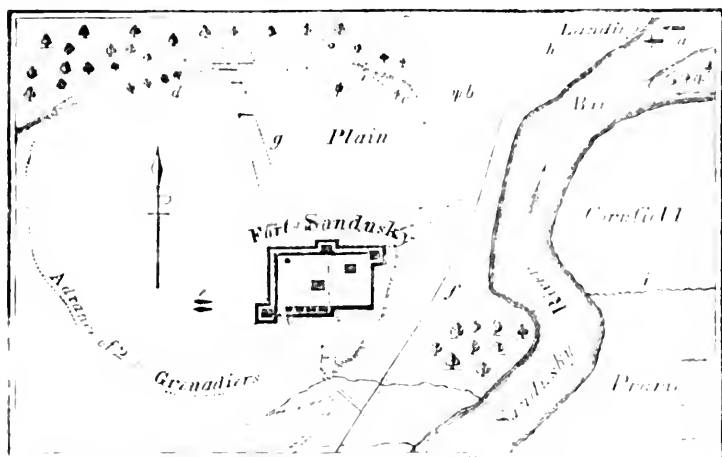
Several days before the British had invested Fort Meigs, General Harrison, with Major Croghan and some other officers, had examined the heights which surround Fort Stephenson; and as the hill on the opposite or southeast side of the river was found to be the most commanding eminence, the General had some thoughts of removing the fort to that place, and Major Croghan declared his readiness to undertake the work. — But the General did not authorize him to do it, as he believed that if the enemy intended to invade our territory again, they would do it before the removal could be completed. — It was then finally concluded that the fort, which was calculated for a garrison of only 200 men, could not be defended against the heavy artillery of the enemy; and that if the British should approach it by water, which would cause a presumption that they had brought their heavy artillery, the fort must be abandoned and burnt, provided a retreat could be effected with safety. — In the orders left with Major

Croghan, it was stated—"Should the British troops approach you in force with cannon, and you can discover them in time to effect a retreat, you will do so immediately, destroying all the public stores.

"You must be aware that the attempt to retreat in the face of an Indian force, would be in vain. Against such an enemy your garrison would be safe, however great the number."

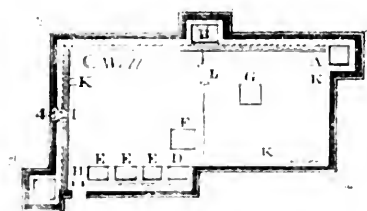
On the evening of the 29th, General Harrison received intelligence by express, from General Clay, that the enemy had abandoned the siege of Fort Meigs; and as the Indians on that day had swarmed in the woods round his camp, he entertained no doubt but that an immediate attack was intended either on Sandusky or Seneca. He therefore immediately called a council of war, consisting of M^r Arthur, Cass, Ball, Paul, Wood, Hukill, Holmes and Graham, who were unanimously of the opinion that Fort Stephenson was untenable against heavy artillery, and that as the enemy could bring with facility any quantity of battering cannon against it, by which it must inevitably fall, and as it was an unimportant post, containing nothing the loss of which would be felt by us, that the garrison should therefore not be reinforced, but withdrawn, and the place destroyed. In pursuance of this decision, the General immediately dispatched the order to Major Croghan, directing him immediately to abandon Fort Stephenson, to set it on fire and repair with his command to headquarters—cross the river and come up on the opposite side, and if he should find it impracticable to reach the General's quarters, to take the road to Huron, and pursue it with the utmost circumspection and dispatch. This order was sent by Mr. Conner and two Indians, who lost their way in the dark, and did not reach Fort Stephenson till 11 o'clock the next day. When Major Croghan received it, he was of opinion that he could not then retreat with safety, as the Indians were hovering around the fort in considerable force. He called a council of his officers, a majority of whom coincided with him in opinion that a retreat would be unsafe, and that the post could be maintained against the enemy, at least till further instructions could be received from headquarters. The Major therefore immediately returned the following answer:

"SIR—, I have just received yours of yesterday, 10 o'clock P. M., ordering me to destroy this place and make good my retreat, which was received too late to be carried into execution. We have determined to maintain this place, and by heavens we can."



Fort Sandusky and Environs, scale 200 yards to the inch

[References to the Environs — *a*—British gun-boats at the place of landing. *b*—Canon, a six-pounder. *c*—Mortar. *d*—Batteries. *e*—Graves of Lieut. Croghan and Lieut. Gordon, who fell in the ditch. *f*—Road to Upper Sandusky. *g*—Advance of the enemy to the fort ditch. *h*—Head of navigation.]



Fort Sandusky.

[References to the Fort — *Line 1*—Packets. *Line 2*—Ditch, sixteen feet wide and against the parapet. *Line 3*—Ditch, ten feet wide by six deep. *Line 4*—Outward embankment on the left. *A*—Block house first attacked by Croghan. *B*—Bastion from which the fort was taken by Croghan's artillery. *C*—Good block house, in the lower part of the fort. *D*—H's and during the attack. *E, E, E*—Mess-rooms. *F*—Commissary's store-rooms. *G*—Magazine. *H, H*—Portals. *K, K, K*—Wicket-gates. *L*—Partridge.]

In writing this note, Major Croghan had a view to the probability of its falling into the hands of the enemy, and on that account made use of stronger language than would otherwise have been consistent with propriety. It reached the General on the same day, who did not fully understand the circumstances and motives under which it had been dictated. The following order was therefore immediately prepared, and sent with Colonel Wells in the morning, escorted by Colonel Ball, with his corps of dragoons:

—July 30, 1813.

SIR: The General has just received your letter of this date, informing him that you had thought proper to disobey the order

issued from this office, and delivered to you this morning. It appears that the information which dictated the order was incorrect; and as you did not receive it in the night, as was expected, it might have been proper that you should have reported the circumstance and your situation, before you proceeded to its execution. This might have been passed over; but I am directed to say to you, that an officer who presumes to aver that he has made his resolution, and that he will act in direct opposition to the orders of his general, can no longer be entrusted with a separate command. Colonel Wells is sent to relieve you. You will deliver the command to him, and repair with Colonel Ball's squadron to this place. By command, &c.

“A. H. HOLMES, *Ass't. Adj't. General.*”

Colonel Wells being left in the command of Fort Stephenson, Major Croghan returned with the squadron to headquarters. He there explained his motives for writing such a note, which were deemed satisfactory; and having remained all night with the General, who treated him politely, he was permitted to return to his command in the morning, with written orders similar to those he had received before.

A reconnoitering party which had been sent from headquarters to the shore of the lake, about twenty miles distant from Fort Stephenson, discovered the approach of the enemy, by water, on the evening of the 31st of July. They returned by the fort after 12 o'clock the next day, and had passed it but a few hours, when the enemy made their appearance before it. The Indians showed themselves first on the hill over the river, and were saluted by a six-pounder, the only piece of artillery in the fort, which soon caused them to retire. In half an hour the British gun-boats came in sight, and the Indian forces displayed themselves in every direction, with a view to intercept the garrison, should a retreat be attempted. The six-pounder was fired a few times at the gun-boats, which was returned by the artillery of the enemy. A landing of their troops with a five-and-a-half inch howitzer, was effected about a mile below the fort; and Major Chambers, accompanied by Dixon, was dispatched towards the fort with a flag, and was met on the part of Major Croghan by Ensign Shipp, of the 17th Regiment. After the usual ceremonies, Major Chambers observed to Ensign Shipp, that he was instructed by General Proctor to demand the surrender of the fort, as he was anxious to spare the effusion of human blood, which he could not do, should he be under

the necessity of reducing it by the powerful force of artillery, regulars and Indians under his command. Shipp replied that the commandant of the fort and its garrison were determined to defend it to the last extremity; that no force, however great, could induce them to surrender, as they were resolved to maintain their post, or to bury themselves in its ruins. Dickson then said that their immense body of Indians could not be restrained from murdering the whole garrison in case of success, of which we have no doubt, rejoined Chambers, as we are amply prepared. Dickson then proceeded to remark, that it was a great pity so fine a young man should fall into the hands of the savages—"Sir, for God's sake, surrender, and prevent the dreadful massacre that will be caused by your resistance." Mr. Shipp replied, that when the fort was taken, there would be none to massacre. It will not be given up while a man is able to resist. An Indian at this moment came out of an adjoining ravine, and advancing to the Ensign, took hold of his sword and attempted to wrest it from him. Dickson interfered, and having restrained the Indian, affected great anxiety to get him safe into the fort.

The enemy now opened their fire from their six-pounders in the gun-boats and the howitzer on shore, which they continued through the night with but little intermission, and with very little effect. The forces of the enemy consisted of 500 regulars, and about 800 Indians commanded by Dickson, the whole being commanded by General Proctor in person. Tecumseh was stationed on the road to Fort Meigs with a body of 2,000 Indians, expecting to intercept a reinforcement on that route.

Major Croghan through the evening occasionally fired his six-pounder, at the same time changing its place occasionally to induce a belief that he had more than one piece. As it produced very little execution on the enemy, and he was desirous of saving his ammunition, he soon discontinued his fire. The enemy had directed their fire against the northwest angle of the fort, which induced the commander to believe that an attempt to storm his works would be made at that point. In the night, Captain Hunter was directed to remove the six-pounder to a block-house, from which it would rake that angle. By great industry and personal exertion, Captain Hunter soon accomplished this object in secrecy. The embrasure was masked, and the piece loaded with a half charge of powder, and a double charge of slugs and grape-shot. Early in the morning of the 3d, the enemy opened their fire from their howitzer and three

six-pounders, which they had landed in the night, and planted in a point of woods about 250 yards from the fort. In the evening, about 4 o'clock, they concentrated the fire of all their guns on their north-west angle, which convinced Major Croghan that they would endeavor to make a breach and storm the works at that point; he therefore immediately had that place strengthened as much as possible with bags of flour and sand, which were so effectual that the picketing in that place sustained no material injury. Sergeant Weaver, with five or six gentlemen of the Petersburg Volunteers and Pittsburgh Blues, who happened to be in the fort, was entrusted with the management of the six-pounder.

Late in the evening, when the smoke of the firing had completely enveloped the fort, the enemy proceeded to make the assault. Two feints were made towards the southern angle, where Captain Hunter's lines were formed; and at the same time a column of 350 men was discovered advancing through the smoke, within twenty paces of the northwestern angle. A heavy, galling fire of musketry was now opened upon them from the fort, which threw them into some confusion. Colonel Short, who headed the principal column, soon rallied his men, and led them with great bravery to the brink of the ditch. After a momentary pause he leaped into the ditch, calling to his men to follow him, and in a few minutes it was full. The masked port-hole was now opened, and the six-pounder, at the distance of thirty feet, poured such destruction among them that but few who had entered the ditch were fortunate enough to escape. A precipitate and confused retreat was the immediate consequence, although some of the officers attempted to rally their men. The other column, which was led by Colonel Warburton and Major Chambers, was also routed in confusion by a destructive fire from the line commanded by Captain Hunter. The whole of them fled into the adjoining wood, beyond the reach of our fire-arms. During the assault, which lasted half an hour, the enemy kept up an incessant fire from their howitzer and five six-pounders. They left Col. Short,* a lieutenant and twenty-five privates dead in the ditch; and the total number of prisoners taken was twenty-six, most of them badly wounded. Major Muir was knocked down in the ditch, and

*Colonel Short, who commanded the regulars composing the Fort Mifflin, was ordering his men to leap the ditch, cut down the pickets, and give the Americans no quarters, when he fell mortally wounded into the ditch, hoisted his white handkerchief on the end of his sword, and begged for that mercy which he had a moment before ordered to be denied to his enemy.

lay among the dead, till the darkness of the night enabled him to escape in safety. The loss of the garrison was one killed and seven slightly wounded. The total loss of the enemy could not be less than 150 killed and wounded.

When night came on, which was soon after the assault, the wounded in the ditch were in a desperate situation. Complete relief could not be brought to them by either side with any degree of safety. Major Croghan, however, relieved them as much as possible—he contrived to convey them water over the picketing in buckets, and a ditch was opened under the pickets, through which those who were able and willing, were encouraged to crawl into the fort. All who were able, preferred, of course, to follow their defeated comrades, and many others were carried from the vicinity of the fort by the Indians, particularly their own killed and wounded; and in the night, about 3 o'clock, the whole British and Indian force commenced a disorderly retreat. So great was their precipitation that they left a sail-boat containing some clothing and a considerable quantity of military stores, and on the next day, seventy stand of arms and some braces of pistols were picked up around the fort. Their hurry and confusion were caused by the apprehension of an attack from General Harrison, of whose position and force they had probably received an exaggerated account.

It was the intention of General Harrison, should the enemy succeed against Fort Stephenson, or should they endeavor to turn his left and fall on Upper Sandusky, to leave his camp at Seneca and fall back for the protection of that place. But he discovered by the firing on the evening of the 1st, that the enemy had nothing but light artillery, which could make no impression on the fort: and he knew that an attempt to storm it without making a breach, could be successfully repelled by the garrison. He therefore determined to wait for the arrival of 250 mounted volunteers under Colonel Rennie, being the advance of 700 who were approaching by the way of Upper Sandusky, and then to march against the enemy and raise the siege, if their force was not still too great for his. On the 2d, he sent several scouts to ascertain their situation and force; but the woods were so infested with Indians, that none of them could proceed sufficiently near the fort to make the necessary discoveries. In the night the messenger arrived at headquarters with intelligence that the enemy were preparing to retreat. About 9 o'clock, Major

Croghan had ascertained from their collecting about their boats, that they were preparing to embark, and had immediately sent an express to the Commander-in-chief with this information. The General now determined to wait no longer for the reinforcements, and immediately set out with the dragoons, with which he reached the fort early in the morning, having ordered Generals McArthur and Cass, who had arrived at Seneca several days before, to follow him with all the disposable infantry at that place, and which at this time was about 700 men, after the numerous sick, and the force necessary to maintain the position, were left behind. Finding that the enemy had fled entirely from the fort, so as not to be reached by him, and learning that Tecumseh was somewhere in the direction of Fort Meigs, with 2,000 warriors, he immediately ordered the infantry to fall back to Seneca, lest Tecumseh should make an attack on that place, or intercept the small reinforcements advancing from Ohio.

In his official report of this affair, General Harrison observes that "It will not be among the least of General Proctor's mortifications, that he has been baffled by a youth, who has just passed his twenty-first year. He is, however, a hero worthy of his gallant uncle, General George R. Clarke."

Captain Hunter, of the 17th Regiment, the second in command, conducted himself with great propriety: and never was there a set of finer young fellows than the subalterns, viz.: Lieutenants Johnson and Baylor of the 17th, Meeks of the 7th, and Ensigns Shipp and Duncan of the 17th.

Lieutenant Anderson of the 24th, was also noted for his good conduct. Being without a command, he solicited Major Croghan for a musket and a post to fight at, which he did with the greatest bravery.

"Too much praise," says Major Croghan, "cannot be bestowed on the officers, non-commissioned officers and privates under my command, for their gallantry and good conduct during the siege."

The brevet rank of Lieutenant Colonel was immediately conferred on Major Croghan, by the President of the United States, for his gallantry on this occasion. The ladies of Chillicothe also presented him an elegant sword, accompanied by a suitable address.

We take the above from Dawson's *Life of Harrison*, where it is quoted from some other source. In defending General Harrison from the charges of cowardice and incompetency in not marching to the aid of the garrison previous to the attack, Dawson says:

The conduct of the gallant Croghan and his garrison received from every quarter the plaudits of their countrymen. This was what they most richly deserved. There was, however, some jealous spirits who took it into their heads to be dissatisfied with the course pursued by the commanding general. The order which was given to Colonel Croghan to evacuate and destroy the garrison previously to the attack, was loudly condemned, as well as the decision of the council of war, to fall back with the troops then at Seneca, to a position twelve miles in the rear. Both these measures, it has been said, were determined on by the unanimous advice of the council of war. It is not to be presumed that such men as composed that board, would have given advice which was in any way derogatory to the honor of the American arms. Every individual among them either had, before or afterwards, distinguished himself by acts of daring courage and intrepidity. We do not profess to be much acquainted with military matters, but the subject appears to us so plain as only to require a small portion of common sense perfectly to comprehend it. At the time that the determination was made to withdraw the garrison from Sandusky, it must be recollected that the General had only with him at Seneca about 400 infantry and 130 or 140 dragoons. The enemy, as he was informed by General Clay in the letter brought by Captain McCune, amounted to at least 5,000. With such a disparity of force, would it have been proper to have risked an action to preserve the post of Lower Sandusky, which of itself was of little or no importance, and which, the garrison being withdrawn, contained nothing of any value? The posts of Fort Meigs and Upper Sandusky were of the utmost importance; the former was amply provided with the means of defence, and was in no danger; but the latter, weak in its defences, and with a feeble garrison, containing many thousands of barrels of flour and other provisions, the sole resource of the army for the coming campaign, was to be preserved at any risk. The position at Seneca was not in the direct line from Fort Meigs to Upper Sandusky. The enemy, by taking the direct route, would certainly reach it before General Harrison, as several hours must have elapsed before he could have been informed of their movement, even if it had been discovered the moment it had been commenced, a circumstance not very likely to happen. It therefore became necessary for the security of Upper Sandusky, that a position better adapted to that purpose should be assumed. There was another and most important reason for this

movement; twelve miles in the rear of Seneca, towards Upper Sandusky, the prairie or open country commences. The infantry, which the Commander-in-chief had with him were raw recruits; on the contrary, the squadron of dragoons were well disciplined, and had seen much service. In the country about Seneca, this important corps could have been of little service; in the open country to the rear, they would have defeated five times their number of Indians. It was for these reasons that it was determined by the council of war to change the position of the troops at Seneca. If this movement did take place, the propriety of withdrawing the garrison of Lower Sandusky was obvious. The place was extremely weak, and in a bad position. It was not intended originally for a fort. Before the war it was used as the United States Indian factory, and had a small stockade around it, merely for the purpose of keeping out drunken Indians. It was, moreover, commanded by a hill, within point-blank shot, on the opposite side of the river. To those who suppose that General Harrison should have advanced upon the enemy, the moment he discovered that Sandusky was attacked, we must, in the language of the general and field officers who were present on the occasion, "leave them to correct their opinions in the school of experience." General Harrison had been reinforced a day or two before the siege of Sandusky, by the 28th Regiment, raised in Kentucky. After having received this corps, he could not have marched more than 800 effective men without risking his stores, and, what was of still more consequence, 150 sick at Seneca, to be taken by the smallest party of Indians. The scouts of the army brought information that the Indians were very numerous in the direction of Fort Meigs. The General conjectured that a large portion of the Indians were then ready to fall on his flank or rear, or the defenseless camp at Seneca, should he advance. The information he received from the British prisoners confirmed this opinion; a body of 2,000 being there under the command of Tecumseh. At the moment of which we are speaking, the volunteers of Ohio were rapidly approaching. Now, under these circumstances, does any reasonable man believe that General Harrison should have advanced with his 800 raw recruits, against a force in front which he knew to be so much superior in numbers, and with the probability of having one equally large hanging on his flank? What would have been thought of his abilities as a general, even if he had been successful against General Proctor, (of which, with his small force, there was

little probability,) if in his absence, Fournsch, with his 2,000 warriors, had rushed upon Camp Seneca, destroyed its stores, tomahawked his sick soldiers, and pursuing his rout towards Upper Sandusky, defeated the Ohio volunteers, scattered as they were in small bodies, and finally ending his career with the destruction of the grand magazine of his army, upon the preservation of which all his hopes of future success depended? In all human probability this would have been the result, had General Harrison advanced to the relief of Fort Stephenson sooner than he did. It was certainly better to risk for a while the defence of that fort to the talents and valor of Croghan, and the gallant spirits who were with him, than to jeopardise the whole prospects of the campaign.

The next event in the history of this war which claims attention, is the naval victory upon Lake Erie, achieved by Commodore Perry, a description of which is annexed from Perkins' *Late War* :

At Erie, Commodore Perry was directed to repair and superintend a naval establishment, the object of which was to create a superior force on the lake. The difficulties of building a navy in the wilderness can only be conceived by those who have experienced them. There was nothing at this spot out of which it could be built, but the timber of the forest. Ship builders, sailors, naval stores, guns and ammunition, were to be transported by land, over bad roads, a distance of four hundred miles, either from Albany by the way of Buffalo, or from Philadelphia by the way of Pittsburgh. Under all these embarrassments, by the first of August, 1813, Commodore Perry had provided a flotilla, consisting of the ships *Lawrence* and *Niagara*, of twenty guns each, and seven smaller vessels, to wit, one of four guns, one of three, two of two, and three of one; in the whole fifty-four guns. While the ships were building, the enemy frequently appeared off the harbor and threatened their destruction; but the shallowness of the water on the bar—there being but five feet—prevented their approach. The same cause which insured the safety of the ships while building, seemed to prevent their being of any service. The two largest drew several feet more water than there was on the bar. The inventive genius of Commodore Perry, however, soon surmounted the difficulty. He placed large scows on each side of the two largest ships, filled them so as to sink to the water's edge, then attached them to the ships by strong pieces of timber, and pumped out the water. The scows then buoyed up the ships so as to pass the bar in safety. This operation

was performed on both the large ships in the presence of a superior enemy. Having gotten his fleet in readiness, Commodore Perry proceeded to the head of the lake, and anchored in Put-in-Bay, opposite to, and distant thirty miles from Malden, where the British fleet lay under the guns of the fort. He lay at anchor here several days watching the motions of the enemy, determined to give him battle the first favorable opportunity. On the 10th of September, at sunrise, the British fleet, consisting of one ship of nineteen guns, one of seventeen, one of thirteen, one of ten, one of three, and one of one, amounting to sixty-four, and exceeding the Americans by ten guns, under command of Commodore Barclay, appeared off Put-in-Bay, distant about ten miles. Commodore Perry immediately got under weigh, with a light breeze at southwest. At 10 o'clock the wind hauled to the southeast, which brought the American squadron to the windward and gave them the weather gage. Commodore Perry, on board the Lawrence, then hoisted his union jack, having for a motto the dying words of Captain Lawrence, "*Don't give up the ship,*" which was received with repeated cheers by the crew.

He then formed the line of battle and bore up for the enemy, who at the same time hauled his courses and prepared for action. The lightness of the wind occasioned the hostile squadrons to approach each other but slowly, and prolonged for two hours the solemn interval of suspense and anxiety which precedes a battle. The order and regularity of naval discipline heightened the dreadful quiet of the moment. No noise, no bustle prevailed to distract the mind, except at intervals the shrill pipings of the boatswain's whistle or a murmuring whisper among the men, who stood around their guns with lighted matches narrowly watching the movements of the foe, and sometimes stealing a glance at the countenances of their commanders. In this manner the hostile fleets neared each other in awful silence. At fifteen minutes after eleven a bugle was sounded on board the enemy's headmost ship, Detroit, loud cheers burst from all her crews, and a tremendous fire opened upon the Lawrence from the British long guns, which, from the shortness of the Lawrence's, she was obliged to sustain for forty minutes without being able to return a shot.

Commodore Perry, without waiting for the other ships, kept on his course in such gallant and determined style, that the enemy supposed he meant immediately to board. At five minutes before twelve, having gained a nearer position, the Lawrence opened her

fire, but the long guns of the British still gave them greatly the advantage, and the Lawrence was exceedingly cut up without being able to do but very little damage in return. Their shot pierced her sides in all directions, killing the wounded in the berth-deck and steerage, where they had been carried to be dressed. One shot had nearly produced a fatal explosion: passing through the light room it knocked the snuff of a candle into the magazine; fortunately, the gunner saw it and had the coolness to instantly extinguish it. It appeared to be the enemy's plan at all events to destroy the Commodore's ship: their heaviest fire was directed against the Lawrence, and blazed incessantly from all their largest vessels. Commodore Perry, finding the hazard of his situation, made all sail and directed the other vessels to follow, for the purpose of closing with the enemy. The tremendous fire, however, to which he was exposed soon cut away every brace and bowline of the Lawrence, and she became unmanageable. The other vessels were unable to get up; and in this disastrous situation she sustained the main force of the enemy's fire for upwards of two hours, within cannon distance, though a considerable part of the time not more than two or three of her guns could be brought to bear on her antagonist. The utmost order and regularity prevailed during this scene of horror; as fast as the men at the guns were wounded they were carried below, and others stepped into their places; the dead remained where they fell until after the action. At this juncture the enemy believed the battle to be won. The Lawrence was reduced to a mere wreck; her deck was streaming with blood and covered with mangled limbs and bodies of the slain; nearly the whole of her crew were either killed or wounded; her guns were dismounted, and the Commodore and his officers helped to work the last that was capable of service. At two, Captain Elliot was enabled by the aid of a fresh breeze, to bring his ship into close action in gallant style; and the Commodore immediately determined to shift his flag on board that ship; and giving his own in charge to Lieutenant Yarnell, he hauled down his union jack, and taking it under his arm, ordered a boat to put him on board the Niagara. Broadsides were levelled at his boat, and a shower of musketry from three of the enemy's ships. He arrived safe and hoisted his union jack, with its animating motto, on board the Niagara. Captain Elliott, by direction of the Commodore, immediately put off in a boat to bring up the schooners, which had been kept back by the lightness of the wind. At this moment the

flag of the *Lawrence* was hauled down. She had sustained the principal force of the enemy's fire for two hours, and was rendered incapable of defence. Any further show of resistance would have been a useless sacrifice of the relics of her brave and mangled crew. The enemy were at the same time so crippled that they were unable to take possession of her, and circumstances soon enabled her crew to again hoist her flag. Commodore Perry now gave the signal to all the vessels for close action. The small vessels under the direction of Captain Elliott, got out their sweeps and made all sail. Finding the *Niagara* but little injured, the Commodore determined upon the bold and desperate expedient of breaking the enemy's line; he accordingly bore up and passed the head of the two ships and brig, giving them a raking fire from his starboard guns, and also a raking fire upon a large schooner and sloop from his larboard quarter, at half pistol shot. Having gotten the whole squadron into action, he luffed and laid his ship alongside the British Commodore. The small vessels having now got up within good grape and cannister distance on the other quarter, enclosed the enemy between them and the *Niagara*, and in this position kept up a most destructive fire on both quarters of the British, until every ship struck her colors.

The engagement lasted about three hours, and never was victory more decisive and complete. More prisoners were taken than there were men on board the American squadron at the close of the action. The principal loss in killed and wounded was on board the *Lawrence*, before the other vessels were brought into action. Of her crew, twenty-two were killed and sixty wounded. When her flag was struck, but twenty men remained on deck fit for duty. The loss on board of all the other vessels, was only five killed and thirty-six wounded. The British loss must have been much more considerable. Commodore Barclay was dangerously wounded. He had lost one arm at the battle of Trafalgar. The other was now rendered useless by the loss of a part of his shoulder-blade; he received also a severe wound in the hip.

Commodore Perry, in his official dispatch, speaks in the highest terms of respect and commiseration for his wounded antagonist, and asks leave to grant him an immediate parole. Of Captain Elliott, his second in command, he says, "that he is already so well known to the government that it would be almost superfluous to speak. In this action he evinced his characteristic bravery and

judgment and since the close of it has given me the most able and essential assistance." The bold and desperate measure of pressing forward into action with the *Lawrence* alone, and exposing her to the whole fire of the enemy's fleet for two hours, before the other ships could be got up, has been censured as rash and not warranted by the rules of naval war; but there are seasons when the commander must rely more on the daring promptness of his measures than on nice calculations of comparative strength. Neither Bonaparte nor Nelson ever stopped to measure accurately the strength of the respective combatants. The result is the acknowledged and generally the best criterion of merit; and it should not detract from the eelot of the successful commander, that his measures were bold and decisive.

Two days after the battle, two Indian chiefs, who had been selected for their skill as marksmen, and stationed in the tops of the *Detroit* for the purpose of picking off the American officers, were found snugly stowed away in the hold of the *Detroit*. These savages, who had been accustomed to ships of no greater magnitude than what they could sling on their backs, when the action became warm were so panic-struck at the terrors of the scene and the strange perils that surrounded them, that, looking at each other with amazement, they vociferated their significant "*quonh*," and precipitately descended to the hold. In their British uniforms hanging in bags upon their famished bodies, they were brought before Commodore Perry, fed, and discharged, no further parole being necessary to prevent their afterwards engaging in the contest. The slain of the crews both of squadrons were committed to the lake immediately after the action. The next day the funeral obsequies of the American and British officers who had fallen, were performed at an opening on the margin of the bay, in an appropriate and affecting manner. The crews of both fleets united in the ceremony. The stillness of the weather—the procession of boats—the music—the slow and regular motion of the oars, striking in exact time with the notes of the solemn dirge—the mournful waving of the flags—the sound of the minute guns from all the ships—the wild and solitary aspect of the place—gave to these funeral rites a most impressive influence, and forming an affecting contrast with the terrible conflict of the preceding day. Then the people of the two squadrons were engaged in the deadly strife of arms: now they were associated as brothers to pay the last tribute of respect to the slain of both nations

Two American officers, Lieutenant Brooks and Midshipman Laub, of the *Lawrence*; and three British, Captain Finnis and Lieutenant Stoke, of the *Charlotte*, and Lieutenant Garland, of the *Detroit*, lie interred by the side of each other in this lonely place on the margin of the lake, a few paces from the beach.

This interesting battle was fought midway of the lake, between the two hostile armies, who lay on the opposite shores, waiting in anxious expectation its result. The allied British and Indian forces to the amount of four thousand five hundred, under Proctor and Tecumseh, were at Malden, ready, in case of successful issue, to renew their ravages on the American borders.

Meanwhile, the American army had received its reinforcements, and was only waiting the expected victory of the fleet to embark. On the 27th of September, it set sail for the shore of Canada, and in a few hours stood around the ruins of the deserted and wasted Malden, from which Proctor had retreated to Sandwich, intending to make his way to the heart of Canada, by the valley of the Thames. Previous to his departure, however, General Harrison addressed Governor Meigs as follows :

FRANKLINTON, September 22d, 1813.

Be pleased to send a company of one hundred men to Fort Meigs. Thirty or forty will do for Lower Sandusky.

I am informed that the term of the garrison at Fort Findlay will expire on the 22d instant. Will you be pleased to order there twenty or thirty men ?

Yours respectfully,

WM. HENRY HARRISON.

To His Excellency Governor R. J. Meigs.

On the 29th, Harrison was at Sandwich, and McArthur took possession of Detroit and the territory of Michigan. At this point Colonel Johnson's mounted rifle regiment, which had gone up the west side of the river, rejoined the main army. On the 2d of October, the Americans began their march in pursuit of Proctor, whom they overtook upon the 5th. He had posted his army with its left resting upon the river, while the right flank was defended by a marsh; the ground between the river and the marsh was divided lengthwise by a smaller swamp, so as to make two distinct fields in which the troops were to operate. The British were in two lines, occupying the field between the river and small swamp; the Indians extended

from the small to the large morass, the ground being suitable to their mode of warfare, and unfavorable for cavalry. Harrison at first ordered the mounted Kentuckians to the left of the American army, that is, to the field farthest from the river, in order to act against the Indians, while with his infantry formed in three lines, and strongly protected on the left flank to secure it against the savages, he proposed to meet the British troops themselves. Before the battle commenced, however, he learned two facts, which induced him to change his plans: one was the bad nature of the ground on his left for the operations of horse; the other was the open order of the English regulars, which made them liable to a fatal attack by cavalry. Learning these things, Harrison, but whether upon his own suggestion or not, we cannot say, ordered Colonel Johnson with his mounted men to charge, and try to break the regular troops, by passing through their ranks and forming in their rear. In arranging to do this, Johnson found his space between the river and small swamp too narrow for all his men to act in with effect; so, dividing them, he gave the right hand body opposite the regulars in charge to his brother James, while crossing the swamp with the remainder, he himself led the way against Tecumseh and his savage followers. The charge of James Johnson was perfectly successful; the Kentuckians received the fire of the British, broke through their ranks, and forming beyond them, produced such a panic by the novelty of the attack, that the whole body of troops yielded at once. On the left the Indians fought more obstinately, and the horsemen were forced to dismount, but in ten minutes Tecumseh was dead, and his followers, who had learned the fate of their allies, soon gave up the contest. In half an hour all was over, except the pursuit of Procter, who had fled at the onset. The whole number in both armies was about five thousand; the whole number killed, less than forty, so entirely was the affair decided by panic. We have thus, says Mr. Perkins in his *Western Annals*, given an outline of the battle of the Thames, which practically closed the war in the Northwest; and to our own we add part of Harrison's official statement

“The troops at my disposal consisted of about one hundred and twenty regulars of the 27th regiment, five brigades of Kentucky volunteer militia infantry, under his excellency Governor Shelby, averaging less than five hundred men, and Colonel Johnson's regiment of mounted infantry, making in the whole an aggregate some-

thing above three thousand.† No disposition of an army, opposed to an Indian force, can be safe unless it is secured on the flanks and in the rear. I had, therefore, no difficulty in arranging the infantry conformably to my general order of battle. General Trotter's brigade of five hundred men, formed the front line, his right upon the road, and his left upon the swamp. General King's brigade as a second line, one hundred and fifty yards in the rear of Trotter's and Chiles's brigades, as a corps of reserve in the rear of it. These three brigades formed the command of Major General Henry; the whole of General Desha's division, consisting of two brigades, were formed *en potence* upon the left of Trotter.

“ Whilst I was engaged in forming the infantry, I had directed Colonel Johnson's regiment, which was still in front, to be formed in two lines opposite to the enemy, and upon the advance of the infantry, to take ground to the left, and forming upon that flank to endeavor to turn the right of the Indians. A moment's reflection, however, convinced me that from the thickness of the woods and swampiness of the ground, they would be unable to do anything on horseback, and there was no time to dismount them and place their horses in security; I therefore determined to refuse my left to the Indians, and to break the British lines at once, by a charge of the mounted infantry: the measure was not sanctioned by anything that I had seen or heard of, but I was fully convinced that it would succeed. The American backwoodsmen ride better in the woods than any other people. A musket or rifle is no impediment to them, being accustomed to carry them on horseback from their earliest youth. I was persuaded, too, that the enemy would be quite unprepared for the shock, and that they could not resist it. Conformably to this idea, I directed the regiment to be drawn up in close column, with its right at the distance of fifty yards from the road, (that it might be in some measure protected by the trees from the artillery,) its left upon the swamp, and to charge at full speed as soon as the enemy delivered their fire. The few regular troops of the 27th regiment, under their Colonel (Paul), occupied, in column of sections of four, the small space between the road and the river, for the purpose of seizing the enemy's artillery, and some ten or twelve friendly Indians were directed to move under the bank. The crotchet formed by the front-line, and General Desha's

† This estimate was too high, there were not more than 2,500. The British were nearly as numerous. See McAfee, Dawson, &c.

division was an important point. At that place, the venerable Governor of Kentucky was posted, who at the age of 66 preserves all the vigor of youth, the ardent zeal which distinguished him in the Revolutionary War, and the undaunted bravery which he manifested at King's Mountain. With my aids-de-camp, the Acting Assistant Adjutant General, Captain Butler, my gallant friend Commodore Perry, who did me the honor to serve as my volunteer aid-de-camp, and Brigadier General Cass, who, having no command, tendered me his assistance, I placed myself at the head of the front line of infantry, to direct the movements of the cavalry, and give them the necessary support. The army had moved on in this order but a short distance, when the mounted men received the fire of the British line, and were ordered to charge; the horses in the front of the column recoiled from the fire; another was given by the enemy, and our column at length getting in motion, broke through the enemy with irresistible force. In one minute the contest in front was over. The British officers seeing no hopes of reducing their disordered ranks to order, and our mounted men wheeling upon them, and pouring in a destructive fire, immediately surrendered. It is certain that three only of our troops were wounded in this charge. Upon the left, however, the contest was more severe with the Indians. Colonel Johnson, who commanded on that flank of his regiment, received a most galling fire from them, which was returned with great effect. The Indians still further to the right advanced and fell in with our front line of infantry, near its junction with Desha's division, and for a moment made an impression upon it. His Excellency Governor Shelby, however, brought up a regiment to its support, and the enemy receiving a severe fire in front, and a part of Johnson's regiment having gained their rear, retreated with precipitation. Their loss was very considerable in the action, and many were killed in their retreat."

The question relative to the death of Tecumseh having been mooted, B. F. H. Witherell, Esq., of Detroit, on the 28th of September, 1853, addressed a letter to General Lewis Cass, which was published in Volume 3 of the collections of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin, extracts from which are here given:

The affidavit of Captain James Knaggs, with whom, as with nearly all our old citizens, I believe, you are acquainted, will, I think, set the question at rest.

Being at the river Raisin a few day since, I called on Captain

Knaggs, who was a brave and intrepid soldier, in the Ranger service.

He stated to me all the circumstances of the battle on the Thames, so far as they came within his knowledge, and at my request, he made an affidavit, (a copy of which I herewith send you,) narrating so much of the action as is connected with the death of the great chief.

Colonel Johnson stated at the time, and afterwards often reiterated it, that he killed an Indian with his pistol, who was advancing upon him at the time his horse fell under him. The testimony of Captain Knaggs shows conclusively, that it could have been *no other* than Tecumseh.

Colonel Johnson, when last here, saw and recognized Captain Knaggs and Mr. Labadie as the men who bore him from the field in his blanket.

The transaction is of some little importance in history, as the ball that bore with it the fate of the great warrior, dissolved at once the last great Indian Confederacy, and gave peace to our frontier.

I am, respectfully yours, &c.,

B. F. H. WITHERELL.

STATE OF MICHIGAN, }
County of Monroe, } ss.

James Knaggs deposeth and saith, as follows :

I was attached to a company of mounted men called Rangers, at the battle of the Thames in Upper Canada, in the year 1813. During the battle we charged into the swamp, where several of our horses mired down, and an order was given to retire to the hard ground in our rear, which we did. The Indians in front, believing that we were retreating, immediately advanced upon us, with Tecumseh at their head. I distinctly heard his voice, with which I was perfectly familiar. He yelled like a tiger, and urged on his braves to the attack. We were then but a few yards apart. We halted on the hard ground, and continued our fire. After a few minutes of very severe fighting, I discovered Colonel Johnson lying near, on the ground, with one leg confined by the body of his white mare, which had been killed, and had fallen upon him. My friend Medard Labadie was with me. We went up to the Colonel, with whom we were previously acquainted, and found him badly wounded, lying on his side, with one of his pistols lying in his hand. I saw Tecumseh at the same time, lying on his face, dead, and about fifteen or twenty feet from the Colonel. He was stretched at full length, and was shot through the body, I think near the heart. The ball went out through his back. He held his tomahawk in his right hand, (it had a brass pipe on the head of it,) his arm was extended as if striking, and the edge of the tomahawk was stuck in the ground. Tecumseh was dressed in red speckled leggings, and a fringed hunting shirt; he lay stretched directly towards Colonel Johnson. When we went up to the Colonel we offered to help him. He replied with

with great animation, "Knaggs, let me lay here, and push on and take Proctor." However, we liberated him from his dead horse, took his blanket from his saddle, placed him in it, and bore him off the field. I had known Tecumseh from my boyhood; we were boys together. There was no other Indian killed immediately around where Colonel Johnson or Tecumseh lay, though there were many near the creek, a few rods back of where Tecumseh fell.

I had no doubt then, and have none now, that Tecumseh fell by the hand of Colonel Johnson.

JAMES KNAGGS,

Sworn to, before me, this 22d day of September, 1853.

B. F. H. WITHERELL, *Notary Public*

The Secretary of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin, Mr. Draper, adds the following to the deposition of Mr. Knaggs:

"Colonel Johnson was invariably modest about claiming the honor of having slain Tecumseh. When I paid him a visit, at his residence at the Great Crossings, in Kentucky in 1844, while collecting facts and materials illustrative of the career of Clark, Boone, Kenton and other Western pioneers, he exhibited to me the horse pistols he used in the battle of the Thames, and modestly remarked, 'that with them he shot the chief who had confronted and wounded him in the engagement.'"

Alluding to Captain Knaggs' statement, the *Louisville Journal* remarked: "A new witness has appeared in the newspapers testifying to facts which tend to show that Colonel R. M. Johnson killed Tecumseh. The Colonel was certainly brave enough to meet and kill a dozen Indians, and if he didn't kill Tecumseh, he no doubt would have done it if he had had a chance. He himself was often interrogated upon the subject, and his reply upon at least one occasion was capital: 'They say I killed him; how could I tell? I was in too much of a hurry, when he was advancing upon me, to ask him his name, or inquire after the health of his family. I fired as quick as convenient, and he fell. If it had been Tecumseh or the Prophet, it would have been all the same.'"

Shortly after the foregoing publication, Mr. Witherell communicated the following to a Detroit journal:

"Captain Knaggs, who is spoken of in that communication, is a highly respectable citizen of Monroe, and was one of the most active and useful partisans in service during the war of 1812. Almost in-

numerable and miraculous were his "hairbreadth 'scapes" from the savages.

"He related to me, when I last saw him, several anecdotes of Tecumseh, which will illustrate his character. Amongst others, he states that while the enemy was in full possession of the country, Tecumseh, with a large band of his warriors, visited the Raisin. The inhabitants along that river had been stripped of nearly every means of subsistence. Old Mr. Rivard, who was lame, and unable to labor to procure a living for himself and family, had contrived to keep out of sight of the wandering bands of savages, a pair of oxen, with which his son was able to procure a scanty support for the family. It so happened that, while at labor with the oxen, Tecumseh, who had come over from Malden, met him in the road, and walking up to him, said, 'My friend, I must have those oxen. My young men are very hungry: they have had nothing to eat. We *must* have the oxen.'

"Young Rivard remonstrated. He told the chief that if he took the oxen his father would starve to death.

"'Well,' said Tecumseh, 'we are the conquerors, and every thing we want is ours. I *must* have the oxen; my people must not starve; but I will not be so mean as to rob you of them. I will pay you one hundred dollars for them, and that is far more than they are worth; but we must have them.'

"Tecumseh got a white man to write an order on the British Indian Agent, Colonel Elliot, who was on the river some distance below, for the money. The oxen were killed, large fies built, and and the forest warriors were soon feasting on their flesh. Young Rivard took the order to Colonel Elliott, who promptly refused to pay it, saying, 'We are entitled to our support from the country we have conquered. I will not pay it.' The young man, with a sorrowful heart, returned with the answer to Tecumseh, who said, 'He won't pay it, will he? Stay all night, and to-morrow we will go and see.' On the next morning, he took young Rivard, and went down to see the Colonel. On meeting him, he said, 'Do you refuse to pay for the oxen I bought?' 'Yes,' said the Colonel, and he reiterated the reason for refusal. 'I *bought* them,' said the chief, 'for my young men were very hungry. I *promised* to pay for them, and they *shall* be paid for. I have always heard that white nations went to war with *each other*, and not with peaceful individuals; that they did not rob and plunder poor people. I will not.' 'Well,' said the Colonel,

‘I will not pay for them.’ ‘You can do as you please,’ said the chief; ‘but before Tecumseh and his warriors came to fight the battles of the great King they had enough to eat, for which they had only to thank the Master of Life and their good rifles. Their hunting grounds supplied them with food enough; to them they can return.’ This threat produced a change in the Colonel’s mind. The defection of the great chief, he well knew, would immediately withdraw all the nations of the Red Men from the British service; and without them they were nearly powerless on the frontier. ‘Well,’ said the Colonel, ‘if I *must* pay, I will.’ ‘Give me hard money,’ said Tecumseh, ‘not rag money,’ (army bills.) The Colonel then counted out a hundred dollars, in coin, and gave them to him. The chief handed the money to young Rivard, and then said to the Colonel, ‘Give me one dollar more.’ It was given; and handing that also to Rivard, he said, ‘Take that; it will pay for the time you have lost in getting your money.’

“How many *white* warriors have such notions of justice?”

“Before the commencement of the war, when his hunting parties approached the white settlements, horses and cattle were occasionally stolen: but notice to the chief failed not to produce instant redress.

“The character of Tecumseh was that of a gallant and intrepid warrior, an honest and honorable man; and his memory is respected by all our old citizens who personally knew him.”

The following letter from the venerable General Combs, of Kentucky, who bore so gallant a part in the defense of the Ohio and the Maumee Valley, has both local and general interest:

Editor Historical Record:

You ask me for a description of the celebrated Indian warrior, Tecumseh, from my personal observation. I answer that I never saw the great chief but once, and then under rather exciting circumstances, but I have a vivid recollection of from his appearance, and intercourse with his personal friends, I am possessed of accurate knowledge of his character.

I was, as you know, one of the prisoners taken at what is known as Dudley’s defeat on the banks of the Maumee River, opposite Fort Meigs, early in May, 1813. Tecumseh had fallen upon our rear, and we were compelled to surrender. We were marched down to the old Fort Miami or Maumee, in squads, where a terrible scene awaited us.

The Indians, fully armed with guns, war clubs and tomahawks—to say nothing of scalping knives, had formed themselves into two lines in front of the gateway between which all of us were bound to pass. Many were killed or wounded in running the gauntlet. Shortly after the prisoners had entered, the Indians rushed over the walls and again surrounded us, and raised the war-whoop, at the same time making unmistakable demonstrations of violence. We all expected to be massacred, and the small British guard around us were utterly unable to afford protection. They called loudly for General Proctor and Colonel Elliot to come to our relief. At this critical moment Tecumseh came rushing in, deeply excited, and denounced the *murderers of prisoners as cowards*. Thus our lives were spared and we were sent down to the fleet at the mouth of Swan Creek, (now Toledo) and from that place across the end of the lake to Huron and paroled.

I shall never forget the noble countenance, gallant bearing and sonorous voice of that remarkable man, while addressing his warriors in our behalf.

He was then between forty and forty-five years of age. His frame was vigorous and robust, but he was not fat, weighing about one hundred and seventy pounds. Five feet ten inches was his height. He had a high, projecting forehead, and broad, open countenance; and there was something noble and commanding in all his actions. He was brave, humane and generous, and never allowed a prisoner to be massacred if he could prevent it. At Fort Miami he saved the lives of all of us who had survived running the gauntlet. He afterwards released seven Shawanese belonging to my command, and sent them home on parole. Tecumseh was a Shawanese. His name signified in their language, Shooting Star. At the time when I saw him he held the commission of a Brigadier General in the British Army. I am satisfied that he deserved all that was said of him by General Cass and Governor Harrison, previous to his death.

LESLIE COMBS.

Lexington, Ky., October, 1871.

In the foregoing is presented all that is deemed proper in a history of the Maumee Valley relating to events connected with the war of 1812–15. The chapter is concluded by a publication, for the first time, of the following communications, some of which possess more than a local interest:

CAMP MEIGS, June 20th, 1813.

Dear Sir:—Two men, one a Frenchman and the other a private in the late Colonel Dudley's regiment, have just arrived from Detroit, and from whom we have the important intelligence that the enemy contemplate another attack upon this garrison.

The Frenchman states that the Indians had for some time been urging General Proctor to renew the attack. A council of war was held a few days since, in which it was determined to renew the attack on Fort Meigs, and the combined forces were to set out on this day, or to-morrow at farthest, with that view.

From every information, the Indians would be about four thousand strong, with the expectation of additional reinforcements of perhaps as many more.

The British regulars from Fort George and Erie had been sent for, and were expected at Malden, about one thousand six hundred strong. The Canadian militia had been paraded on the 4th of June, (the King's birthday,) and after a speech by the General had been ordered to yield up their arms, being deemed unworthy of his Majesty's service.

Tecumseh was encamped at the river Souge, near its mouth.

The prisoner, Thomas Lowe, of Captain Kerr's company Kentucky militia, states that, "on the 5th of May, he was taken prisoner by the Indians and carried about one hundred and fifty miles above Detroit, to the Sagana tribe, where he remained with two other prisoners until a few days past, when all three attempted their escape. They were discovered by the Indians, fired on and scattered, but neither of them killed. He made his way good to the neighborhood of Detroit, where he fell in with the Frenchman, whose statement precedes, and who agreed to accompany him to this place. That a small distance from Detroit he was met or overtaken by a large, portly man of fair complexion, who told him to hurry on to this place with all possible speed, and inform the commanding officer here that this place would be again besieged. The enemy would consist of about four thousand Indians, one thousand five hundred or one thousand six hundred regulars, (a reinforcement just arrived at Malden,) and the whole of the regular force from that post: and that the enemy would set out for this place by to-morrow, or Monday at farthest. He also states that previous to his leaving the Indians, nearly all the women of the Sagana tribe had left their towns for Detroit: that the person who gave him this information states, as his opinion, that the enemy intended an attack on the posts in the rear of this, and that his opinion was founded on information received from a squaw.

The officers of the garrison have been generally consulted, and they give the fullest confidence to the belief that the enemy contemplate another attack on this fort: nor do I hesitate to join in the belief.

The importance of this communication to you needs no comment from me.

We shall be prepared to give our enemy a warm reception, come when they will.

I have every confidence in your exertions, and feel that it is through you this army looks for triumph over our enemies.

I have sent expresses in different routes and to different posts, to meet you, and enclosed copies of this communication to Governors Meigs and Shelby, and have taken the liberty to order Colonel Johnston's regiment of mounted men from Fort Winchester to this place immediately.

By different detachments sent from this place, we have received from Fort Winchester about one thousand two hundred barrels flour, including that escorted from Amanda by Ensign Gray.

I am, with high consideration and respect,

Your most obedient servant,

GREEN CLAY.

To Major General Harrison.

ZANESVILLE, 7th August, 1813.

Sir:—The communication of Mr. Beard, of the 31st of July, announcing the marching and arrival of so many troops for the relief of Fort Meigs, has been duly received.

I forwarded to General McConnell, and also to General Paul's brigade, the orders for two hundred men each.

Captain Buell, the bearer hereof, is on his way with a large company of mounted men from Marietta. I furnished him with a few cartridges. Having sent nearly all the lead on hand to the order of Colonel Enos, some time ago, I shall have to purchase lead to work up the powder.

News from headquarters has been so various and contradictory these few days past, that we have been in great anxiety. At length, however, it seems to have gained belief that the enemy have been repulsed at Lower Sandusky, with the loss of some two hundred men, and fled.

Calculations are making here, that with so large a body of men, they will, when concentrated, move on, without waiting to be transported by Commodore Perry, perhaps to Detroit and Malden, and restore Michigan to its rightful sovereignty.

May your progress be such as to raise the siege of Fort Meigs, and put to rout the hordes of red and white savages who infest the frontiers.

It would be very gratifying to be informed, from time to time, of the real state of things in camp, and what progress (if any) the Northwestern army is making. The various and contradictory reports afloat here (perhaps designed to sport with and harass our feelings) leaves the mind in a perpetual state of anxiety and pain.

I am, sir, your Excellency's obedient and humble servant,

J. VAN HORNE.

To Governor R. J. Meigs.

UPPER SANDUSKY, 23d July, 1813, 6
10 o'clock, P. M. A

Dear Sir:—Mr. Oliver this moment arrived from Fort Meigs with a verbal message from General Clay to Major General Harrison, informing him that the British and Indians have again besieged that place. They were discovered on the opposite side of the river yesterday morning, 21st instant, after reveille. The Indians had crossed over in the night, and had succeeded in killing and taking off seven of the picket guard. The force landed from the gunboats, and in view of the fort, was estimated at one thousand five hundred British troops, besides those that had taken their position in the night. Early last night the enemy took possession of the point on this side of the river, two hundred yards below the fort, where they were erecting batteries. Our batteries opened yesterday morning, and we heard several guns this evening. Ten or twelve boats, four of them rigged, were in view of the fort when Mr. Oliver left there. I left General Harrison this morning, at Lower Sandusky. He has five thousand regulars and one hundred militia with him, and Colonel Paul is within twenty-two miles of headquarters, with five hundred regulars; and there are one hundred of the twenty-fourth regiment at Fort Ball.

I am, sir, with great respect,

Your most obedient servant,

J. C. BARTLETT, *Q. M. G.*

To Brigadier General Lewis Cass.

To His Excellency R. J. Meigs, Governor of the State of Ohio :

May it please your Excellency:—The undersigned inhabitants and settlers on the plains of Lower Sandusky, on the reservation made by the official agents of the United States, sanctioned by government, beg leave to humbly represent their present situation, and their future hopes.

In the first instance, B. F. Stickney, Esq., as Indian Agent, has denied us the right or privilege of settling on this ground, and he has even proceeded so far that he has actually instructed General Gano, our present commandant, to dispossess us of our present inheritance.

Many of us whose signatures are annexed to this, have been severe sufferers since the commencement of the present war, and even prior to the declaration thereof.

Without reflection on the past, and willing to undergo and encounter any difficulty which may ensue, we humbly beg leave to remain as we now do, in the peaceable possession of our cabins, unmolested by the interference of any man save him who at present commands us, and to whose orders we pledge ourselves at all times, and in any emergency, to be subservient. The advantages resulting

from a settlement of this kind, and at a time, too, when the fruits of our labor cannot be wanting, need not be recited for your Excellency's information.

We do not, neither can we, attempt to claim any legal right to the ground or spot of earth on which we have each and individually settled. But the improvements which we have made, and the buildings which we have erected, we trust will not be taken from us without the interference of legal authority.

To you, sir, as our *friend*, our *benefactor*, and our *Governor*, we have made this appeal in the hope and expectation that it may merit your Excellency's attention, by a set of subjects whose hearts are warmed towards you, and whose breasts will be unbared for you at our country's call.

Permission to build has been granted by General Gano to those who have erected cabins since his arrival, and with pride and pleasure we acknowledge his favor and friendship. We remain your Excellency's most obedient and very humble servants,

GEORGE BEAN,
GEO. ERMATINGTON,
R. E. POST,
ASA STODDARD,
ISRAEL HARRINGTON,
MORRIS A. NEWMAN,
R. LOOMIS,
JESSE SKINNER,
WILLIAM LEACH,
WALTER BRABROOK,
LOUIS MOSHELLE,
WM. HAMILTON,
LEWIS GEANEAU,
PATRICK CHISS.

LOWER SANDUSKY, December 21st, 1813.

HEADQUARTERS OHIO MILITIA, }
LOWER SANDUSKY, January 16th, 1814. }

Dear Sir :—I have the pleasure to inform you that after repeated solicitations, and much delay, the paymaster has succeeded in obtaining two months' pay for the troops under my command. I have sent him on to Detroit, as the men there are in great want of money to purchase necessaries, etc.

Yesterday the Lieutenant and Surgeon of the Navy, Champlain and Eastman, left this post for Put-in-Bay. They arrived the evening before, and report they have everything arranged to give the enemy a warm reception, should they visit them. About forty pieces of cannon can be brought to play upon them at any point. I find, however, they want men. I shall send in the regulars from Seneca,

as soon as possible, to reinforce them, which is absolutely necessary from the Lieutenant's representations to me. We have not had the detailed account from Buffalo, &c. Majors Vance and Meek have just arrived from Detroit, and give me a favorable account from that quarter as to the exertions of Colonel Butler, to whom I sent Major Vance as an express. There is a detachment under Major Smiley, up the river Thames, who will, I hope, fare better than Larwill. The militia are very tired of the service there, and all are beginning to count days. They have had an immense deal of fatigue and severe duty to perform. The fort at Portage is progressing, and is the best piece of work in the Western country as to strength. The men draw the timber to admiration—eighty or ninety logs a day without a murmur. The teams have been, and are useless for want of forage. The greatest part have actually died. I wrote in November to Quartermaster Gardiner for funds to be sent to the Quartermaster's assistant here to purchase forage, which could have been obtained two or three hundred miles from here. If three hundred dollars could have been sent on, I think it would have saved the United States three thousand; and I assure you I have used every exertion to preserve and protect the public property. As I before observed, nothing will induce the militia to remain after their term of service expires, which will be the last of next month. Is there any information from General Harrison or the Secretary of War on this subject? I am only anxious on account of the public property that may be left exposed. I have this post in a tolerable state of defence, as well as all the posts I command, which, you know, are scattered from Dan to Beersheba; and each must rely on its own strength for its defence. I have had an immense detail business in communication, &c. Flour is very scarce at all the frontier posts. I have been between "hawk and buzzard"—the commissary and contractor; and between the two, as is usual, must fail. What a wretched system of warfare! From the best information I can collect, it is my opinion we shall have a warm spring. I have in reserve much to say when we have an interview. I have had some severe chills and fevers, but have recovered, and make it a point to have the men attended to as well as possible. It is allowed that the troops here exercise and manœuvre equal to the regulars, and are very orderly.

I have the honor to be, with great respect,

Your most obedient and humble servant,

JOHN S. GAXO.

To His Excellency R. J. Meigs.

P. S.—Six o'clock, p. m.—An express by a naval officer has just arrived from Erie. Lieutenant Packet has given me a full account of the loss of the posts below, at Niagara. The enemy possessed themselves of the artillery, military stores, &c., &c., to a large amount; and there is no doubt but an attempt to take or destroy the vessels at Put-in-Bay will be attempted, and Captain

Elliott has requested a reinforcement of two hundred men to send to the Island, which I have not the power to furnish. I have ordered about thirty regulars from Seneca, and will send a few militia. My troops are so scattered, I have no disposable force without evacuating some of the posts that contain considerable military stores. I wrote some time since to General Harrison, recommending him to send on the recruits. They certainly will be wanted as soon as the British can move on the ice or by water to Detroit or the Islands. I fear we shall lose all that has been gained, unless great exertions are used to reinforce; and supply of provisions is much wanted.

JOHN S. GANO.

[Confidential.]

CHILLICOTHE, December 13th, 1814.

Sir:—With serious concern for the safety of the Northwestern frontier, I have the honor to submit to your consideration, and that of the Legislature of Ohio, a statement in relation to the situation of affairs in this district.

The contractor failed in November to supply the troops at Detroit with the flour part of the ration, and they are now subsisting upon the immediate resources of the adjacent country. The advanced state of the season precludes the hope that any flour can be forwarded by lake transportation, should it have been collected at Erie, of which there is no authentic account. A considerable supply is reported by the contractor to be in readiness, to be taken down the St. Mary's and Miami of the lake as soon as practicable, of which there can be no certainty until April.

Three or four thousand hogs are reported by the contractor to be in readiness to proceed to Detroit by the route of the Auglaize, and Hull's road. Subsequent information as to the number collected, and the price allowed to sub-contractors, induces a belief that not more than one thousand will reach that place. These facts have been communicated to the government, with a request that funds might be transmitted to this place to enable a special commissary to endeavor to supply the troops of the frontier. There is reason to presume that a delay for an arrangement of this kind would be fatal; more especially as it is the intention of the government to increase the military force of the Northwestern frontier. I have, therefore, to request of your Excellency to solicit the Legislature of Ohio to aid the United States in effecting this important object in such a manner as they, in their wisdom, may deem most expedient.

The loan of thirty thousand dollars would probably enable a person duly authorized to forward to Detroit, by the way of Sandusky, five hundred barrels of flour, and fifteen hundred hogs.

I am, sir, very respectfully, your obedient servant,

DUNCAN MCARTHUR,

Brig. Gen. U. S. Army Comd'g.

His Excellency Thomas Worthington, Governor of Ohio.

CHILLICOTHE, December 13th, 1814.

Sir:—I had the honor to receive this evening your confidential communication of even date herewith, and will to-morrow morning communicate copies of it to both branches of the Legislature.

Very respectfully,
T. WORTHINGTON.

General McArthur, commanding 8th Military District.

[Confidential.]

CHILLICOTHE, 14th December, 1814.

Gentlemen of the House of Representatives:

I send you copies of a confidential communication of Brigadier General Duncan McArthur, commanding the 8th Military District, from which you will perceive the situation of the posts on the Northwestern frontier. Should the United States fail to supply these posts, and no other provision be made to support them, they must inevitably fall into the hands of the enemy before the opening of the next campaign. Such a state of things would lay the whole frontier of Ohio open to the incursions of the enemy. With this view of the subject, I cannot hesitate to recommend to the Legislature to furnish, with the least possible delay, the means to supply these posts, believing they will in this way save both the blood and treasure of the State.

I cannot hesitate in believing the General Government will take the earliest opportunity to refund the amount which may be advanced for the contemplated object.

Very respectfully,
T. WORTHINGTON.

As a fitting close of this chapter, it is not deemed inappropriate to again introduce, by way of most pleasant corroborative testimony regarding the sieges of Fort Meigs, the name of the brave and patriotic Kentuckian, General Leslie Coombs, who, in a speech made at a pioneer celebration at Cincinnati, on the 4th of July, 1874, said:

In commencing his address, the speaker referred to having received a letter from the Secretary of the Pioneer Association, requesting him to attend their meeting on the Fourth of July, and deliver an address before them. In ancient Rome, when a man has served his country for a term of twenty years, he was adjudged a veteran, and discharged from further service, but here he had been serving his hearers and the public, as a man and boy, for fifty-eight years, without either pay or promotion, and yet he could not obtain a discharge from serving them still, but had been asked to speak to-day before

these *young* ladies and gentlemen, who call themselves Pioneers, and have organized themselves into a society for reminiscences. [Laughter.]

And some of us have already begun to show marks of time upon us. Even this boy (turning to the venerable Major Gano) has grown up to a man and has become slightly gray since I knew him, now fifty years ago, [laughter], while I retain without dye the black hair I had in my youth, and still eat my food with a good appetite, using the set of teeth unimpaired with which I was endowed by nature.

The speaker then said that he would refer in the course of his address to occurrences which took place fifty-eight years ago, at the time the war of 1812-13 was in progress between this country and Great Britain. In its cause, we people of the West had but little interest. It was a war waged for free trade and sailors' rights, and we people here had little or no interest in either. The matter of free trade or high tariff affected the cost of our merchandise by the time it got here, after being packed across the Alleghenies on the backs of mules and pack-horses, while as to sailors' rights, here, on our inland river, we never saw a sailor, and scarce knew what one looked like. However, when the tocsin of war was sounded, the West responded promptly and nobly. War was declared on the 18th of June, 1812. At that time our northern frontier was defended by three regiments of Ohio volunteers, serving under Generals McArthur, Findlay and Cass, while a fourth one of auxiliary forces was under the command of General Tupper. Kentucky speedily raised five thousand five hundred volunteers, part of whom had their rendezvous at Georgetown. On the 16th of August, the very day that Hull made his disgraceful surrender of Detroit, they were addressed by Governor Scott and Henry Clay and set out from Georgetown on their road to Canada, stopping first at Cincinnati. Here the news reached them of Hull's surrender. They then at once set out for the Northwest, making Detroit their first point for an attack. The Ohio troops had but a line of small forts along the route they had traversed, and it was the intention of the officers to make them stopping points on the journey northward. We then had a small garrison at Mackinac, another at Detroit, and still another at a point on Lake Michigan, where the speaker had been told that a tolerably-sized village, called Chicago, had since been built. Since its occupation at that time the place had grown somewhat famous as a point whence considerable wheat is shipped.

Besides this, we had Forts Wayne and Harrison, both of them feebly protected only by small garrisons. Piqua was then on the frontier of the Northwest, while the most northeasterly point was Mansfield. Beyond there the country was an unbroken wilderness. The Shawanee Indians had a town where Waupaughkonnotta now stands. That was the town of Tecumseh and of Logan. It was while General Harrison was encamped here that a young man of

this city, who had a store in Fort Wayne, came to him. It appears he had heard of Hull's surrender, and asked Harrison to notify the Fort Wayne garrison of the occurrence and send it reinforcements. General Harrison urged that no one could be got to undertake a journey so hazardous. "I'll go," said the man, "if any one man will go with me." Logan, the Indian chief, went with him through that one hundred miles of trackless wilderness, and when they got there they found "E Pluribus Unum" still floating from the flag-staff. Harrison speedily came to their relief. That man who went through the trackless forest with Logan was Major William Oliver, of Cincinnati.

But all this was before the speaker had taken an active part in the war. He was the baby boy at home, and his mother was reluctant to let him go, as he had already two brothers in the service. And it was not until Hull's surrender had taken place that he finally obtained her consent and started out. When he reached Piqua he found a small detachment of Kentucky militia. In company with four companies he started for Fort Wayne. This was at a time when there were no railroads, and the roads over which our pack-horses had to transport our supplies were so bad that the next spring you could trace them by the turkey-buzzards feeding on the horses which had died from exhaustion. Once we went for fifteen days without a morsel of bread. We had meat-pork that was not so fat as it grows now—and beef from cattle that were so delicate in body that it was a standing joke with our butcher to ask the boys to come and hold up a steer while he shot him. [Laughter.] When he got there he was appointed as a cadet under the command of Colonel Scott, and as such served during the first campaign.

It was after this, while we were encamped below Fort Defiance, that Logan came into camp one morning with two other Indians. Some one had told him that the white men doubted him and thought he was the friend of the British. He said: "You shall doubt me no more. I will go to the Rapids to-morrow, and bring back with me either a prisoner or a scalp, or else I shall lose my own." They then passed out between the speaker and his fellow-guardsmen. The next night about midnight they returned, and Logan was wounded by a ball. They had been toward the Rapids and returned. We sent Logan up to the quarters, where the ball was extracted from his body, but he shortly died. We had but one horse in the entire camp at that time, so we fixed up a rude sled, and laying Logan's body on it, six officers dragged it over the snow up to Fort Defiance, where they buried him, to keep him from being dug up and scalped by the hostile Indians.

On the 20th of December our troops were without their winter clothing. But few of them had shoes of any kind, and the only kind any of them had were moccasins made from the skins of animals with the hair left inside. General Winchester had decided to move over to the Rapids, where Fort Meigs was afterwards situated, and

wanted to notify General Harrison of his departure to enable him to send troops and supplies to him at his new head-quarters. This information it was necessary should be borne to General Harrison, and a young man who was with General Winchester volunteered to bear it. That young man now stands before you, and tells the story. [Cheers.] It was a terrible trip. Accompanied by a guide, we were nine days on the road, plodding through the rough snow two feet deep, and for three of those days we were without a mouthful of food. General Winchester had given a verbal message to your speaker, fearing that he might be taken prisoner or killed, and if written messages were found upon him their plans be revealed. That message was to the effect that General Winchester had on that very day started down to the Rapids, where he would fortify himself and remain until reinforced. The speaker then recounted at some length his return to the Rapids, and the reception of the news of the first and second battles of the Raisin—the former a victory, the latter a defeat, and his subsequent visit to his home for the purpose, as he told his mother, of procuring a clean shirt! His return and the interview with General Clay at Dayton, Ohio, were next referred to.

While they were at Old Defiance, on the Auglaize, an express reached them that General Harrison was at Fort Meigs, and daily expecting an attack. General Clay at once called a council of officers, and it was decided that some one should set out at once to inform Harrison that they were on the road to relieve him. The speaker was captain of the spies by appointment, and he thought it was his duty to go on this errand. So he said if they would give him a good canoe he would undertake to go. He had four white men—two men named Walker, and Paxton and Johnson—and a young Shawanee Indian named Black Fish, as his companions in the undertaking. As they started off, Major Shelby said: "Remember, Captain Coombs, if we ever meet again, that it was just six o'clock when you left." The progress down the Rapids they found by no means difficult. "It was," said the speaker, "rather like catching a man by the heels and pulling him down stairs." Black Fish was in the stern with a steering oar, he was in the bow looking out for the course of the stream and watching for any surprise, while the other four took turns of two each with the side oars. They had gone down the stream some fifty miles, part of the way in imminent danger of being swallowed in the rapids, and were approaching Roche Debeauf, a small fall about seven or eight miles from the fort, when Jo. Paxton said, "Captain, let us land and take it afoot. I would rather be scalped by the Indians than drowned in this d—d river." They did not take this advice, however, but kept on in the canoe.

It was morning before they reached the last bend of the river; and when it had been passed, and they saw the fort before them, and floating from its mast, not the white rag of disgrace, but "E

Pluribus Union," with the seventeen stars, they gave a grand cheer. [Applause.] At first they saw only a solitary Indian on our side of the river, but a moment later the woods seemed to swarm with them. At once they commenced to fire upon him, and Johnson was shot through the body, mortally wounded, and Jo. Paxton wounded. At last the Indians cut off all hope of their reaching Harrison, and they turned the canoe to the British shore. Here Paxton was taken prisoner, and the speaker set out on foot and reached Fort Defiance on the 3d of May. Afterward when he met Paxton, and was talking the event over with him, Jo. Paxton said it would have taken a peck of bullets to kill him when he saw the flag flying over Fort Meigs that morning.

When General Clay arrived at the head of the rapids, he found Oliver, the Cincinnati man he had spoken of, now a Captain, ready to start out on the same errand from which he had just returned. He did this, and brought back orders from General Harrison to land on the British side, spike their guns, run the gun carriages down the bank, and when this was accomplished, make a general assault. The speaker, with his company of spies, was sent out as soon as they landed, and the first music he heard was the whistling of bullets from the Indians, when, forming into line, they charged upon their dusky foes and soon put them to rout. Following them some distance, they were reinforced, and the company was forced to retire, with orders to form again at the batteries. But the batteries had been taken by the British, and they soon found themselves prisoners.

On their making a surrender, they were marched off to Old Fort Mamee, in front of which the Indians were ranged, and where the captives were compelled to run the gauntlet to reach their place of imprisonment. Here it was that he first saw the gallant Tecumseh, who came at their hour of peril and saved them all from massacre. After being released on parole by the British, he returned home by the Scioto to the Ohio river.

CHAPTER III.

INDIAN TREATIES.

It is deemed a matter of importance to embody such provisions of the Indian treaties as embrace lands within the valley of the Maumee and regions immediately adjacent. They constitute such valuable landmarks in Western history, and bear such close relations to the Indian wars, and the efforts of European races to establish their religion and civilization among the aboriginal tribes, that they find a proper place in a work of this character.

Among these treaties, the one made at Greenville in 1795 will attract marked attention. In this negotiation, General Wayne exhibited that he possessed traits of diplomacy and statesmanship which shone as conspicuously as his achievements at the head of armies—brilliant as those achievements were. His sagacity led him to include within the sixteen cessions, located from each other at immense distances, and distributed over an extensive area of wilderness country, the lands upon which are now established those great centres of commerce, Chicago, Detroit, Toledo and Fort Wayne. His foresight was also manifest in securing a free passage, by land and by water, through the Indian country, that communication might not be interrupted.

By the articles of a treaty concluded at Fort McIntosh, 21st of January, 1785, between United States "Commissioners Plenipotentiary, of the one part, and the Sachems and Warriors of the Wiandot, Delaware, Chippewa and Ottawa Nations of the other," the United States granted peace to said tribes on certain conditions: among which were those mentioned in the following:

SIX MILES SQUARE AT THE MOUTH OF THE MAUMEE, AND SANDUSKY RESERVATIONS.

"ARTICLE IV. The United States allot all the lands contained within the said lines to the Wiandot and Delaware nations, to live and to hunt on, and to such of the Ottawa nation as now live

thereon; saving and reserving for the establishment of trading posts, six miles square at the mouth of Miami or Omece river, and the same at the portage on that branch of the Big Miami, which runs into the Ohio, and the same on the lake of Sanduske, where the fort formerly stood, and also two miles square on each side of the lower rapids of Sanduske river, which posts and the lands annexed to them, shall be to the use and under the government of the United States."

DETROIT DISTRICT RESERVED.

ART. VII. The post of Detroit, with a district beginning at the mouth of the river Rosine, on the west end of Lake Erie, and running west six miles up the southern bank of the said river; thence northerly, and always six miles west of the strait, till it strikes the Lake St. Clair, shall be also reserved to the sole use of the United States."

A treaty was made at Fort Harmar, January 9th, 1789, between Arthur St. Clair, Governor of the territory of the United States northwest of the river Ohio, and the Sachems and Warriors of the Wyandot, Delaware, Ottawa, Chippewa, Pottawatima and Sac Nations on the other part.

By the terms of this treaty, the boundary line between the United States and said nations was bounded as follows: "Beginning at the mouth of the Cuyahoga river, and running thence up the said river to the portage between that and the Tuscarawa branch of the Muskingum; then down the said branch to the forks at the crossing place above Fort Lawrence; thence westerly to the portage on that branch of the Big Miami river which runs into the Ohio, at the mouth of which branch the fort stood, which was taken by the French in the year A. D. 1752; thence along the said portage to the Great Miami or Omece river, and down the southeast side of the same to its mouth; thence along the southern shore of Lake Erie to the mouth of Cuyahoga, where it began."

ART. X renewed the reservations "heretofore made in the before-mentioned treaty of Fort McIntosh, for the establishment of trading posts, in manner and form following; that is to say: Six miles square at the mouth of the Miami or Omece river; six miles square at the portage upon that branch of the Miami which runs into the Ohio; six miles square upon the Lake Sandusky, where the fort formerly stood; and two miles square upon each side of the lower

rapids on Sandusky river; which posts, and the lands annexed to them, shall be for the use and under the government of the United States."

ART. XI reaffirmed the provisions of the seventh article of the treaty of Fort McIntosh, which reserved the district of Detroit, beginning at the mouth of the river "Rosine," at the west end of Lake Erie, etc.

Appended to this treaty is the following declaration:

"*Be it remembered*, that the Wyandots have laid claim to the lands that were granted to the Shawanese, at the treaty held at the Miami, and have declared that as the Shawanese have been so restless, and caused so much trouble, both to them and the United States, if they will not now be at peace, they will dispossess them, and take the country into their own hands; for that the country is theirs of right, and the Shawanese are only living upon it by their permission. They further lay claim to all the country west of the Miami boundary, from the village to Lake Erie, and declare that it is now under their management and direction."

And a "separate article" in the same treaty is in the following words:

"Whereas, the Wyandots have represented, that within the reservation from the river Rosine along the strait, they have two villages, from which they cannot with any convenience remove; it is agreed that they shall remain in possession of the same, and shall not be in any manner disturbed therein."

A Treaty of Peace Between the United States of America, and the Tribes of Indians called the Wyandots, Delawares, Shawanoes, Ottawas, Chippewas, Putawatimes, Miamis, Eel River, Weeas, Kickapoos, Piankashaws, and Kaskaskias.

To put an end to a destructive war, to settle all controversies, and to restore harmony and friendly intercourse between the said United States and Indian tribes:—ANTHONY WAYNE, Major General commanding the army of the United States, and sole commissioner for the good purposes above-mentioned, and the said tribes of Indians, by their Sachems, Chiefs and Warriors, met together at Greenville, the headquarters of the said army, have agreed on the following articles, which, when ratified by the President, with the advice and

consent of the Senate of the United States, shall be binding on them and the said Indian tribes.

ARTICLE I. Henceforth all hostilities shall cease: peace is hereby established, and shall be perpetual: and a friendly intercourse shall take place between the said United States and Indian tribes.

ART. II. All prisoners shall on both sides be restored. The Indians, prisoners to the United States, shall immediately be set at liberty. The people of the United States, still remaining prisoners among the Indians, shall be delivered up in ninety days from the date hereof, to the general or commanding officer at Greenville, Fort Wayne or Fort Defiance; and ten chiefs of the said tribes shall remain at Greenville as hostages until the delivery of the prisoners shall be effected.

ART. III. The general boundary line between the lands of the United States, and the lands of said Indian tribes, shall begin at the mouth of Cuyahoga river, and run thence up the same to the portage between that and the Tuscarawas branch of the Muskingum; thence down that branch to the crossing place above Fort Lawrence; thence westerly to a fork of that branch of the Great Miami river running into the Ohio, at or near which fork stood Loromi's store, and where commences the portage between the Miami of the Ohio and St. Mary's river, which is a branch of the Miami which runs into Lake Erie; thence a westerly course to Fort Recovery, which stands on a branch of the Wabash; thence south-westerly in a direct line to the Ohio, so as to intersect that river opposite the mouth of Kentucke or Cuttaw river. And in consideration of the peace now established; of the goods formerly received from the United States; of those now to be delivered, and of the yearly delivery of goods now stipulated to be made hereafter; and to indemnify the United States for the injuries and expenses they have sustained during the war; the said Indian tribes do hereby cede and relinquish forever, all their claims to the lands lying eastwardly and southwardly of the general boundary line now described; and these lands, or any part of them, shall never hereafter be made a cause or pretence, on the part of the said tribes or any of them, of war or injury to the United States, or any of the people thereof.

And for the same considerations, and as an evidence of the returning friendship of the said Indian tribes, of their confidence in the United States, and desire to provide for their accommodation,

and for that convenient intercourse, which will be beneficial to both parties, the said Indian tribes do also cede to the United States the following pieces of land, to-wit: 1. One piece of land six miles square at or near Loromic's store before-mentioned. 2. One piece two miles square at the head of the navigable water or landing on the St. Mary's river, near Girty's town. 3. One piece six miles square at the head of the navigable water of the Au-Glaize river. 4. One piece six miles square at the confluence of the Au-Glaize and Miami rivers, where Fort Defiance now stands. 5. One piece six miles square at or near the confluence of the rivers St. Mary's and St. Joseph's, where Fort Wayne now stands, or near it. 6. One piece two miles square on the Wabash river, at the end of the portage from the Miami of the Lake, and about eight miles westward from Fort Wayne. 7. One piece six miles square at the Ouatanon or old Weeca towns, on the Wabash river. 8. One piece twelve miles square at the British fort on the Miami of the Lake, at the foot of the rapids. 9. One piece six miles square at the mouth of said river, where it empties into the lake. 10. One piece six miles square upon Sandusky Lake, where a fort formerly stood. 11. One piece two miles square at the lower rapids of Sandusky river. 12. The post of Detroit, and all the land to the north, the west and the south of it, of which the Indian title has been extinguished by gifts or grants to the French or English governments; and so much more land to be annexed to the district of Detroit as shall be comprehended between the river Rosine on the south, Lake St. Clair on the north, and a line, the general course whereof shall be six miles distant from the west end of Lake Erie and Detroit river. 13. The of post Michillimackinac, and all the land on the island on which that post stands, and the main land adjacent, of which the English title has been extinguished by gifts or grants to the French or English governments; and a piece of land on the main to the north of the island, to measure six miles on Lake Huron, or the strait between Lakes Huron and Michigan, and to extend three miles back from the water of the lake or strait, and also the island of De Bois Blanc, being an extra or voluntary gift of the Chippewa nation. 14. One piece of land six miles square at the mouth of Chikago river, emptying into the southwest end of Lake Michigan, where a fort formerly stood. 15. One piece twelve miles square at or near the mouth of the Illinois river, emptying into the Mississippi. 16. One piece six miles square at the old Piorias Fort

and village, near the south end of the Illinois Lake on said Illinois river: And whenever the United States shall think proper to survey and mark the boundaries of the lands hereby ceded to them, they shall give timely notice thereof to the said tribes of Indians, that they may appoint some of their wise chiefs to attend and see that the lines are run according to the terms of this treaty.

And the said Indian tribes will allow to the people of the United States a free passage by land and by water, as one and the other shall be found convenient, through their country, along the chain of posts hereinbefore mentioned; that is to say, from the commencement of the portage aforesaid at or near Loromic's store, thence along said portage to the St. Mary's, and down the same to Fort Wayne, and then down the Miami to Lake Erie; again from the commencement of the portage at or near Loromic's store along the portage from thence to the river Au-Glaize, and down the same to its junction with the Miami at Fort Defiance; again from the commencement of the portage aforesaid, to Sandusky river, and down the same to Sandusky Bay and Lake Erie, and from Sandusky to the the post which shall be taken at or near the foot of the rapids of the Miami of the Lake; and from thence to Detroit. Again, from the mouth of the Chikago to the commencement of the portage between that river and the Illinois, and down the Illinois river to the Mississippi; also from Fort Wayne along the portage aforesaid, which leads to the Wabash, and then down the Wabash to the Ohio. And the said Indian tribes will also allow to the people of the United States the free use of the harbors and mouths of rivers along the lakes adjoining the Indian lands, for sheltering vessels and boats, and liberty to land their cargoes where necessary for their safety.

ART. IV. In consideration of the peace now established, and of the cessions and relinquishments of lands made in the preceding article by the said tribes of Indians, and to manifest the liberality of the United States, as the great means of rendering this peace strong and perpetual: the United States relinquish their claims to all other Indian lands northward of the river Ohio, eastward of the Mississippi, and westward and southward of the great lakes and the waters uniting them, according to the boundary line agreed upon by the United States and the King of Great Britain, in the treaty of peace made between them in the year 1783. But from this relinquishment by the United States, the following tracts of land are explicitly excepted: 1st. The tract of one hundred and fifty thou-

sand acres near the rapids of the Ohio river, which has been assigned to General Clark, for the use of himself and his warriors. 2d. The post of St. Vincennes, on the river Wabash, and the lands adjacent, of which the Indian title has been extinguished. 3d. The lands at all other places in possession of the French people and other white settlers among them, of which the Indian title has been extinguished, as mentioned in the third article: and 4th. The post of Fort Massac towards the mouth of the Ohio. To which several parcels of land so accepted, the said tribes relinquish all the title and claim which they or any of them may have.

And for the same considerations, and with the same views as above mentioned, the United States now deliver to the said Indian tribes a quantity of goods to the value of \$20,000, the receipt whereof they do hereby acknowledge; and henceforward every year forever the United States will deliver at some convenient place northward of the river Ohio, like useful goods, suited to the circumstances of the Indians, of the value of \$9,500; reckoning that value at the first cost of the goods in the city or place in the United States where they shall be procured. The tribes to which those goods are to be annually delivered, and the proportions in which they are to be delivered, are the following: [This clause, not deemed essential here, is omitted.] *Provided*, that if either of the said tribes shall hereafter, at an annual delivery of their share of the goods aforesaid, desire that a part of their annuity should be furnished in domestic animals, implements of husbandry, and other utensils convenient for them, and in compensation to useful artificers who may reside with or near them, and be employed for their benefit, the same shall, at the subsequent annual deliveries, be furnished accordingly.

ART. V. To prevent any misunderstanding about the Indian lands relinquished by the United States, in the fourth article, it is explicitly declared, that the meaning of that relinquishment is this: The Indian tribes who have a right to those lands, are quietly to enjoy them, hunting, planting, and dwelling thereon so long as they please, without any molestation from the United States; but when those tribes, or any of them, shall be disposed to sell their lands, or any part of them, they are to be sold only to the United States; and until such sale, the United States will protect all the said Indian tribes in the quiet enjoyment of their lands against all citizens of the United States, and against all other white persons who intrude

upon the same. And the said Indian tribes again acknowledge themselves to be under the protection of the said United States, and no other power whatever.

ART. VI. If any citizen of the United States, or any other white person or persons, shall presume to settle upon the lands now relinquished by the United States, such citizen or other person shall be out of the protection of the United States: and the Indian tribe, on whose land the settlement shall be made, may drive off the settler, or punish him in such manner as they shall think fit: and because such settlement made without the consent of the United States, will be injurious to them, as well as to the Indians, the United States shall be at liberty to break them up, and remove and punish the settlers as they shall think proper, and so effect that protection of the Indian lands hereinbefore stipulated.

ART. VII. The said tribes of Indians, parties to this treaty, shall be at liberty to hunt within the territory and lands which they have now ceded to the United States, without hindrance or molestation, so long as they demean themselves peaceably, and offer no injury to the people of the United States.

ART. VIII. Trade shall be opened with the said Indian tribes: and they do hereby respectively engage to afford protection to such persons, with their property, as shall be duly licensed to reside among them for the purpose of trade, and to their agents and servants: but no person shall be permitted to reside at any of their towns or hunting camps as a trader, who is not furnished with a license for that purpose, under the hand and seal of the superintendent of the department northwest of the Ohio, or such other person as the President of the United States shall authorize to grant such licenses: to the end, that the said Indians may not be imposed on in their trade. And if any licensed trader shall abuse his privilege by unfair dealing, upon complaint and proof thereof, his license shall be taken from him, and he shall be further punished according to the laws of the United States. And if any person shall intrude himself as a trader, without such license, the said Indians shall take and bring him before the superintendent or his deputy, to be dealt with according to law. And to prevent imposition by forged licenses, the said Indians shall, at least once a year, give information to the superintendent or his deputies, of the names of the traders residing among them.

ART. IX. Lest the firm peace and friendship now established should be interrupted by the misconduct of individuals, the United States, and the said Indian tribes, agree that, for injuries done by individuals on either side, no private revenge or retaliation shall take place; but instead thereof, complaint shall be made by the party injured, to the other: By the said Indian tribes, or any of them, to the President of the United States, or the superintendent by him appointed; and by the superintendent or other person appointed by the President, to the principal chiefs of the said Indian tribes, or of the tribe to which the offender belongs: and such prudent measures shall then be pursued as shall be necessary to preserve the said peace and friendship unbroken, until the Legislature (or Great Council) of the United States shall make other equitable provision in the case, to the satisfaction of both parties. Should any Indian tribes meditate a war against the United States, or either of them, and the same shall come to the knowledge of the beforementioned tribes, or either of them, they do hereby engage to give immediate notice thereof to the general or officer commanding the troops of the United States, at the nearest post. And should any tribe, with hostile intentions against the United States, or either of them, attempt to pass through their country, they will endeavor to prevent the same, and in like manner give information of such attempt to the general or officer commanding, as soon as possible, that all causes of distrust or suspicion may be avoided between them and the United States. In like manner the United States shall give notice to the said Indian tribes of any harm that may be meditated against them, or either of them, that shall come to their knowledge; and do all in their power to hinder and prevent the same, that the friendship between them may be uninterrupted.

ART. X. All other treaties heretofore made between the United States and the said Indian tribes, or any of them, since the treaty of 1783, between the United States and Great Britain, that come within the purview of this treaty, shall henceforth cease and become void.

In testimony whereof, the said ANTHONY WAYNE, and the Sachems and War-Chiefs of the before-mentioned Nations and Tribes of Indians, have hereunto set their hands and affixed their seals. Done at Greenville, in the Territory of the United States, northwest of the river Ohio, on the 3d day of Augst, one thousand seven hundred and ninety-five.

"A treaty between the United States and the sachems, chiefs and warriors of the Wyandot, Ottawa, Chippewa and Munsee, Delaware, Shawanee and Pottawatima nations, was holden at Fort Industry, Miami of the Lake, on the 4th day of July A. D., 1805."

In Article II. of this treaty it is declared that "the boundary line between the United States and the nations aforesaid, shall in future be a meridian line drawn North and South through a boundary to be erected on the south shore of Lake Erie, one hundred and twenty miles due west of the west boundary line of the State of Pennsylvania, extending north until it intersects the boundary line of the United States, and extending south until it intersects a line heretofore established by the treaty of Greenville."

ART. III. "The Indian nations aforesaid, for the consideration of friendship to the United States and the sums of money hereinafter mentioned to be paid annually to the Wyandot, Shawanee, Munsee and Delaware nations, have ceded and do hereby cede and relinquish to said United States forever, all the lands belonging to said United States lying east of the aforesaid line, bounded southerly and easterly by the line established by said treaty of Greenville, and northerly by the northernmost part of the forty-first degree of north latitude."

By this treaty \$16,000 were paid and a perpetual annuity of \$1,000 was guaranteed to the different tribes, parties to it. The sum of \$4,000 was secured to the President, in trust for them, by the Connecticut Land Company and the proprietors of the half million acres of land, called Sufferers' Land. The same company and proprietors secured to the President \$2,916.67 to raise an annuity of \$175, part of said annuity of \$1,000. These were the amounts paid by the agents of the Western Reserve for the cession of the Indian lands.

On the 17th of November, 1807, a treaty was made at Detroit between "William Hull, Governor of the Territory of Michigan and superintendent of Indian affairs on the part of the United States, and the sachems, chiefs and warriors of the Ottoway, Chippeway, Wyandotte and Pottawatamic nations of Indians on the other part."

Under this treaty the following described lands were ceded to the United States: "Beginning at the mouth of the Miami River of the Lakes and running thence up the middle thereof to the mouth of the Great Au Glaize River; thence running due north until it intersects a parallel of latitude, to be drawn from the outlet of Lake

Huron, which forms the River Sinclair; thence running northeast the course that may be found will lead in a direct line to White Rock, in Lake Huron; thence due east until it intersects the boundary line between the United States and Upper Canada, in said lake; thence southerly, following the said boundary line down said lake, through River Sinclair, Lake St. Clair and the River Detroit into Lake Erie to a point due east of the aforesaid Miami River; thence west to the place of beginning." The Indians also reserved in this treaty, "one tract of land six miles square, on the Miami of Lake Erie above Roche de Boeuf, to include the village where Tondanie (or the Dog) now lives. Also three miles square on the said river (above the twelve miles square ceded to the United States by the treaty of Greenville), including what is called Presque Isle; also four miles square on the Miami Bay, including the villages where Meshkemau and Wan-gau now live."

Articles of a treaty made and concluded at Brownstown, in the Territory of Michigan, between William Hull, Governor of the said Territory and Superintendent of Indian Affairs and Commissioner Plenipotentiary of the United States of America, for concluding any treaty or treaties which may be found necessary with any of the Indian tribes Northwest of the River Ohio, of the one part, and the sachems, chiefs and warriors of the Chippewa, Ottawa, Pottawatamie, Wyandot and Shawanese nations of Indians of the other part, concluded November 25, 1808.

ARTICLE I. Whereas, by a treaty concluded at Detroit on the 17th day of November, A. D., 1807, a tract of land lying to the west and north of the Miami of Lake Erie, and principally within the Territory of Michigan, was ceded by the Indian nations to the United States; and, whereas, the lands lying on the southeastern side of the said River Miami, and between said river and the boundary line established by the treaties of Greenville and Fort Industry, with the exception of a few small reservations to the United States, still belong to the Indian nations, so that the United States cannot, of right, open and maintain a convenient road from the settlements in the State of Ohio to the settlements in the Territory of Michigan, nor extend those settlements so far as to connect them; in order, therefore, to promote this object so desirable and evidently beneficial to the Indian nations, as well as to the United States, the parties have agreed to the following articles, which, when ratified by the President of the United States, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate thereof, shall be reciprocally binding.

ORIGIN OF THE WESTERN RESERVE AND MAINTENANCE ROAD.

ART. II. The several nations of Indians aforesaid, in order to promote the object mentioned in the preceding article, and in consideration of the friendship they bear towards the United States for the liberal and benevolent policy which has been practiced towards them by the government thereof, do hereby give, grant and cede unto the said United States, a tract of land for a road of one hundred and twenty feet in width, from the foot of the rapids of the River Miami of Lake Erie to the western line of the Connecticut reserve, and all the land within one mile of the said road, *on each side thereof*, for the purpose of establishing settlements along the same; also a tract of land, for a *road only*, of one hundred and twenty feet in width, to run southwardly from what is called Lower Sandusky to the boundary line established by the treaty of Greenville, with the privilege of taking, at all times, such timber and other materials from the adjacent lands as may be necessary for making and keeping in repair the said road, with the bridges that may be required along the same.

Articles of a Treaty, made and concluded at the foot of the Rapids of the Miami of Lake Erie, on the 20th September, 1817, between Lewis Cass and DEWEY McARRURG, Commissioners of the United States, with full power and authority to hold conferences, and conclude and sign a treaty or treaties with all or any of the tribes or nations of Indians within the boundaries of the State of Ohio, of and concerning all matters interesting to the United States and to said nations of Indians, on the one part, and the sachems, chiefs and warriors of the Wyandot, Seneca, Delaware, Shawanese, Pottawatomes, Ottawas, and Chippeway tribes of Indians.

By the stipulations of this treaty contained in the first article, the Wyandots ceded to the United States the lands comprehended within the following boundaries: "Beginning at a point on the southern shore of Lake Erie, where the present Indian boundary line intersects the same, between the mouth of Sandusky bay and the mouth of Portage river; thence running south with said line, to the line established in the year 1795, by the treaty of Greenville, which runs from the crossing place above Fort Lawrence to Loramie's store; thence westerly, with the last mentioned line to the eastern line of the Reserve at Loramie's store; thence, with the lines of said reserve, north and west, to the north-western corner thereof; thence to the north-western corner of the reserve on the river St. Mary's, at the head of the navigable waters thereof; thence

east to the western bank of the St. Mary's river aforesaid; thence down on the western bank of the said river to the reserve at Fort Wayne; thence with the lines of the last mentioned reserve, easterly and northerly, to the north bank of the river Miami of Lake Erie; thence down on the north bank of the said river, to the western line of the land ceded to the United States by the treaty of Detroit, in the year 1807; thence, with the said line south, to the middle of said Miami river, opposite the mouth of the Great Auglaize river; thence down the middle of said Miami river, and easterly with the lines of the tract ceded to the United States by the treaty of Detroit aforesaid so far that a south line will strike the place of beginning."

In Art. 2, "the Potawatamy, Ottawas and Chippeway tribes of Indians, in consideration of the stipulations herein made on the part the United States," ceded the land described within the following boundaries: "Beginning where the western line of the State of Ohio crosses the river Miami of Lake Erie, which is about twenty-one miles above the mouth of the Great Auglaize river; thence down the middle of the said Miami river, to a point north of the mouth of the Great Auglaize river; thence, with the western line of the land ceded to the United States by the treaty of Detroit, in 1807, north forty-five miles; then west so far that a line south will strike the place of beginning; thence south to the place of beginning."

By Art. 3, "the Wyandot, Seneca, Delaware, Shawanese, Potawatomy, Ottawas and Chippeway tribes of Indians," accede to the cessions mentioned in the two preceding articles.

Art. 4 requires that the United States pay annually, forever, "certain sums in specie to the several tribes above mentioned, to wit: to the Wyandots at Upper Sandusky; to the Senecas at Lower Sandusky; to the Shawanese and Delaware tribes at Wapaughkonnetta; and to the Pottawatomie, Ottawas and Chippewa tribes at Detroit.

GRANTS AT WAPAUGHKONNETTA.

A clause in Art. 6 requires the United States to grant by patent, in fee simple, to Catwekesa or Black Hoof, Byaseka or Wolf, Pomthe or Walker, Shemenetoo or Big Snake, Othawakeseka or Yellow Feather, Chakalawah or Tail's End, Pemthala or John Perry, Wabepee of White Color, chiefs of the Shawanese tribe residing at Wapaughkonnetta, and their successors in office, chiefs of the said tribe residing there, for the use of the persons mentioned

in the annexed schedule, a tract of land ten miles square, the centre of which shall be the council house at Wapauhgkonnetta.

UPPER SANDUSKY GRANT.

The United States, in Art. 6, also grant, by patent, in fee simple, to Doanquod, Howoner, Rontondee, Tauyan, Rontayan, Dawatont, Manaene, Tauyandantanson and Haudanwauh, chiefs of the Wyandot tribe, and their successors in office, chiefs of the said tribe, for the use of the persons and for the purposes mentioned in the annexed schedule, a tract of land twelve miles square, at Upper Sandusky, the centre of which shall be the place where Fort Ferro stands; and also a tract of one mile square, to be located where the chiefs direct, on a cranberry swamp, on Broken Sword Creek, and to be held for the use of the tribe.

GRANTS ON HOG CREEK.

In another clause of the same article, the United States further granted, by patent, in fee simple, to Peeththa or Falling Tree, and to Oonwaskemo or the Resolute Man, chiefs of the Shawanese tribes, residing on Hog Creek, and their successors in office, chiefs of the said tribe, residing there, for the use of the persons mentioned in the annexed schedule, a tract of land containing twenty-five square miles, which is to join the tract granted at Wapauhgkonnetta, and to include the Shawanese settlement on Hog Creek, and to be laid off as nearly as possible in a square form.

BLANCHARD'S FORK AND LITTLE AUGLAIZE GRANTS.

The last clause in Art. 6 stipulates that "there shall also be reserved for the use of the Ottawas Indians, but not granted to them, a tract of land on Blanchard's Fork of the Great Auglaize river, to contain five miles square, the centre of which tract is to be where the old trace crosses the said fork, and one other tract to contain three miles square, on the Little Auglaize river, to include Oquanoxa's village."

In Art. 8, the United States, "at the special request of the said Indians, agree to grant, by patent, in fee simple, to the persons hereinafter mentioned, all of whom are connected with the said Indians, by blood or adoption," the tracts of land herein described.

GRANT NEAR CROGHAN VILLE.

To Elizabeth Whitaker, who was taken prisoner by the Wyandots, and has ever since lived among them, 1280 acres of land, on the west

side of the Sandusky river, near Croghansville, to be laid off in a square form, as nearly as the meanders of the said river will admit and to run an equal distance above and below the house in which the said Elizabeth Whitaker now lives.

CAMP OR FORT BALL GRANT.

To Robert Armstrong, who was taken prisoner by the Indians, and has ever since lived among them, and married a Wyandot woman, one section to contain 640 acres of land on the west side of the Sandusky river, to begin at the place called Camp Ball, and to run up the river, with the meanders thereof, 160 poles, and, from the beginning, down the river, with the meanders thereof, 160 poles, and from the extremity of these lines west for quantity.

GRANT NEAR MAUGAUGON.

To the children of the late William M'Collock, who was killed in August, 1812, near Maugaugon, and who are quarter blood Wyandot Indians, one section, to contain 640 acres of land, on the west side of the Sandusky river, adjoining the lower line of the tract hereby granted to Robert Armstrong, and extending in the same manner with and from the said river.

GRANT NEAR CROGHANVILLE.

To Sarah Williams, Joseph Williams and Rachel Nugent, late Rachel Williams, the said Sarah having been taken prisoner by the Indians, and ever since lived among them, and being the widow, and the said Joseph and Rachel being the children, of the late Isaac Williams, a half-blood Wyandot, one quarter section of land, to contain 160 acres, on the east side of the Sandusky river, below Croghansville, and to include their improvements at a place called Negro Point.

GRANT ADJOINING WAPAUGHKONNETTA.

To the children of the late Shawanese Chief, Captain Logan, or Spamagelabe, who fell in the service of the United States during the late war, one section of land, to contain 640 acres, on the east side of the Great Auglaize river, adjoining the lower line of the grant of ten miles at Wapanghkonnetta and the said river.

GRANT TO ANTHONY SHANE.

To Anthony Shane, a half-blood Ottawas Indian, one section of land, to contain 640 acres, on the east side of the River St. Mary's, and to begin opposite the house in which the said Shane now lives ;

thence, up the river, with the meanders thereof, 160 poles, and from the beginning down the river, with the meanders thereof, 160 poles, and from the extremity of said lines east for quantity.

ANOTHER GRANT ON THE SANDUSKY.

To Horom, or the Cherokee Boy, a Wyandot Chief, a section of land, to contain 640 acres, on the Sandusky river, to be laid off in a square form, and to include his improvements.

GRANT TO THE GODFREYS.

To Alexander D. Godfrey and Richard Godfrey, adopted children of the Potawatomy tribe, and at their special request, one section of land, to contain 640 acres, in the tract of country herein ceded to the United States by the Pottawatomy, Ottawas and Chippewa tribes, to be located by them, the said Alexander and Richard, after the said tract shall have been surveyed. [This grant was located within the present township of Dublin, in Mercer county.]

GRANT TO PETER MINOR. [MANOR.]

To Sawendebans, or the Yellow Hair, or Peter Minor, an adopted son of Tondaganie, or the Dog, and at the special request of the Ottawas, out of the tract reserved by the treaty of Detroit, in 1807, above Roche de Boenf, at the village of the said Dog, a section of land to contain 640 acres, to be located in a square form, on the north side of the Miami, at the Wolf Rapid. [This grant embraced the town of Providence, Lucas county.]

INDIAN AGENCIES ESTABLISHED.

In Article IX, the United States agree to appoint an agent, to reside among or near the Wyandots, to aid them in the protection of their persons and property, to manage their intercourse with the government and citizens of the United States, and to discharge the duties which commonly appertain to the office of Indian agent; and the same agent is to execute the same duties for the Senecas and Delawares on the Sandusky river. And an agent for similar purposes, and vested with similar powers, shall be appointed, to reside among or near the Shawanese, whose agency shall include the reservations at Wapaughkonnetta, at Lewistown, at Hog Creek, and at Blanchard's Creek.

And the agent for the Wyandots and Senecas shall occupy such land in the grant at Upper Sandusky as may be necessary for him and the persons attached to the agency.

The United States, in Article X, engage to erect saw and grist mills, and also to maintain a blacksmith, for the use of the Wyandots and Senecas upon the reservation of the Wyandots, and also for the use of the Indians at Wapaughkonnetta, Hog Creek and Lewistown.

GRANT TO THE OTTAWAS.

By Article XX, the United States also agree to grant, by patent, to the chiefs of the Ottawas tribe of Indians, for the use of said tribe, a tract of land to contain thirty-four square miles, to be laid out as nearly in a square form as practicable, not interfering with the lines of the tracts reserved by the treaty of Greenville, on the south side of the Miami river of Lake Erie, and to include Tushquegan, or M'Carty's village: which tract, thus granted, shall be held by the said tribe upon the usual condition of Indian reservations, as though no patent were issued.

On the 11th of September, 1818, a treaty was made and concluded at St. Mary's, in the State of Ohio, between Lewis Cass and Duncan McArthur, commissioners on the part of the United States, and the sachems, chiefs and warriors of the Wyandot, Seneca, Shawanese and Ottawas; being supplementary to the treaty made and concluded with the said tribes, and the Delaware, Pottawatamie and Chippewa tribes of Indians, at the foot of the rapids of the Miami of Lake Erie, on the 29th day of September, A. D. 1817.

By the terms of Article I. of this treaty, it is stipulated that the grants in the treaty of the 29th of September, 1817, are to be considered only as reservations for the use of the Indians named in the schedule to the said treaty, and held by them and their heirs forever, unless ceded to the United States.

ADDITIONAL RESERVATIONS FOR THE WYANDOTS.

In Article II. it is also agreed that there shall be reserved for the use of the Wyandots, in addition to the reservations before made, fifty-five thousand six hundred and eighty acres of land, to be laid off in two tracts, the first to adjoin the south line of the section of six hundred and forty acres of land heretofore reserved for the Wyandot chief, the Cherokee Boy, and to extend south to the north line of the reserve of twelve miles square, at Upper Sandusky, and the other to adjoin the east line of the reserve of twelve miles square, at Upper Sandusky, and to extend east for quantity.

RESERVATIONS AT THE HEAD OF BLANCHARD'S FORK AND ON SANDUSKY RIVER.

It is also provided that there shall be reserved for the use of the Wyandots residing at Solomon's Town and on Blanchard's Fork, in addition to the reservations before made, sixteen thousand acres of land, to be laid off in a square form on the head of Blanchard's Fork, the centre of which shall be at the Big Spring on the trace leading from Upper Sandusky to Fort Findlay; and one hundred and sixty acres of land, for the use of the Wyandots, on the west side of the Sandusky river, adjoining the said river and the lower line of two sections of land, agreed, by the treaty to which this is supplementary, to be granted to Elizabeth Whittaker.

ADDITIONAL RESERVATIONS AT WAPAUGHKOMNETTA AND ON SANDUSKY RIVER.

There shall also be reserved for the use of the Shawanese, in addition to the reservations before named, twelve thousand eight hundred acres of land, to be laid off adjoining the east line of their reserve of ten miles square at Wapauhkomnetta; and for the use of the Shawanese and Senecas, eight thousand nine hundred and sixty acres of land, to be laid off adjoining the west line of the reserve of forty-eight square miles at Lewistown. And the last reserve hereby made, and the former reserve at the same place, shall be equally divided by an east and west line, to be drawn through the same. And the north half of the said tract shall be reserved for the use of the Senecas who reside there, and the south half for the use of the Shawanese who reside there.

There shall also be reserved for the use of the Senecas, in addition to the reservations before made, ten thousand acres of land, to be laid off on the east side of the Sandusky river, adjoining the south line of their reservation of thirty thousand acres of land, which begins on the Sandusky river at the lower corner of William Spicer's section, and excluding therefrom the said William Spicer's section.

A treaty was also made and concluded at St. Mary's, September 20, 1818, between Lewis Cass, commissioner of the United States, and the chiefs and warriors of the Wyandot tribe of Indians, by the terms of which the latter cede to the United States two tracts of land in the Territory of Michigan; one including the village called Brownstown, and the other the village called Maguagua, formerly

in possession of the Wyandot tribe of Indians, containing in the whole not more than five thousand acres of land, which two tracts of land were reserved for the use of the said Wyandot tribe of Indians and their descendants for the term of fifty years, agreeably to the provisions of the act of Congress, passed February 28, 1809, and entitled, "An act for the relief of certain Alabama and Wyandot Indians;" in consideration of which the United States cede certain lands to the Wyandots on the south side of the River Huron, in the Territory of Michigan, containing four thousand nine hundred and ninety-six acres.

DELAWARES CEDE THEIR LANDS IN INDIANA.

A treaty was concluded with the Delaware tribe of Indians, October 3, 1818, Jonathan Jennings, Lewis Cass and Benjamin Parke, commissioners on the part of the United States, by the terms of which the tribe cede to the United States all their lands in Indiana, in consideration that the latter agree to provide for them a country to reside in upon the west bank of the Mississippi, and to guarantee to them the peaceable possession of the same.

CESSION OF LANDS BY THE MIAMIES.

A treaty was also made at St. Mary's between the commissioners above named and the Miami nation of Indians, on the 6th day of October, 1818, by which that nation cede to the United States the following tract of country: "Beginning at the Wabash river, where the present Indian boundary line crosses the same, near the mouth of Raccoon creek; thence up the Wabash river to the reserve at its head near Fort Wayne; thence to the reserve at Fort Wayne; thence with the lines thereof to the St. Mary's River; thence up the St. Mary's river to the reservation at the portage; thence with the line of the cession made by the Wyandot nation of Indians to the United States, at the foot of the rapids of the Miami of Lake Erie, on the 29th day of September, A. D. 1817, to the reservation at Loramic's store; thence with the present Indian boundary line to Fort Recovery; and, with the said line, following the courses thereof to the place of beginning."

OTHER CESSIONS NEAR FORT WAYNE.

In Article III. the United States agree to grant, by patent in fee simple, to Jean Bapt. Richardville, principal chief of the Miami

nation of Indians, the following tracts of land: "Three sections of land, beginning about twenty-five rods below his house, on the River St. Mary's, near Fort Wayne: thence at right angles with the course of the river one mile: and from this line and the said river up the stream thereof for quantity. Two sections upon the east side of the St. Mary's river near Fort Wayne, running east one mile with the military reservation: thence from that line, and from the river for quantity. Two sections on the Twenty-seven mile creek where the road from St. Mary's to Fort Wayne crosses it, being one section on each side of said creek."

"Two sections on the left bank of the Wabash, commencing at the forks and running down the river."

OTHER GRANTS TO PERSONS THEREIN NAMED.

"The United States also agree to grant to each of the following persons, being Miami Indians by birth, and their heirs, the tracts of land herein described:

"To Joseph Richardville and Joseph Richardville, Jr. two sections of land, being one on each side of the St. Mary's River, and below the reservation made on that river by the treaty of Greenville in 1795."

"Th Francis Godfroy six sections of land on the Salamauc river, at a place called La Petite Prairie.

"To Lewis Godfroy, six sections of land upon St. Mary's River above the reservation of Anthony Shane.

"To Charley, a Miami chief, one section of land on the west side of St. Mary's River below the section granted to Pemetche, or the Crescent.

"To Francois La Fontaine and his son, two sections of land adjoining and above the two sections granted to Jean Bapt. Richardville near Fort Wayne, and on the same side of the St. Mary's River.

"To the children of Antoine Rivarre, two sections of land at the mouth of the Twenty-seven mile creek and below the same.

"To Peter Labadie, one section of land on the River St. Mary's, below the section granted to Charley.

"To the son of George Hunt, one section of land on the west side of St. Mary's River, adjoining the two sections granted to Francois La Fontaine and his son.

“To Josette Beaubien, one section of land on the left bank of the St. Mary’s, above and adjoining the three sections granted to Jean Richardville.

“To William Wayne Wells, Mary Wells and Jane Turner Wells, half-blooded Miamies, were each granted a section of land.”

SAGINAW TREATY.

A treaty was made and concluded at Saginaw, Territory of Michigan, between the United States, by their commissioner, Lewis Cass, and the Chippewa nation of Indians, September 24, 1819, by the terms of which that nation ceded to the United States the land embraced within the following lines: “Beginning at a point in the present boundary line, which runs due north from the mouth of the Great Auglaize river six miles south of the place where the base line, so called, intersects the same; thence west sixty miles; thence in a direct line to the head of Thunder Bay river; thence down the same, following the courses thereof, to the mouth; thence north-east to the boundary line between the United States and the British Province of Upper Canada; thence with the same to the line established by the treaty of Detroit in the year A. D. 1807; thence with the said line to the place of beginning.”

[Act of May 26, 1824, 1st session of 18th Congress, p. 128.]

An act reserving to the Wyandot tribe of Indians a certain tract of land, in lieu of a reservation made to them by treaty.

SECTION 1. That there be, and hereby is, reserved, for the use of the chiefs and tribe of the Wyandot Indians, subject to the conditions and limitations of the former reservation, the northeast quarter of section number two, in township two, and range seventeen, south of the base line of land in the Delaware Land District, in the State of Ohio, in lieu of one hundred and sixty acres of land on the the west side of, and adjoining the Sandusky river; and which was reserved to said tribe of Indians, by a supplementary treaty between the United States and certain tribes of Indians, held at St. Mary’s, in the State of Ohio, on the 17th day of September, one thousand eight hundred and eighteen; on condition that the chiefs of said Wyandot tribe first relinquish to the United States all

the right, title and claim of said tribe, to the one hundred and sixty acres of land reserved by said supplementary treaty.

The subsequent treaties that were made with the Indians, provided for the purchase of their lands by the United States, and their removal west of the Mississippi. The last Indian title extinguished was that of the Wyandots, whose lands in the reservation at Upper Sandusky, and in the county which bears their name, was offered for sale by the United States in the autumn of 1845.

"The Delawares ceded their reservations to the United States in 1829. The Wyandots ceded theirs by a treaty made at Upper Sandusky, March 17, 1842, they being the only Indians then remaining in the State. The commissioner on the part of the United States was Colonel John Johnston, who had then the honor of making the last Indian treaty in Ohio—a State, every foot of whose soil has been fairly purchased by treaties from its original possessors. The Wyandots left for Kansas in July, 1845, and numbered at that time about seven hundred souls."—*Henry Howe*.

CHAPTER IV.

THE BOUNDARY CONTROVERSY.

“A disputed jurisdiction,” wrote Lewis Cass to Edward Tiffin, the United States Surveyor General, under date of November 1st, 1817, “is one of the greatest evils that can happen to a country.”

The same motives and passions that govern cabinets, animate individuals in their disputes for the smallest quantity of ground. Claims, involving vast sums of money, fail to provoke strifes as acrimonious as those relating to contested land boundaries. The question of boundary between Ohio and Michigan was co-eval with the admission of the former into the Union. It vexed the convention that framed the constitution of 1802. It was owing to the neglect of Congress that it had not quieted before growing settlements and clashing interests had attained such proportions that the controversy at last seriously threatened the peace of the country. The area in dispute embraced about five miles in width at the west end, and eight miles in width at the east end. Writers have generally dwarfed the real magnitude of the question, and the mass of the present generation know it only as the “Toledo War.” The parties, however, at issue, were not, as some suppose, Governor Mason and Governor Lucas, nor were they the State of Ohio and the Territory of Michigan: but the real contestants engaged were the sovereign State of Ohio and the Government of the United States. The latter power was the lawful guardian of Michigan. That Territory was its own offspring. Under the Constitution and Laws of the Union, the Federal Government was bound to protect every just claim of Michigan. Had the Governor of Ohio occupied the disputed tract with a belligerent force, it would have been incumbent upon President Jackson, had he regarded the claims of Michigan as clear and indisputable, to have adopted measures to vindicate the integrity of the soil of that Territory by all the military and naval resources at his command. Governor Mason entertained this view

of the question, and he represented that the cause of Michigan was the cause of the United States, and would be sustained by the whole power of the Federal Government. The same view, as will be discovered by the documents appended, was held by Governor Lucas. In one of his communications to the General Assembly he said: "As I have heretofore stated to you, we can have no controversy with the Territory of Michigan. A territory can have no sovereign rights, and no arrangement that could be made with the Territorial authorities on the subject of boundary would be obligatory."

As before remarked, the question of the northern boundary of the State was one that challenged solicitude on the part of the members of the Convention who framed the first Constitution of Ohio. Judge Burnet, in his *Notes on the North Western Territory*, thus explains the origin of the proviso contained in Article VII, Sec. 6, of the first Constitution:

"The question of boundary, though not expressly referred to the Convention, was one of greater importance than would appear at first view. It is generally known to those who have consulted the maps of the western country extant at the time the Ordinance of 1787 was passed, that Lake Michigan was represented as being very far north of the position which it has since been ascertained to occupy. On a map in the Department of State, which was before the Committee of Congress who framed the Ordinance for the Government of the Territory, the southern boundary of that lake was laid down as being near the forty-second degree of north latitude; and there was a pencil line passing through the southern bend of the lake to the Canada line, which intersected the strait, between the River Raisin and the town of Detroit. That line was manifestly intended by the Committee, and by Congress, to be the northern boundary of this State; and, on the principles on which courts of chancery construe contracts, accompanied with plats, that map, and the line marked on it, should have been taken as conclusive evidence of the boundary, without reference to the actual position of the southern extreme of the lake.

"When the Convention was in session in 1802, it was the prevailing understanding that the old maps were correct; and that the line, as defined in the Ordinance, would terminate at some point on the strait, far above the Maumee bay; but, while that subject was under discussion, a man who had hunted many years on Lake Michigan, and was well acquainted with its position, happened to be

in Chillicothe, and, in conversation with some of the members, mentioned to them that the lake extended much farther south than was generally supposed; and that a map he had seen placed its southern bend many miles north of its true position. His statement produced some apprehension and excitement on the subject, and induced the Convention to change the line prescribed in the act of Congress, so far as to provide that, if it should be found to strike, Lake Erie below the Maumee river, as the hunter informed them it would, then the boundary of the State should be a line drawn from the point where the prescribed line intersected the west boundary of the State direct to the most northern cape of the Maumee bay. That provision saved to the State of Ohio the valuable ports and harbors on the Maumee river and bay, which were the prize contended for, in what was called the Michigan war of Governor Lucas. Yet some of the members were so intent on the establishment of a State government, in the shortest possible period, that they hesitated in making the provision lest it might cause delay; but fortunately it was adopted, and its object is now secure. Small matters sometimes lead to great results, as was the fact in this case."

A little more than nine years after the admission of Ohio as a State, Amos Spafford, then collector of the port of Miami, at the request of *fifty families*, then composing the population of the disputed tract, addressed the following letter to the Governor of Ohio:

MIAMI RAPIDS, January 23, 1812.

Sir: It appears to be the general wish of the people in this settlement (which consists of about fifty families) to have the laws of the State of Ohio extended over them, as we consider ourselves clearly within the limits of said State. The few who object are those who hold offices under the Governor of Michigan, and are determined to enforce their laws. This is considered by a great majority of the inhabitants a usurpation of power which they are under no obligation to adhere to. If no adjustment should take place, I fear the contention will ere long become serious. Sir, you have the goodness to inform the people here whether there has been any understanding between the State of Ohio and the Governor of Michigan on the subject of jurisdiction, together with your advice.

I am, sir, with high esteem, your obedient servant,

AMOS SPAFFORD,
Collector of the port Miami.

To His Excellency, Return Jonathan Meigs, Esq.

N. B. The foregoing letter is written at the request of the inhabitants.

This letter of Mr. Spafford, it will be observed, was written during a period when the population of the western frontiers were excited by the unfriendly relations existing between England and the United States; and which resulted in a declaration of war made by the latter in June of the same year. The great issue of a foreign war, threatening a common danger, united all the people of the frontier, including those of the disputed jurisdiction, in support of the general interests, and, for the time, postponed the boundary conflict. Yet, in June of the same year, Congress passed a resolution directing the Commissioner of the General Land office to cause the line to be surveyed; but for the reason stated, the resolution was not carried into effect until 1817; when William Harris, under the instructions of the Surveyor General of the United States, laid off the northern boundary on the line defined in the Ohio Constitution of 1802. Through the influence of General Cass, then Territorial Governor of Michigan, another survey was made under the authority of the United States Government, by John A. Fulton, known as "the Fulton line," which touched closer to conformity with the claims of Michigan.

The anxiety of the inhabitants of the infant settlement, occupying the disputed tract, is uttered through the following letter of Dr. Horatio Conant:

FOUR METRS. 20th December, 1823.

Dear Sir: The inhabitants in this vicinity have lately expressed considerable solicitude respecting the northern line of this State, and several of them have requested me to write to your honor upon the subject. It seems to have been taken for granted, more from inadvertence, possibly, than for any good reason, that the southern line is the correct one. The jurisdiction of the Territory of Michigan is extended to the territory between the two lines with the decided approbation of the inhabitants of the disputed ground, which makes it impossible for the State officers of Ohio to interfere without exciting disturbance. We are anxious to have some measures adopted to ascertain the limits of our jurisdiction. What those measures should be, or whether we can affect anything as individuals, we are ignorant. Almost any line that could be run would be preferred to the present, cutting off, as it does, the bay and mouth of the river. The line to the north cape of the bay is probably the only one that could be expected, other than the one now established, and would be the most agreeable to us. If anything can be effected, we depend upon your exertions and those of the other members of the Legislature from this State.

Very respectfully, your obedient servant, HORATIO CONANT.

Hon. Ethan A. Brown, *Senator in Congress.*

In 1835 the agitation was renewed in consequence of an anxious desire on the part of a majority of the inhabitants near the mouth of the river to have the jurisdiction of Ohio established on the Harris Line, with a view of securing to their locality the advantages of the Wabash and Erie Canal. W. V. Way, Esq., of Perrysburg, in a very interesting address upon this subject, made in 1868, says:

“The necessity of immediately constructing the canal, and the urgent demands of the citizens of Toledo, induced the Governor to bring the subject before the Legislature by a special message. On the 23d of February, 1835, the Legislature of Ohio passed an act extending the northern boundaries of the counties of Wood, Henry and Williams, to the Harris Line.

“The authorities of Michigan had previously exercised jurisdiction over the entire territory lying between the Harris Line on the north, and the Fulton Line on the south, as a part of Michigan.

“It ought, however, to be mentioned, that the authorities of Wood county, at a period much earlier than 1835, attempted to extend the laws of Ohio over that part of this territory claimed to be in that county, by levying taxes, but the people did not recognize the act and refused to pay the taxes.

“An act of the Legislature of Ohio, passed on the 23d of February, 1835, provided ‘that such part of the territory declared by this act as being attached to the county of Wood, shall be erected into townships as follows, to wit: such part of ranges five and six as lies between the line run due east from the southern extremity of Lake Michigan and the line run from the said southern extremity to the most northern cape of the Maumee Bay, be and the same is hereby erected into a separate and distinct township by the name of Sylvania; and that all such part of ranges seven and eight, together with the territory east of the Maumee River, as lies between the line run from the southerly extremity of Lake Michigan to the most northerly cape of the Maumee Bay, and between Lake Erie and the line run due east from the southern extremity of Lake Michigan to Lake Erie, be and the same is hereby erected into a separate and distinct township, by the name of Port Lawrence;’ and further authorized and directed those townships to hold elections for township officers on the first Monday in April next, and provided for their complete organization. It also directed the Governor to appoint three commissioners to run and re-mark the Harris Line.

Uri Seely, of Geauga, Jonathan Taylor, of Licking, and John Patterson, of Adams, were appointed commissioners to run and re-mark the line. The first of April was named as the time to commence the survey. Stevens T. Mason, Secretary and acting Governor of Michigan Territory, anticipating the action of the Legislature of Ohio, sent a special message to the Legislative Council, apprising it of the special message of Governor Lucas, and advised the passage of an act to counteract the proceedings of Ohio.

Governor Mason wrote to General Brown, who was in command of the third division of the Michigan militia, as follows :

EXECUTIVE OFFICE, DETROIT, March 9, 1835.

Sir: You will herewith receive the copy of a letter just received from Columbus. You now perceive that a collision between Ohio and Michigan is inevitable, and will therefore be prepared to meet the crisis. The Governor of Ohio has issued a proclamation, but I have neither received it nor have I been able to learn its tendency. You will use every exertion to obtain the earliest information of the military movements of our adversary, as I shall assume the responsibility of sending you such arms, etc., as may be necessary for your successful operation, without waiting for an order from the Secretary of War, so soon as Ohio is properly in the field. Till then I am compelled to await the direction of the War Department.

Very respectfully your obedient servant,

STEVENS T. MASON.

General Jos. W. Brown.

On the 31st of March Governor Lucas, accompanied by his staff and the boundary commissioners, arrived at Perrysburg on their way to run and re-mark the Harris Line, in compliance with the act of 23d of February previous.

General John Bell, in command of the seventeenth division of Ohio militia, embracing the disputed territory, arrived about the same time with his staff, and mustered into service a volunteer force of about six hundred men, fully armed and equipped. The force went into camp at old Fort Miami, and awaited the orders of the Governor. The force consisted of five companies of the first regiment, second brigade of the seventeenth division of militia, under the command of Colonel Mathias Van Fleet. The Captains of these companies were J. A. Scott, Stephen S. Gilbert, John Pettinger, Felton and Granville Jones, of the Lucas Guards, an independent company of Toledo.

“These companies numbered about three hundred effective men. There was also a part of a regiment from Sandusky county, commanded by Colonel Lewis Jennings, and a part of a regiment from Seneca and Hancock counties, under command of Colonel Brish, of Tiffin. These numbered about three hundred more, making the total force six hundred men.

“Governor Mason, with General Joseph W. Brown, arrived at Toledo with a force under the immediate command of the latter, variously estimated from eight hundred to twelve hundred men, and went into camp, ready to resist any advance of the Ohio authorities upon the disputed territory to run the boundary line or doing other acts inconsistent with Michigan’s right of jurisdiction over it.

“The two Governors, having made up an issue by legislative enactments, found themselves confronted by a military force that had been called out to enforce their respective legislative pleadings. Governor Mason representing the tenant in possession, was content to rest at his ease. Governor Lucas representing the plaintiff, had to open the trial. The whole country in the meantime became wild with excitement.

“Governor Lucas had determined in his mind to order General Bell with his force to Toledo as soon as he could make the necessary preparations, and risk the consequences; but before he had got his preparations made, two eminent citizens, Hon. Richard Rush, of Philadelphia, and Colonel Howard of Baltimore, arrived from Washington as commissioners from the President of the United States, to use their personal influence to stop all war-like demonstrations. Hon. Elisha Whittlesey, of Ohio, accompanied the commissioners as a voluntary peace-maker.

“The commissioners and Mr. Whittlesey had several conferences with both Governors, and finally on the 7th of April submitted the following propositions for their assent, to-wit :

“‘1st. That the Harris Line should be run and re-marked pursuant to the act of the last session of the Legislature of Ohio without interruption.

“‘2d. The civil elections under the laws of Ohio having taken place throughout the disputed territory, that the people residing upon it should be left to their own government, obeying the one jurisdiction or the other, as they may prefer, without molestation from the authorities of Ohio or Michigan until the close of the next session of Congress.’

“Governor Lucas, on the urgent request of the commissioners,

and Mr. Whittlesey, agreed, reluctantly, to accept the propositions as a peaceable settlement until after the close of the next session of Congress. Governor Mason refused to acquiesce in the propositions. Governor Lucas assented to them in the light of regarding the Governor of a territory in the condition of a subaltern, subject to the control of the President. He looked upon the arrangement, as made with the President, through Messrs. Rush and Howard as his representatives, and disbanded the military force he had collected. Governor Mason partially followed suit; but still continued making preparations for any emergency that might arise.

“Governor Lucas now thought he could run and re-mark the Harris Line without serious molestation from the authorities of Michigan, and directed the commissioners to proceed with the work.

“S. Dodge, an engineer on the Ohio canal, had been engaged as surveyor to run the line.”

The result of the surveying expedition is shown in the following correspondence:

PERRYSBURG, May 1, 1835.

To Robert Lucas, Esq., Governor of the State of Ohio.

Sir: In the discharge of the duties which devolve upon us as commissioners appointed by your excellency for re-marking the northern boundary line of this State, which is known and distinguished as Harris' Line, we met at Perrysburg on Wednesday, the 1st of April last, and after completing the necessary arrangements, proceeded to the Northwest corner of the State, and there succeeded in finding the corner as described in the field notes of the Surveyor Harris, a copy of which we had procured from the Surveyor General's office. Thence your commissioners proceeded eastwardly along said line, which they found with little difficulty, and re-marked the same as directed by law in a plain and visible manner, to the distance of thirty eight miles and a half, being more than half the length of the whole line.

During our progress we had been constantly threatened by the authorities of Michigan, and spies from the territory, for the purpose of watching our movements and ascertaining our actual strength were almost daily among us.

On Saturday evening, the 25th ult., after having performed a laborious day's service, your commissioners, together with their party, retired to the distance of about one mile south of the line, in Henry county within the State of Ohio, where we thought to have rested quietly and peaceably enjoy the blessings of the Sabbath—and especially not being engaged on the line, we thought ourselves secure for the day. But contrary to our expectations, at about twelve o'clock in the day, an armed force of about fifty or sixty men

hove in sight, within musket shot of us, all mounted upon horses, well armed with muskets and under the command of General Brown of Michigan. Your commissioners observing the great superiority of force, having but five armed men among us, who had been employed to keep a lookout and as hunters for the party, thought it prudent to retire, and so advised our men. Your commissioners, with several of their party, made good their retreat to this place. But, sir, we are under the painful necessity of relating that nine of our men, who did not leave the ground in time after being fired upon by the enemy, from thirty to fifty shots, were taken prisoners, and carried away into the interior of the country. Those who were taken were as follows, to wit: Colonels Hawkins, Scott and Gould, Major Rice, Captain Biggerstaff and Messrs. Elsworth, Fletcher, Moale and Rickets.

We are happy to learn that our party did not fire a gun in turn, and that no one was wounded, although a ball from the enemy passed through the clothing of one of our men.

We have this day learned by some of the men who were arrested and have just returned, that they were taken to Tecumseh under the escort of the armed force, were there brought before a magistrate for examination, that they denied the jurisdiction; but that six entered bail for their appearance; two were released as not guilty, and one, to wit: Mr. Fletcher refused to give bail and is retained in custody. We are also further informed, by unquestionable authority, that, on the Sabbath day, an armed force of several hundred men were stretched along the line to the east of us, with a view to intercept us on our way.

Under existing circumstances and in the present threatening attitude of affairs, your commissioners have thought it prudent, for the interest of the State, as also for the safety of her citizens and to prevent the threatened effusion of blood, to withdraw from the line at present, and suspend the further prosecution of the work, until some efficient preparatory measures can be taken which will insure the completion of the undertaking.

All of which is respectfully submitted.

JONATHAN TAYLOR, }
 J. PATTERSON, } *Commissioners.*
 URI SEELY. }

LENAAWEE COUNTY JAIL, }
 TECUMSEH, May 5, 1835. }

Sir: Considering it my duty to inform the authorities of Ohio of my present situation, relative to my imprisonment in Michigan, I take the liberty to address your excellency. I am at present incarcerated in jail—was committed yesterday. The Sheriff was influenced to change his course of treatment towards me, by Gover-

nor Mason and General Brown—chiefly, I believe, by Brown. I dined with General Brown yesterday. Governor Mason was there. He (Mason) strongly urged me to give bail; he observed as bail had been proffered me, this fact would go forth to the public and exonerate Michigan from censure in case that I was committed. The same consideration has been repeatedly advanced to induce me to enter bail. My reply has been that the right to demand bail is the question at issue—that in the case I gave bail, I did not consider it material whether the responsibility of that bail was assumed by a citizen of Ohio or a citizen of Michigan. Governor Mason expressed himself as being very anxious that the difficulties might be settled without any further hostilities. General Brown was silent on this subject. There is reason to believe that he does not wish to have this question amicably settled, but that he secretly wishes for a collision between the State and Territory that he may have an opportunity to distinguish himself; and that all his measures are taken with a view to effect this. In conversation at General Brown's yesterday respecting the circumstances attending our arrest, the Sheriff expressed regret that the citizens of Ohio were fired upon. General Brown replied that "it was the best thing that was done"; that he did not hesitate to say he gave the order to fire." He spoke of giving directions to the Sheriff how to proceed; and the Sheriff admitted that he acted under his (Brown's) direction. I mention these circumstances because, in my view, they illustrate the principles and motives which have deeply prompted the opposition which Ohio has met in her attempts to remark the boundary line; and that you may be better able to anticipate the course which Michigan will adopt in the future.

Governor Mason expressed the determination to prevent the running of the line at all hazards. Said that the Sheriff's posse would not be called out again. That in case of an emergency, *he relied on the assistance and protection of the Executive of the United States.* I did not understand him to say that this reliance was grounded on any direct assurance, but only on inference. On Saturday evening last, I received a communication from the Commissioners, by Col. Green, in which they approve of the position which I had taken; and instructed me to abide by it. I was gratified to be informed by Colonel Green that your Excellency coincided with the Commissioners in opinion respecting the course I had adopted. When Colonel Green left here, the understanding with the Sheriff was, that he would not commit me. As he has seen fit to do so, I have thought proper to give your Excellency information of it. I will only add, that I shall remain as I am until further instructions, which I doubt not will be forwarded in due time.

I have the honor to be your obedient servant,

J. E. FRECHET.

His Excellency Robert Lucas, Governor of the State of Ohio.

In addition to these outrages upon the official surveying party were numerous flagrant assaults upon individuals, as the following letters evince:

MONROE PRISON, May 6th, 1835.

Dear Sir:—Here I am, peeping through the grates of a loathsome prison, for the *monstrous crime* of having acted as the Judge of an election within the State of Ohio.

From what took place the other day, at Port Miami, at a conference between yourself and the Commissioners of the United States, wherein we had the honor of being present, we were led to believe that a truce at least would be the result. In this we were again deceived. I left my residence in Toledo in company with a lady and gentleman, from the interior of Ohio, to visit my friend A. F. Wing, of Monroe, and others, conceiving that respect for the ordinary visits of hospitality would have been sufficient for my protection under such circumstances. But vindictiveness is carried to such extremes, that all the better feelings of man are buried in the common rubbish. The officer who first took me, treated me in a very uncivil manner; dragging me about as a criminal through the streets of Monroe, notwithstanding there are a number of exceptions to this virulent mass.

On board the boat we took passage from Toledo to Monroe, were Messrs. Rush and Howard, on their way to Washington. They will make favorable mention of the extreme forbearance of Ohio. At eight o'clock this morning, we saw and shook hands with the Governor of these movements (Mason), and his General (Brown), in Monroe, just leaving for Detroit. It is presumable that they directed those outrageous transactions.

7th, 7 o'clock A. M.—Have been here fourteen hours, and no refreshment of any kind yet furnished. It appears probable that it is intended to soften us by starvation.

Those bands of ruffians of the United States, hanging upon the northern border of Ohio, require chastisement. It is to be hoped that the United States will take speedy measures to reduce them to submission. They have become very troublesome to the Western States, as you are fully aware, and the State of Ohio particularly, making inroads by night and by day in large gangs, and committing depredations upon the peaceable population—kidnapping and abducting individuals who have become offensive to them. Whether the United States undertake the subduing of these lawless desperadoes, or leave the State individually to defend themselves, it will require a large force. We cannot but hope that the United States or the State to which I belong, will not permit our individual sufferings to urge them to any measures that may not be consistent with an enlarged view of the rights of the United States, or the individual States. I have the honor to be, sir, your very obedient servant.

B. F. STICKNEY.

His Excellency Robert Lucas, Governor of the State of Ohio.

TOLEDO, May 23d. 1835.

Sir: In compliance with your request, that I should forward to you, at Columbus, an account of my abduction, I send you the following:

On the morning of the 8th of April, at about two o'clock A. M., I was awakened by a heavy knocking at my door. I got up, raised a window; at the same time I discovered a number of persons standing near the door. I demanded what they wanted. They answered they wanted to come into the house. I demanded what their business was, and by what authority they appeared there. But they made no reply to any of my interrogatories; but replied if I did not open the door, they would break it. I replied if that was their business, I should treat them accordingly—that the door was fast and I should defend it.

I drove them once from the door, when many of them went to the back part of the house, and I repaired to that part for defence. While there, they made another attempt to force that door, in which they succeeded. I returned to the front and found the inmates so mixed with the assailants, that I could not defend it successfully, without endangering them, as it was too dark to distinguish one from another, only by voice. I was overcome by force and treated very roughly, as was also my wife, who had left the house to alarm the neighbors; but was overtaken by the kidnappers and treated with violence and insolence. I was taken back into the woods, where there were many horses in readiness, and ordered upon one of them and hurried off in the direction of Monroe.

My journey was rendered unpleasant by the insolence of some of the party, and my life jeopardized by being obliged to ride upon a horse without a bridle; which horse being urged from behind, became frightened and ran with me until I jumped from him. I arrived at Monroe, and was detained there until next day, as they refused me any bail except from day to day. I was taken before the Grand Jury, then in session, and questioned concerning our meeting the officers, etc., etc. During the second day a large military force, or posse, was raised, armed and started for Toledo. After they had gone nearly long enough to have reached Toledo, I was admitted to bail, and returned—passed the force on the road inquired of the Sheriff whether that was to be considered an armed force or a Sheriff's posse. He answered that he considered it a posse at that time, but it was so arranged that it might be either as circumstances should require; that General Brown and aid were along, who would act in case they assumed a military force. I was informed that they had one wagon loaded with United States arms, and one loaded with ammunition, and saw the wagons which were said to be loaded. When about half way from this place to Monroe, on the morning of my abduction, our party was joined by the one having Mr. McKay in custody, who had also been abducted, or made prisoner as they

termed it. About his person there were marks of violence. He rode with his feet tied under the horse; and one of the party told me he volunteered to go to Toledo that he might have an opportunity of gratifying an old grudge he had against Mr. McKay.

I am, sir, yours respectfully,

N. GOODSSELL.

His Excellency Robert Lucas,

Governor and Commander-in-Chief of the State of Ohio.

“The Commissioners had commenced their work at the north-west corner of the State. General Brown had sent scouts through the woods, to watch their movements and to report when they found them running the line. When the surveying party had got within the county of Lenawee, the under-sheriff of that county, with a warrant and posse, made his appearance to arrest them. He arrested a portion of the party; but the Commissioners and Surveyor Dodge made a timely escape, and run with all their might until they got off the disputed territory. They reached Perrysburg the next day with clothes badly torn; some of them hatless, with terrible looking heads, and all with stomachs very much collapsed. They reported that they had been attacked by a large force of Michigan militia under General Brown, and had been fired upon and had just escaped with their lives; and that they expected the balance of their party were killed or prisoners. They formally reported these facts to Governor Lucas and he reported them to the President.

“The President sent a copy of the report to Governor Mason and directed him to send him a statement of the facts in regard to the treatment of the boundary Commissioners, ‘*by the officers engaged in the transaction complained of.*’ Governor Mason wrote General Brown informing him of the communication from the President, and requested him to forward a report from the officers engaged, containing a detailed statement of what had been done, that he could forward it for the information of the President. General Brown forwarded his report from William McNair, under-sheriff of Lenawee county, with his indorsement on the back in these words: ‘In consequence of reports being circulated through Ohio that the Boundary Commissioners had been fired upon by the Michigan military when the officers made the arrest, a statement was officially made by the under sheriff of Lenawee county who made the arrests, to the acting Governor of Michigan Territory, to correct such false reports.’

“The breaking up of the surveying party and the report they made of the treatment they had received, produced great excitement throughout Ohio. The press spread the news with such comments as corresponded with their views. Most of the papers advocated the course of the Governor, and severely condemned the conduct of Michigan. However, some few of the Whig or anti-Democratic in politics, took an opposite view, and condemned severely the conduct of Governor Lucas and those who sided with him. They treated the proceedings on the part of the authorities of Ohio as ridiculous and calculated to bring the State into disgrace. But the number of these presses that spoke freely against the course pursued by the State, were very few. Governor Lucas, finding it impracticable to run the line or enforce jurisdiction over the disputed territory, as proposed by Messrs. Rush and Howard, called an extra session of the Legislature to meet on the 8th of June. That body passed an act ‘to prevent the forcible abduction of the citizens of Ohio.’ The act had reference to counteracting the previous acts of the Legislative Council of Michigan, and made the offense punishable in the penitentiary not less than three nor more than seven years. An act was also passed to create the new county of Lucas out of the north part of Wood county, and embracing the disputed territory north of it, and a portion of the northwest corner of Sandusky county. It attached the county to the Second Judicial Circuit, made Toledo the temporary seat of justice, and directed the Court of Common Pleas to be held on the first Monday of September then next, at any convenient house, in Toledo.

“An act was also passed, making appropriations to carry into effect all laws in regard to the northern boundary. Three hundred thousand dollars were appropriated out of the treasury, and the Governor was authorized to borrow three hundred thousand more on the credit of the State. A resolution was adopted inviting the President to appoint a Commissioner to go with the Ohio Commissioners, to run and re-mark the Harris Line.

“These proceedings changed the issue. The proceedings of the previous regular session of the Legislature, made Richard Roe or Michigan, defendant, but now the United States became defendant as claimant of title in fee. The determined attitude of Michigan to prevent Ohio from exercising any authority over the disputed territory, aroused a feeling of State pride that could not well brook the idea, that the thinly populated Territory of Michigan, with her

stripling Governor, should successfully defy *Old Governor Lucas*, and the military power of a State of a 'million' inhabitants. Governor Lucas, through his Adjutant General, Samuel C. Andrews, called upon the Division Commanders to report as soon as possible, the number of men in each Division that would volunteer to sustain him in enforcing the laws over the disputed territory. Fifteen out of seventeen Divisions into which the State was divided, reported over ten thousand men ready to volunteer. About two thousand men were estimated for the two Divisions that did not report. These proceedings on the part of Ohio exasperated the authorities of Michigan. They dared the Ohio 'million' to enter the disputed ground; and 'welcomed them to hospitable graves.' Prosecutions for holding office under the laws of Ohio, were conducted with greater vigor than ever. For a time, the people of Monroe county were kept busy in acting as the sheriff's *posse*, to make arrests in Toledo. The commencement of one suit would lay the foundation for many others. Probably there is no town in the West (always excepting Lawrence, in Kansas) that has suffered more for its allegiance to its government than Toledo.

"The partisans of Ohio were continually harassed by the authorities of Michigan for the greater part of the summer of 1835. An attempt was made by the authorities of Ohio to retaliate in kind; but for some reason or other the accused would manage to escape into Michigan proper, or hide at home. Whenever the sheriff of Wood county attempted to make an arrest, there would generally be spies watching his coming and communicate the fact to the accused persons in time to hide, or make their escape out of the place. The town was kept in a great uproar much of the time in watching the movements of the Bailiffs of Monroe and Wood counties."

The following letter, and proceedings of a public meeting, though out of their chronological order, are given to exhibit the policy and disposition of Michigan:

TOLEDO, WOOD COUNTY, Ohio, March 1st, 1835.

His Excellency Robert Lucas, Governor of Ohio:

Sir:—At the request of a large number of my fellow-citizens, I hasten to advise you of the aspect of our affairs in this quarter of the State, that your Excellency may adopt such measures to protect their rights and maintain the laws of the State, as under existing circumstances may be deemed necessary.

A notice was last week issued, calling a meeting at Tremainsville, of "the citizens of that portion of the State of Ohio

lying north of an east and west line drawn through the southern extreme or bend of Lake Michigan, and which had heretofore been under the temporary jurisdiction of the Territorial government of Michigan." The object of this meeting was to spread intelligence among the people, and to prepare them for the extension of the jurisdiction of the State to its entire constitutional limits, and to guard against any chance of division by the industrious efforts of certain emissaries, who had been sent out by the acting Governor of Michigan to create an interest in favor of the Territory, and to prevent the operation of the laws of Ohio. The meeting assembled yesterday afternoon, to the number of some three hundred persons. A deputation was sent out from Michigan, consisting of General Brown, of Lenawee county; General Humphrey, of Monroe; Mr. Bacon, of the Legislative Council, and a number of the judicial and military officers of Monroe county, ostensibly to confer and consult with our citizens, but whose real object was to overawe and divide our meeting. As the nature of their visit was understood, a resolution was unanimously passed, at the commencement of the meeting, inviting all strangers, who might feel any interest in its proceedings, to attend; but declaring it "indecorous, improper, and out of order" for any persons to take part in its deliberations who was not interested as a *resident* of Ohio, or called by the language of the notice under which we had assembled.

Notwithstanding this decisive and unanimous resolution of our citizens, repeated efforts were made by General Brown, through his associates, to get a hearing from our audience and to procure the reading of an order from the acting Governor of Michigan. It at length came into the hands of a citizen, who happened to be in the Michigan interest, and who had just received a commission from Governor Mason, and the order was by him offered to the meeting, and permission asked to read it aloud; but as soon as the *signature* was discovered, it was indignantly rejected by the meeting, and its reading declared out of order, according to the spirit of our first resolution. The purport of this order, as I afterwards learned, was certain instructions from acting Governor Mason, to General Brown, to proceed forthwith to this place, and other towns in the north-western part of Ohio, and to ascertain what public officers were in the interest of the State, for the purpose of having them removed, and replaced by others more loyal to the cause of Michigan. And if, after all his efforts, he could not create a division, or raise a party among our citizens, sufficiently strong to maintain the laws of Michigan, then to raise a posse and proceed forthwith with the public authorities of the adjacent counties, and forcibly support the jurisdiction of Michigan, and, particularly, to put into effect the late unconstitutional and unprecedented enactments of the Legislative Council of the Territory, subjecting our citizens to a fine of one thousand dollars and imprisonment at hard labor, for a term of five years, if they should so far assert their rights as to

receive or hold a commission under the State, from whose constitution they had a right to claim protection. But notwithstanding all this, and in the very presence of these very gentlemen who had come to promulgate these mandates—to put into execution these instructions, and to overawe the populace—when the special message of your Excellency, and the resolutions and enactments of the General Assembly of Ohio, extending to them their rights as citizens of the State, and the protection of its laws, were read, the meeting strongly and firmly resolved to support the laws and constitution of Ohio. To this resolution there were but four or five voices in the negative.

After the meeting had adjourned, General Brown read his order to the populace, and assured them that the laws of Michigan should be enforced, and that before the State of Ohio should extend her jurisdiction over this part of her constitutional limits, *she would have to march over the dead bodies of that portion of her citizens who had heretofore been under the jurisdiction of Michigan.*

Every effort has been made by General Brown and his emissaries to create divisions and intimidate our citizens. For this purpose threats were used—the aid of the General Government was freely pledged to those who would come out on the side of Michigan—and where intimidation and threats failed to produce the effect, commissions were freely offered and granted.

I herewith send you the last number of the “Michigan Sentinel,” from which your Excellency will be able to gather the feelings and sentiments of the citizens of that part of the Territory upon the subject, which, from its immediate vicinity, and from its former relations to us, has it in its power materially to harass and oppress our citizens.

With sentiments of deepest respect,

I am, sir, your Excellency's obedient servant,

ANDREW PALMER.

MEETING AT TOLEDO.

An adjourned meeting of the citizens of Toledo was held in the village, at the house of J. B. Davis, on Friday, April 10th, 1835, to take into consideration what further arrangements were proper to protect the citizens from lawless aggression and violence.

After a few remarks from several gentlemen present, it was

Resolved, That a committee be appointed to wait upon Governor Lucas and ascertain how far the citizens of this town may rely upon the protection of the State in defending their rights under her laws and constitution, and to consult and concert such measures as may be proper and expedient.

Resolved, further, That said committee consist of such officers as, under the recent penal enactments of the territorial council of Michigan, have rendered themselves liable to the laws of the territory; that by personal consultation and advice, they may be prepared to act both with prudence and decision. Adjourned.

JOHN BALDWIN, *Chairman.*

BAXTER BOWMAN, *Secretary.*

Governor Lucas finding it impracticable to run the line or enforce jurisdiction over the disputed territory called an extra session of the Legislature on the 8th of June, and issued a message, from which the following is an extract:

"It appears to me the honor and faith of the State is pledged, in the most solemn manner, to protect these people in their rights, and to defend them against all outrages. They claim to be citizens of Ohio. The Legislature by a solemn act has declared them to be such, and has required them to obey the laws of Ohio, which, as good citizens, they have done; and for which they have been persecuted, prosecuted, assaulted, arrested, abducted and imprisoned. Some of them have been driven from their homes in dread and terror, while others are menaced by the authorities of Michigan. These things have been all done within the constitutional boundaries of the State of Ohio, where our laws have been directed to be enforced. Are we not under as great an obligation to command respect and obedience to our law adjoining our northern boundary as in any other part of the State? Are not the inhabitants of Port Lawrence, on the Maumee Bay, as much entitled to our protection as the citizens of Cincinnati, on the Ohio river? I feel convinced they are equally so. Our commissioners appointed in obedience to the act of the 23d of February, while in discharge of the duty assigned them, were assaulted while resting on the Sabbath day, by an armed force from Michigan. Some of the hands were fired on, others arrested, and one Colonel Fletcher is now incarcerated in Tecumseh, (as will be seen by his letter,) and for what? Is it for crime? No; but for faithfully discharging his duty, as a good citizen of Ohio, in obedience to our laws. These outrageous transgressions demand your most serious consideration, and I earnestly recommend, and confidently hope, that such measures will be adopted as will afford protection to our citizens; provide for the relief of those who have been arrested, and bound under recognizances; and for the liberation

of those who are imprisoned; as also for the indemnity of those who have suffered loss in consequence of their obedience to the laws of Ohio; and, in an especial manner, for the more prompt execution of our laws, and the punishment of those who have violated them. You may rest assured that whatever course you may direct, will be promptly pursued by the Executive, and that all your laws shall be faithfully executed, as far as his power extends; but, for their effectual enforcement, you have to furnish him with the necessary means.

“In the documents annexed for your inspection and consideration will be found all the correspondence of the Executive relative to carrying into effect the act of the 23d of February; which embraces the correspondence with the Department of State at Washington; the communications received from Messrs. Rush and Howard, United States Commissioners; the opinion of the Attorney General of the United States; the correspondence with the Surveyor General of the United States, together with sundry documents relative to running the northern boundary of Ohio; the field notes of the survey of the line run by Mr. Harris, under the direction of the Surveyor General of the United States; a letter from Governor Cass objecting to Harris' line, with the Surveyor General's reply, contending that that line was run in accordance with the act of Congress, and was the true northern boundary of Ohio, together with sundry other letters relative to the subject of our boundary, and the extension of our jurisdiction, all worthy of a minute investigation.

“The subject of our northern boundary has excited considerable attention throughout the nation, and as far as can be learned from the tone of the papers, great exertions are making to raise feelings unfavorable to Ohio, forestalling public opinion to her prejudice, without reference to the merits of our claim, and all principally upon the ground that Ohio is a great, powerful State; Michigan a weak and small territory, (while in fact Michigan has a greater extent of territory than Ohio.) This appears to be the substance of every argument from the beginning to the end of this controversy. We find it in the first letter of Governor Cass to the Surveyor General, so early as 1817. We also find it in the arguments of the ex-President in the last Congress, as well as in all the intermediate arguments. But what is the true state of the case? Ohio has oppressed nobody—she claims no territory more than what is defined in her constitution; while, on the other hand, we find the

territory of Michigan (who can have no legitimate claim to sovereignty, as her government, at any time, may be dissolved by Congress, and the territory north of Ohio attached to this State) exerting all the power of her temporary or territorial government, to oppress the small village of Toledo, punishing its inhabitants, not for crime, but for claiming their constitutional rights. In this transaction we see the great and powerful city of Detroit, aided by the authorities of the territory united to oppress and weaken the small village of Toledo, on the Maumee Bay. But the true parties in the controversy are the United States and the State of Ohio; and let me ask which is the weaker party in this controversy? Surely it will not be contended that the great and gigantic State of Ohio (as she has been tauntingly called) is about to weaken the United States, by claiming her constitutional rights; or that, by enforcing these, her just claims, she would be making the weak weaker, and the strong still more powerful, according to the arguments of our opponents. Arguments of this kind may suit those who wish to avoid the truth, to shun the light, and carry their point, right or wrong, by their diplomatic management; but in my view these arguments are too contracted to meet the approbation of liberal-minded statesmen. Is not Ohio a member of the Union? Does not she form a component part of the United States? Will not any measure calculated to promote the prosperity of Ohio also promote the prosperity of the United States? Why, then, should jealousy be excited against Ohio? Why the extreme exertions of many editors of newspapers, and other individuals, in some of the States, to forestall public opinion, and make impressions unfavorable to Ohio, without examining the justice of our cause? Is this course liberal? Is it just? We think not.

With a desire to ascertain all the facts connected with the controversy relative to our northern boundary, I have devoted what time I could spare from other duties, to a minute examination of the subject. In doing this, I collected extracts from all the original charters by which the territory northwest of the river Ohio was originally claimed; also from the several deeds of cession, resolutions of Congress, ordinances and acts relative to the territory northwest of the river Ohio, the organization of temporary or territorial government, and the formation of States therein; all which extracts will be submitted to your consideration, as an appendix to this communication. These extracts will present to you a full view of the

subject, and must have a tendency to confirm all who examine them dispassionately, in the opinion that the claim of Ohio is just and incontrovertible. By them it will be seen that the territory now claimed by Michigan was originally included in the grant to Connecticut, and that that State did not cede her right of jurisdiction to the United States over that portion of territory bordering on the lake, and known as the "Western Reserve," till the year 1800, many years after the Ordinance of 1787 was passed; which Mr. Adams declared, in his famous speech in the last Congress, "to be as unalterable as the laws of nature;" yet the line contended for by Michigan, agreeably to said Ordinance, would run east through that district of country to which Congress had no claim, either of soil or jurisdiction, at the time this Ordinance was passed. The more I examine the subject, the more convinced I am that our claim is just and incontrovertible; that it is a settled question; and that we are under as solemn an obligation to maintain our jurisdiction over the town of Port Lawrence, on the Maumee Bay, as we are to maintain it over any township on the Ohio river.

"Gentlemen, the whole subject is now before you for consideration. The question necessarily arises, what shall be done? Shall we abandon our just claim, relinquish our indisputable rights and proclaim to the world that the acts and resolutions of the last session of the General Assembly were mere empty things? Or, rather, shall we not (as was declared in said resolutions to be our duty) prepare to carry their provisions into effect? The latter, I doubt not, will be your resolution; and I trust that by your acts, you will manifest to the world that Ohio knows her constitutional rights; that she has independence enough to assert them; and that she can neither be seduced by flattery, baffled by diplomatic management, nor driven by menaces from the support of those rights. And, gentlemen, you may rest assured, that whatever measures, in your wisdom, you may direct, will be faithfully pursued by the Executive, to the full extent of his constitutional power, and the means that may be placed under his control.

"Very respectfully, &c.,

"ROBERT LUCAS."

"COLUMBUS, O., June 8th, 1835."

This session of the Legislature passed an act "to prevent the forcible abduction of the citizens of Ohio." The act had reference to counteracting the previous acts of the Legislative council of Michigan, and made the offense punishable in the penitentiary not less than three nor more than seven years. An act was also passed to create the new county of Lucas out of the north part of Wood county, and embracing the disputed territory north of it, and a portion of the northwest corner of Sandusky county. It attached the county to the Second Judicial Circuit, made Toledo the temporary seat of justice, and directed the Court of Common Pleas to be held on the first Monday of September following, at any convenient house.

Frequent arrests and imprisonments in the Monroe jail occurred. An attempt to arrest Two Stickney, and to re-arrest McKay, proved ineffectual, as is seen by the following affidavit:

TERRITORY OF MICHIGAN,
Monroe County, A. D. 1835.

Personally came before Albert Bennett, a Justice of the Peace within and for the county aforesaid, Lyman Hurd, who being duly sworn, said that on the 15th day of July, 1835, this deponent, who is a constable within the county aforesaid, went to Toledo in said county, for the purpose of executing a warrant against Geo. McKay, in behalf of the United States.

This deponent was accompanied by Joseph Wood, deputy sheriff of said county. Said Wood had in his hands a warrant against Two Stickney. This deponent and said Wood went into the tavern of J. B. Davis, in the village of Toledo, where they found said Stickney and McKay. This deponent informed McKay that he had a warrant for him, and there attempted to arrest McKay. The latter then sprang and caught a chair, and told this deponent that unless he desisted, he would split him down. This deponent saw McKay have a dirk in his hand. At the time this deponent was attempting to arrest McKay, Mr. Wood attempted to arrest Stickney. Wood laid his hand on Stickney's shoulder, and took him by his collar; and after Wood and Stickney had scuffled for a short time, this deponent saw Stickney draw a dirk out of the left side of Wood, and exclaim, "There, damn you, you have got it now." This deponent then saw Wood let go from Stickney, and put his hand upon his side, apparently in distress, and went to the door. This deponent asked Wood if he was stabbed. Wood said, very faintly, that he was. This deponent then went with Wood to Ira Smith's tavern. A physician* was then called in on the request of Wood. The physician thought it doubtful whether Wood recov-

* Dr. Jacob Clark, yet a citizen of Toledo.

ered. This deponent thinks there were from six to eight persons present at the time this deponent and Wood were attempting to arrest McKay and Stickney. None of them interfered. At the time Wood informed Stickney that he had a precept against him, Stickney asked Wood whether his precept was issued under the authority of Ohio or Michigan. When Wood showed him the warrant, Stickney said he should not be taken; but if it was under Ohio, he would go.

This deponent thinks that at the time Wood was stabbed, it was between three and four o'clock in the afternoon, and this deponent remained there about three hours. Before this deponent left, the inhabitants of Toledo, to the number of forty or fifty, collected at Davis' tavern. This deponent was advised, for his own safety, to leave the place, and also by the advice of Wood, he returned to Monroe, without having executed his precept. And further this deponent saith not.

LYMAN HURD.

Subscribed and sworn to before me, this sixteenth day of July, one thousand eight hundred and thirty-five.

ALBERT BURNETT, *J. P.*

These proceedings were reported by Governor Mason, to President Jackson, who was strongly impressed with the necessity of interposing some check to the evident tendency towards serious trouble.

Governor Lucas, perceiving considerable uneasiness at Washington, for the peace of the country, had sent to Washington, N. H. Swayne, W. Allen, and D. T. Disney, to confer with the President on the subject of the boundary difficulties.

The result of this mission was the urgent appeal of the President for "the mutual suspension until after the next session of Congress, of all action that would by possibility produce collision, and the assurance of an earnest recommendation would be immediately sent to the acting Governor of Michigan, and the other authorities of the Territory, whom he can rightfully advise in the performance of their duty, "that no obstruction shall be interposed to the re-marking of Harris Line;" that all proceedings already begun under the act of February, shall be immediately discontinued; that no prosecution shall be commenced for any subsequent violations of that act, until after the next session of Congress, and that all questions about the disputed jurisdiction shall be carefully avoided, and if occurring inevitably, their discussion shall be postponed until the same period."

"The arrangement of the 3d of July, made with Messrs. Swayne, Allen, and Disney, defined the base of operations for Ohio. She now had the direct promise of the President that he would advise that 'no obstruction shall be interposed to the re-marking of the Harris Line, etc.'" Yet, the authorities of Michigan entirely disregarded these arrangements, and the final adjustment of the difficulty was not effected until the next session of Congress, when, on the 15th of June, 1836, Michigan was admitted into the Union with her southern boundary next to Ohio limited to the Harris Line, and the disputed territory was given to Ohio. Congress gave Michigan the valuable mineral lands adjoining Lake Superior, to make up the loss of the territory given to Ohio."

Thus, through the ascendancy of conciliatory and statesman-like counsels prevailing at Columbus and Washington, this angry strife was happily settled, and tranquil and fraternal relations have since prevailed between the citizens of the States of Ohio and Michigan.

The *Toledo Blade*, of June 29th, 1836, contains the proceedings of a meeting held on the Saturday previous (25th of June), convened to celebrate the settlement of the boundary question. As illustrating the temper of the people, at that date, the report states that, agreeably to previous arrangements, the day was ushered in at sunrise by the firing of cannon and ringing of bells. Appropriate banners were waving from the windows of the different hotels and public buildings. The firing was kept up at intervals during the morning. At three o'clock, *v. m.*, the citizens and many distinguished strangers present, assembled at the Mansion House, and having formed a procession, proceeded to the school house, where a short but appropriate address was delivered by Emery D. Potter, Esq. After the address, the procession returned to the Mansion House, and partook of a dinner which had been prepared for the occasion, in Mr. Segur's best style. The cloth having been removed, the following toasts were drunk, and sentiments given, which were severally received and cheered in the most enthusiastic manner by the company. The first toast was the following, given by J. B. Macey, of Buffalo:

The citizens of Toledo. The present growth of this village is a true indication of their enterprise and industry. May it continue until Toledo shall be the great city of the proud State of Ohio.

Toasts were also given by W. J. Daniels, Hon. Joel McCullum, of Lockport, New York; Andrew Palmer, General McLaughlin, of the

Ohio Senate: E. D. Potter, Rev. Mr. Bradburn, of Nantucket, Rhode Island: A. J. Underhill, of New York: Dr. George R. Perkins, S. R. Beardsley, of Otsego county, New York: Dr. H. B. Stillman, John J. Newcombe, George H. Rich, Roswell Cheney, and others. Appropriate addresses were made by Messrs. Beardsley and Potter, and also by Judge John T. Baldwin, President of the day.

TOLEDO IN 1816.

Judge Baldwin said: "Gentlemen, I have long looked for this day. I have sometimes thought that I should not live to see it: but I have lived to see justice, although tardy in her movements, at last triumphant. I came here twenty years ago, when there was nobody here but Indians, except Major Stickney. I used to wander along down through the bushes to meet him, when we would talk this subject over as a matter of diversion, for we were so weak that we could do but little else, as nobody seemed to pay much attention to what we said, there being but two of us living on the 'disputed ground.'"

CHAPTER V.

THE "LOG-CABIN," OR "HARD CIDER" CAMPAIGN OF 1840.

There can exist no reason why the people of the Maumee Valley, whose impulses inclined them to hero worship, should not have been ardently attached to the fortunes of General Harrison, whose military capacity, after he became invested with the command of the Northwestern Army, retrieved former disasters, and gave security to the exposed frontier. Their support of him, as against *any* other party or candidate, became almost a duty. At this distance of time, and when the issues involved in that contest have perished, the writer of this, who favored the election of Mr. Van Buren, who was a statesman and not a soldier, can afford to say this without making any apology for the choice he then made.

The election of 1840 was one characterized by features which had no precedent in popular movements, in this or any other country recognizing the people as the source of power in the State. William Henry Harrison, of Ohio, and John Tyler, of Virginia, were nominated by a Whig Convention, which assembled at Harrisburg, Pennsylvania, for the Presidency and Vice Presidency of the United States, December 4th, 1839. The candidates of the Democratic party, in competition with this ticket were Martin Van Buren, of New York, and Richard M. Johnson, of Kentucky.

General Harrison, although a native of Virginia, was a Western man—had been conspicuously identified with all the conflicts with the Indians, commencing when but twenty-one years of age as aid to General Anthony Wayne, in 1794, and closing as Commander-in-Chief of the Northwestern Army, with the brilliant victory over the combined British and Indian forces at the battle of the Thames, in Canada, in 1813.

These were the candidates. After the nomination of Harrison, a Washington correspondent of a Baltimore paper, who subsequently

became a Harrison man, referred to the candidate of the Whig party as one whose habits and attainments would secure him the highest measure of happiness in a log cabin with an abundant supply of hard cider. This ill-chosen and hapless phrase was seized upon by the crafty politicians of the other side, and made to form the key note of the campaign.

Log cabins, constructed after the frontier style of rude architecture, their walls ornamented with coon-skins, and their interior abundantly supplied with cider, which was generally drunk from gourds, constituted the "wigwams" where all the in-door gatherings of the Whigs were held.

The space on State street, now occupied by the Atheneum, opposite the State House square, embracing an area of one hundred and fifty by one hundred and eighty-eight feet, was occupied by a log cabin, constructed by the joint personal efforts of Alfred Kelly, Thomas Ewing, Noah H. Swayne, Dr. Goodale, Michael Sullivant, William Neil, and others.

On the eve of the anniversary of Washington's birthday, (21st February, 1840,) the campaign, on the part of Harrison's friends, was opened in Ohio by an illumination of all Whig dwellings in the Capital. Columbus then had a population of six thousand. The number of transient visitors who participated in the celebration of the following day, exceeded in number more than three-fold the then residents of the city, — the largest number that had ever at that time been massed at Columbus. Every hotel and boarding house was crowded to its utmost, and the hospitality of the citizens, and especially of the Whig families, had no limit. The weather was unusually inclement. Heavy rains had swollen the streams, and the principal streets between the sidewalks were covered with a depth of mud that reached, on an average, near to one's ankles. But the ardor of the enthusiastic processions was not dampened by these discomforts; and above the angry voice of the elements rose the triumphant peal of loud mouthed cannon and exultant strains of twenty bands of music.

The Maumee Valley poured out its legions in this monster meeting. From the description of the procession published in the Columbus (Ohio) *Confederate and Old School Republican*, edited by that most estimable gentleman, recently deceased, John G. Miller, Esq., is extracted the following relating to the representation from Northwestern Ohio:

“There is indeed an attractive object. That is *Fort Meigs*. The imitation is perfect. How fraught is it with engrossing and impressive history! How much does it tell of the gallant man who at this moment occupies the thoughts and the hopes of his countrymen! It was no common zeal which stimulated the feelings of those who constructed that fabric—and well have they perfected the design. Those six fine horses which draw the interesting burden have imbibed the very spirit of Fort Meigs;—mark the dignity of their motion, and the military precision of their steps. ‘The length of the fort is twenty-eight feet—its embankments six inches high, surmounted by piquets of ten inches.’ Its garrison is forty men. The block houses, seven in number. ‘The whole structure is a beautiful as well as perfect representation of the spot where Harrison achieved a victory which has incorporated his name and those of the brave men whom he commanded with the never-dying glory of his country. Observe those guns—twelve cannon, ‘with appropriate mountings—are properly disposed at the batteries,’ and that little ‘brass *spokesman*, cast at the Toledo foundry,’ is about to tell its ‘iron tale’ in imitation of its ‘illustrious predecessors,’ which *spoke* to fearful and destructive purpose in May, 1813. Look at those flag-staffs, thirty feet in height. See floating from the foremost of them, that signal of virgin white, and read the inscription it displays :

‘FORT MEIGS,
‘*Besieged May, 1813.*’

‘Tell General Proctor when he gets possession of the Fort, he will gain more honor, in the estimation of his King and country, than he would acquire by a thousand capitulations.’

And on the streamer of the other are the last words of the brave, expiring Lawrence—“Don’t give up the ship!” And yet another banner flies at the extremity of the fort which, addressing the leaders of faction, advises them that they are “weighed in the balance and found wanting.”

But details of this memorable affair can not here be given. One resolution adopted by the great meeting is, in conclusion, appended :

“*Resolved*, That it be recommended to the young men of the States of Ohio, Kentucky, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan, Western New York, Pennsylvania and Virginia, to celebrate the next anniversary of the raising of the siege of Fort Meigs, in June, 1813, on the ground occupied by that fort.”

In pursuance of this recommendation there assembled at the appointed time and place, a concourse of people variously estimated at from thirty-five to forty thousand, and embracing representatives from every State and Territory in the Union. Probably never before or since, in the annals of the country, has there occurred a more enthusiastic or impressive pageant. All classes and conditions, rich and poor, aged and young, "fair women and brave men," lent their presence and ardor. General Harrison's veterans and many of the country's rare statesmen, orators and humorists were there to honor, each in his own attractive way, the hero of the siege. The merchant left his counter, the farmer his fields, the mechanic his bench, to join in the shouts of applause and exultation, while cannon, musketry, church bells and martial music rent the air again and again! Nature, too, smiled from her brightest sky upon the green banks, the glancing waters, the beautiful towns of Perrysburg and Maumee, the gleaming banners waving over the victory—honored fort and British batteries—all combining to give the celebration the pride and glory, if not magnificence, of a Roman triumph.

General Harrison's speech on this occasion was more than usually elegant and scholarly. Of other names recorded among the speakers are Colonels Todd and Clarkson, of Kentucky, former officers under General Harrison during the siege; Hon. Thomas Ewing; General Woodbridge, of Michigan; General Ford; John R. Osborn, Esq., then of Norwalk, now of Toledo, who, on this occasion, rendered himself conspicuous in an effort which challenged the encomiums of some of the most distinguished persons present: Hon. Oliver Johnson, of Michigan; Dr. Smith, of Monroe, Michigan; Mr. Robert Schenck, of Dayton; George C. Bates, Esq., of Detroit; Messrs. Dawson and Brooks, of Detroit; Mr. Saxton, an old Revolutionary soldier, from Connecticut; James Fitch, of New York; Hon. E. Cook, of Sandusky City, delivered a brilliant oration; Mr. Chamberlain, a blacksmith, from Kinderhook, gave a humorous and witty discourse. Rev. Joseph Badger, the Chaplain in 1813, eighty-five years of age in 1840, offered the opening prayer. Mr. Titus, of Toledo, was called upon for a song, and responded repeatedly to the loud *encore*.

Conspicuous among the military was the battalion from Buffalo, under Major Fay, embracing the Buffalo Flying Artillery, Buffalo City Guards, La Fayette Guards, Washington Guards, and Fredonia Guards; the Toledo Guards, under the command of Captain C. W.

Hill, then one of the best drilled and equipped volunteer companies in the West; the Cleveland Greys, under Captain Ingraham; the Summit Guards, from Akron. A company of Log Cabin boys, in primitive uniform, from Geauga county, and an Indian company.

The steamboats associated with this memorable day were, the "Commodore Perry," which brought the delegation from Buffalo the night previous, and on the morning made a trip to Toledo, returning with General Harrison, and laden with citizens; "General Wayne," "United States," "General Scott," "Rochester," "Star," "Huron," "Macomb," "Jefferson," "Sandusky," "Commerce," "Lady of the Lake," "Vance," and "Chesapeake."

And here is closed a brief sketch of the most imposing popular demonstration that at that time had occurred in the United States. The ground, and many of the distinguished actors, were associated with some of the most interesting events recorded in American history.

The following incidents relating to other political campaigns are appended:

During the Presidential contest of 1856, David Tod, (who may be designated as "a politician at large" during that strife,) Alfred P. Edgerton, delegate for Congress, and F. C. Le Blond, who had been nominated for Common Pleas Judge, met at Kalida for the purpose of addressing a meeting of their political friends. Mr. Tod had been so unfortunate as to have had his satchel stolen, involving the loss not only of documentary matter, which formed much of the thunder, which he fulminated from the stump, but of his linen, and it so happened that by reason of considerable travel in the cars and over dusty roads, his only linen left him, then upon his person, was in a condition that would embarrass him in appearing before an audience composed of some ladies as well as gentlemen. In this dilemma his friends came to his aid. Edgerton produced from his baggage a clean shirt, which, though fitting his own person, wanted several inches to enable one of the more capacious form of Tod to crowd into. A knife, however, vigorously handled, soon effected an opening in the back, and a collar from Le Blond's stock of linen was made to reach something more than half the circumference of Tod's neck: and thus appareled, he appeared upon the stand, and made the best showing he could under the circumstances. At

every slight pause in his speech, Le Blond, who was sitting upon the platform directly in his rear, would inquire of him how he was getting along in that shirt?

During a political canvass, in which the late Governor, David Tod, and Hon. William Sawyer, were holding forth to the people in behalf of the claims of the Democratic party to the popular suffrage, they called at the tavern of Peter Myers, in Perry township, Putnam county, for refreshments. Here they met a crowd, and "the drinks," after they alighted, were the first things in order. A jug and glasses were soon deposited on a rough table, and the vessels first passed to Colonel Sawyer, who, although never a habitual drinker, in his electioneering tours had the reputation of possessing more than ordinary capacity for holding beverages considered intoxicating. Sawyer poured out a moderate drink, and passed the vessel to Tod, who stood beside him, and who, to the dismay and astonishment of the former, poured the liquor into his glass until it reached the very brim! After the drinking ceremony closed, and the crowd had all partaken, Sawyer turned to Tod, and gravely remarked: "Tod, that's the meanest trick I ever had played upon me. Here, directly before my eyes, and in presence of my own constituents, who regard me as one of the best drinkers in the district, you have illustrated to them that there is *one* man, at least, in Ohio, who can beat him in the quantity of his drink. If the district could be considered at all close, this villainous trick of yours, Tod, would utterly ruin my chances for re-election."

Alfred P. Edgerton first appeared before the people as a candidate for office in 1845, for the State Senate. Prior to that time, he had not been conspicuous in politics, though a staunch Democrat. After his nomination, his friends deemed it expedient that he canvass the district, hold meetings, and form acquaintance with the people. A meeting was advertised for him to be holden at St. Mary's, then known as the capital of "the hoop-pole region." He reached the town, near the hour named for the meeting, accompanied by two or three friends, all on horse-back; and a little group of "sovereigns," clad mostly in hunting shirts, and linsey pants, the bottoms of which were crowded into the tops of their stoga boots, were standing in front of the tavern in readiness to greet and make

the acquaintance of their new candidate, who had suffered some in reputation among them by reports that he had been guilty of the heinous practice of paying undue attention to the color and quality of his linen and other apparel. It had, indeed, come to their ears that he was a white-shirted aristocrat. What was their joy, then, when Edgerton had been recognized by some one, and pointed out to them, to discover that he was bespattered with a liberal coating of the same swamp mud, from head to foot, that adorned their own clothing, and that he was nearly as rough looking, by this reason, as any of them. Alighting from his horse, in front of the tavern, and following with the party into the bar-room, the usual introductory "drinks" were called for. One of the veterans of the bar, who appeared to be master of ceremonies, ranged glasses upon the counter, and proceeded to pour into each about equal quantities of whiskey and molasses—using one of his long, thick, unwashed fingers, for the double purpose of commingling the stuff, and also as a gauge, so that an equal quantity of the villainous ingredients should be the portion of each. Edgerton regarded the proceedings very much with the feelings of a criminal witnessing the preparations for his own execution. It was an ordeal he had not anticipated; but when the time came, he summoned all his physical and mental forces, and "by a powerful effort," swallowed the dose "like a man." This submissive resignation to his fate, was highly satisfactory to the assembled voters, and prepared their minds to fight it through for him vigorously on that line. It is said, however, that the compound so disgusted him, that he forswore whiskey and molasses, and has since remained an inexorable total abstinence man.

Edgerton subsequently became a candidate for the Congressional nomination of his party; and had been advised, through friends at Lima, that Michael Leatherman, who had been the previous year, a Representative in the Ohio Legislature from the county of Allen, was opposing him in his aspirations. Urged by those friends to visit the county, and settle, if possible, the business with his only influential and active opponent, Edgerton, soon appeared at Lima, and, accompanied by his friend, the late Hon. M. H. Nichols, proceeded to the residence of Leatherman, a few miles distant; but on their way, they met the gentleman they sought en route to Lima. After the usual salutations, Nichols observed:

"Leatherman, Edgerton and myself were on our way to your house, with the purpose of having you together, and see if you would not be enabled to settle the matters of difference between you, and reconcile you to his support for Congress. Now, you can state the trouble right here, so that we can understand it."

"Well," says Leatherman, "the only thing 'ith thith, Etherton. I understand from Bob Skinner that you thould have wrote him from Columboth that Anglaithe would have pathed the Legithlathur, when I was in the Houth, and you were in the Thenate, if it hadn't been for that damn fool, Leatherman. Now, Etherton, I want to know whether you wroth thuth a letter?"

"Mr. Leatherman," replied Edgerton, "I have no recollection of having written such a letter; but if Bob Skinner says I did, I suppose I must have written it."

"Thpoken like a man," rejoined Mr. Leatherman. "I knew you was oneth, and if you had written thuth a letter, would thay thow. Etherton, give me your hand. You thall have my thupport."

And so the war-cloud passed, and the happy family all returned to Lima, and Allen county was solid in its support of Edgerton. Mr. Leatherman, although having a slight impediment in his speech, was a man of many good qualities, and a most excellent neighbor.

In 1856, Mr. Edgerton was advertised to address a Democratic meeting at Wauseon. Very few of the population sympathised with him in his politics; nevertheless he obtained the use of a church in which to make a speech. A large majority of his audience were Republicans, and included a number of ladies. At the close of his speech a movement was made to organize the crowd into a Fremont meeting, to be addressed by gentlemen who were in waiting, after he closed, to make speeches on their side. Edgerton claimed that the meeting was his own, and that he would not yield his right to the floor. He submitted the following propositions:

"All those in favor of the election of James Buchanan, will signify their choice by a hearty Aye!" Every Democrat in the crowd, of course, shouted a lusty response. After a slight pause, he put the negative in this wise: "All those *opposed* to the election of James Buchanan, will so demonstrate by instantly rising and

tearing their shirts!" The Republican portion of that meeting was adjourned without waiting for the formality of a contest on the vote, and soon the speaker and "Chairman," and his Democratic friends, had exclusive possession of the church, and the meeting was adjourned *sin die*. His political opponent alleged that it was a clear case of usurpation of power.

CHAPTER VI.

THE OLD BENCH AND BAR.

The first court held northwest of the river Ohio, under the forms of civil jurisprudence, was opened at Campus Martius. (Marietta.) September 2d, 1788.

It will be remembered that on the preceding 17th of April, General Rufus Putnam, with forty-seven men, had landed and commenced the second settlement in what is now the State of Ohio. General Harmar, with his regulars, occupied Fort Harmar. Governor St. Clair, and also General Samuel H. Parsons, and General James M. Varnum, Judges of the Supreme Court, arrived in July, 1788. The Governor and Judges, constituting the government, had been employed from their arrival in examining and adopting such of the statutes of the States as, in their opinion, would be adapted to the situation of this new colony. The government had made appointments of civil officers for the administration of justice, and to carry into effect the laws adopted. Some idea may be obtained of the character of the early settlers of Ohio, by describing the order with which this important event—the establishment of civil authority and the laws—was conducted. From a manuscript, written by an eye witness, the substance of the following is obtained. The procession was formed at the point, (where most of the settlers resided,) in the following order: 1, The High Sheriff, with his drawn sword; 2, the citizens; 3, the officers of the garrison at Fort Harmar; 4, members of the bar; 5, the Supreme Judges; 6, the Governor and clergy; 7, the newly appointed Judges of the Court of Common Pleas, Generals Rufus Putnam, and Benjamin Tupper.

They marched up a path that had been cut and cleared through the forest to Campus Martius Hall. [stockade,] when the whole countermarched, and the Judges Putnam and Tupper took their

seats. The clergyman, Rev. Dr. Cutler, then invoked the divine blessing. The Sheriff, Colonel Ebenezer Sproat (one of nature's nobles,) proclaimed with a solemn "O yes, O yes, O yes, that a Court is opened for the administration of even handed justice. To the poor as well as the rich, to the guilty and innocent, without respect of persons; none to be punished without a trial by a jury of their peers, and then in pursuance of the laws and evidence in the case." Although this scene was exhibited thus early in the settlement of the State, few ever equaled it in the dignity and exalted character of its principal participators. Many of them belong to the history of our country, in the darkest, as well as the most splendid periods of the Revolutionary War. To witness this spectacle, a large body of Indians was collected from the most powerful tribes then occupying the almost entire West. They had assembled for the purpose of making a treaty. Whether any of them entered the hall of justice, or what were their impressions, we are not informed.

JUDGES OF THE NORTHWESTERN TERRITORY AND OF THE SUPREME COURT OF OHIO UNDER THE FIRST CONSTITUTION—1803 TO 1852.

In a work of this character it would seem not to be traveling out of the record to notice, briefly, the judiciary of the Territorial era, and also of the State, from the date of its admission into the Union down to the period when the first constitution of the State was superseded by the present one.

Upon the establishment of the Northwest Territory in 1787, by ordinance of the Continental Congress, provision was made for the government of the same by an executive officer and three judges -- the executive power being in the Governor, the judicial in the three judges, and the legislative in both united.

As population increased new settlements were formed, and the territorial government proceeded, from time to time, to lay out and organize other counties, in each of which Courts of Common Pleas and General Quarter Sessions of the Peace, vested with civil and criminal jurisdiction, were established.

The General, or Supreme, Court consisted of the three judges above stated who were appointed by the President, with the advice and consent of the Senate, each of whom received a salary of eight hundred dollars from the Treasury of the United States. It was

the highest judicial tribunal in the territory, and its jurisdiction embraced an empire in area, and was vested with original and appellate jurisdiction in all civil and criminal cases, and on capital cases; and on questions of divorce and alimony its jurisdiction was exclusive. It was, however, a Common Law Court merely, without chancery powers, and was the court of dernier resort. It had power to revise and reverse the decisions of all other tribunals in the territory; yet its own proceedings could not be reversed or set aside, even by the Supreme Court of the United States. Thus were the Governor and judges clothed in almost imperial powers. The court was held in Cincinnati in March, at Marietta in October, at Detroit and in the western counties at such time in each year as the Governor and judges, in their unfortunate wrangles, undertook to designate.

As before stated the Governor and judges constituted the legislative body, and were vested with power to adopt any law in force in either of the original States, and it was made their duty to report all laws so adopted to the Congress of the United States for their approbation. If they were approved by that body, they became the laws of the territory until repealed by themselves, or by the general assembly, thereafter to be established. This restriction of the ordinance, however, was disregarded, and they proceeded to enact laws at their own discretion—which, of course, could not be approved by Congress.

The propriety of this action was frequently contested by the bar and a disposition existed to test its validity. No attempt, however, was made for that purpose, in consequence, probably, of the fact that Congress had merely withheld their assent without expressing an actual dissent, and that as the validity of the laws would be decided by the same men who passed them, the hope of a successful result was too weak to justify the undertaking. The consequence was that all the laws professedly adopted and promulgated by that *quasi* Legislature were treated as constitutional by the bar and the Courts, and were continued in force till they were confirmed, repealed or amended and adopted by the Legislature of the territory.

Congress had appointed Arthur St. Clair, Governor; James M. Varnum, Samuel H. Parsons and John Armstrong, Judges. St. Clair was from Pennsylvania, Varnum from Rhode Island, Parsons from Connecticut and Armstrong from Pennsylvania. Each of the appointees had been a General in the army of the revolution. Arm-

strong declined accepting the position tendered him. The other two judges, with the Governor, accepted. In the place of Armstrong, Congress, on February 19, 1788, chose John Cleve Symms, of New Jersey, a very prominent lawyer of that State who had been a member of Congress in 1785-6.

Among the territorial judges subsequently appointed to fill vacancies occasioned by death and resignation were Wm. Barton, of Pennsylvania; George Turner, of Virginia; Rufus Putnam, one of the pioneers and founders of Marietta, who had served as a Brigadier General of Massachusetts troops in the continental service; Joseph Gillman, a resident of Hamilton county; Return J. Meigs, of Marietta, (subsequently Governor of Ohio, United States Senator and Postmaster General). Governor St. Clair was well fitted for the camp, but not so well for the cabinet, and his arbitrary rule hastened the adoption of measures which secured the admission of Ohio as a State under the Chillicothe constitution of the 29th of November, 1802, and which went into effect the following spring.

Arthur St. Clair succeeded John Hancock as President of the Continental Congress. When the State entered the Union, he had nothing to expect at the hands of the people of the new State, and returned to Pennsylvania. His resources, limited at best, were soon exhausted by journeys to Washington to obtain the allowance of unsettled claims against the government. His pecuniary circumstances became worse and worse, and he was finally compelled, as a means of support, to sell whiskey by the gill and chestnuts by the quart to travelers crossing the Allegheny ridge.

The first attorney admitted under the constitution of 1802 was Lewis Cass, whose certificate bore date 1803, and whose honored name has since become known to all Americans, and occupies a high place among the diplomatic archives of Europe. Of later names may be mentioned Charles Hammond, William Woodbridge, since United States Senator from Michigan, Thomas Ewing, Judge Francis Dunbar, Judge Luke Foster, Robert B. Parkman, D. K. Este, Elisha Whittlesey, Robert F. Slaughter, Judge John W. Willey, Judge John W. Campbell, Wm. Creighton, Joseph H. Crane, Benjamin Ruggles, John Woods, Robert T. Lytle, Elutheros Cooke, Alfred Kelley, Sherlock J. Andrews, Henry Stanberry, Thomas L. Hauer, Samson Mason, Judge B. S. Cowen, A. W. Loomis, Salmon P. Chase, Samuel F. Vinton, Samson Nash, Eber Newton, Henry B. Payne, Hiram V. Wilson and Humphrey H. Leavitt. Among these will

be recognized names distinguished in the executive, legislative and judicial departments of the State and federal governments, as well as in the military service.

The first official commission was issued to Samuel Huntington, who was elected Judge of the Supreme Court on the 2d of April, 1803. Governor Tiffin, in his letter to Judge H., enclosing his commission as such, refers to it as the very first one issued "in the name of and by the authority of the State of Ohio."

The following is a correct list of those who served on the Supreme Bench, under the first Constitution, from 1803 to 1852. The names are given in the order of their election or appointment :

Samuel Huntington, Return J. Meigs, William Sprigg, George Todd, Daniel Symmes, Thomas Scott, Thomas Morris, William W. Irvin, Ethan Allen Brown, Calvin Pease, John McLean, Jessup N. Couch, Jacob Burnet, Charles R. Sherman, Peter Hitchcock, Elijah Hayward, John M. Goodenow, Reuben Wood, John C. Wright, Joshua Collett, Ebenezer Lane, Frederick Grimke, Matthew Birchard, Nathaniel C. Reed, Edward Avery, Rufus P. Spalding, William B. Caldwell, and Rufus P. Ranney.

Some of these names are also eminent in the civil and military history of the country.

The subjoined list embraces the names of the Judges of the Supreme Court under the Constitution of 1851 :

William B. Caldwell, Thomas W. Bartley, John A. Corwin, Allen G. Thurman, Rufus P. Ranney, Joseph R. Swan, William Kennon, Jacob Brinkerhoff, Ozias Bowen, Josiah Scott, Milton Sutcliff, Wm. V. Peck, William Y. Gholson, Charles C. Convers, Horace Wilder, William White, Hocking H. Hunter, John Walsh, Luther Day, and George W. McIlvaine.

Having completed a record of the names of those who occupied places upon the Supreme Bench during the Territorial period, and under the first and existing Constitutions of Ohio, it may here be mentioned that the first Circuit Judge who presided after the organization of counties in Northwestern Ohio, was George Tod, father of the late Governor David Tod, and the second was Ebenezer Lane, who was subsequently elected Supreme Judge. His successor was David Higgins, whose interesting reminiscences are subjoined :

WASHINGTON, 14th April, 1872.

MR. HORACE S. KNAPP

Dear Sir: In accordance with your request, transmitted to me through my friend, General Morgan, I have written out a few memories of the "Maumee Valley." If they can be made to aid your objects, they are furnished with pleasure.

I should be glad to hear of your progress in your work and to see it when completed. I say "see," habitually, for I can not see to read a line of the above—my mind follows my pen, instinctively—but I make errors, and am compelled to ask aid to examine and correct them.

Yours truly,

D. HIGGINS.

MEMORIES OF THE MAUMEE VALLEY. BY D. HIGGINS.

I was elected by the General Assembly Judge of the Second Judicial Circuit of Ohio in February, 1830.

The Circuit lying in the northwest corner of the State, included about one-fifth part of the territory of Ohio. The Indian title to a large portion of that territory had been recently (viz., in 1822) extinguished by a treaty negotiated by Generals Cass and McArthur, and was then quite an unsettled wilderness.

The counties which composed that Circuit at the time of my appointment were Huron, Richland, Delaware, Sandusky, Seneca, Crawford, Marion, Wood, Hancock, Henry, Williams, Putnam, Paulding and Van Wert. The counties of Henry, Paulding and Van Wert, were unorganized, and attached to adjacent counties.

At the expiration of my term, Ozias Bowen was appointed my successor.

You inquire about our voyage in the good pirogue "Jurisprudence." There were no very noteworthy incidents in the voyage. We had been attending Court at Findlay. Our Circuit route from that town was first to Defiance, and from there to Perrysburg. A countryman agreed to take our horses directly through the Black Swamp to Perrysburg, and we purchased a canoe, and taking with us our saddles, bridles and baggage, proposed to descend Blanchard's Fork and the Au Glaize rivers to Defiance, and then to Perrysburg. Our company consisted of Rodolphus Dickinson, J. C. Spink, Count Collinberry, myself and a countryman, whose name I forget. The voyage was a dismal one to Defiance, through an unsettled wilderness of some sixty miles. Its loneliness was only broken by the intervening Indian settlement at Ottawa village, where we were hailed and cheered lustily by the Tahwa Indians.

as would be a foreign war-ship in the port of New York. From Defiance we descended the Maumee to Perrysburg, where we found all well. In descending the Maumee, we came near running into the rapids, where we should probably have been swamped had we not been hailed from the shore and warned of our danger.

Among the incidents occurring during my Judicial connection with the Second Circuit, was what is commonly called the Toledo war, which was a contest about the northern boundary, dividing the State of Ohio from Michigan. I am not apprised that any history of this contest has been written, and I propose to give a succinct account of it.

In the ordinance of cession, by which the State of Virginia ceded to the United States all the territory northwest of the Ohio river, it was stipulated that not less than three nor more than five new States should be organized in the ceded territory. That there should be three new States organized in that portion of the territory lying upon the river Ohio, and lying south of a line drawn east and west through the southern shore of Lake Michigan.

In the subsequent organization of these three States, the principle was clearly recognized that the expression in the Virginia ordinance, "Bounded north by an east and west line drawn through the southern shore of Lake Michigan," was intended, and should be understood to designate a general location of territory, and not to define specifically a State boundary. Accordingly, Ohio claimed that her northern boundary should include all the territory lying north of the Maumee river, and bounded by a line drawn eastwardly from the aforesaid south shore of Lake Michigan, so as to strike the north cape of the Maumee Bay. This line would pass about ten miles north of the Maumee river, at Toledo. This boundary would include a triangle on the north line of the State, ten miles wide at the mouth of the Maumee, and graduated to a point at the north-west corner of the State. Ohio generally exercised jurisdiction without dispute over this territory until the question of the Wabash and Erie Canal location and organizing the State of Michigan was agitated, when Michigan set up claim to extend her boundary south to the due east line from the south shore of Lake Michigan.

This line would cross the Maumee above its mouth and throw the town of Toledo and the country ten miles north into the new State of Michigan.

The construction of the Virginia act of cession claimed by Ohio had been recognized from the first by Congress; for on admitting, in 1816, the State of Indiana into the Union, her northern boundary was fixed sixty miles north of the south shore of Lake Michigan.

And in like manner the boundary of Illinois was fixed thirty miles north of said south shore of Lake Michigan, thus settling by construction the question of northern boundary.

In the year 1835, the county of Lucas was set off from Wood county, including all the territory north of the Maumee, and the Court was required to be holden at Toledo on a certain day. This excited anew the opposition of the Michigan people.

The Territorial Governor had not entered upon his official term, and the duties of his office devolved upon the Secretary, a young man named Mason, said to have scarcely arrived to years of manhood. Some time before this the Ohio authorities had sent out a party of surveyors, to locate the northern boundary from the northwest corner of the State, when Secretary Mason sent a force, who captured most of the party, and they were imprisoned for a long time in the jail at Monroe.

Now, the action of the State, in requiring jurisdiction to be exercised within the territory claimed by Michigan, excited very intensely the belligerent proclivities of the youthful ex-officio Governor. He levied a small army, and on Sunday, the day before that set for holding the Court, he invaded the State, and encamped with a force of one thousand two hundred men in the lower part of the town of Toledo. This ill-advised operation was attended by no particularly serious consequences; for the Michiganders found no one to oppose them, and of course they were barely fighting the wind.

The Lucas County Court met on Monday morning early, made a record of their session, appointed a Clerk and Sheriff, *pro tem*, and adjourned without Governor Mason and his forces being aware of their meeting. In consequence, the Court exercised their jurisdiction without being disturbed, and the gallant Governor Mason marched to Toledo with his one thousand two hundred men, flourished his drums and trumpets and then marched back again. The question was settled upon the admission of Michigan into the Union, when the boundary was established by a line running from the northwest corner of the State of Ohio easterly to the north cape of the Maumee Bay.

Upon the extinguishment of the Indian title, there were several tribes of Indians who continued to occupy their former homes, and retained their title to small reservations of land. Among these Indians was the tribe of Senecas, who held a reserve of ten miles square, on the Sandusky river, a few miles above Fremont. The political relation between these Indians and the United States Government were peculiar. The United States claimed and exercised an ultimate sovereignty over all Indian reserves: and they conceded complete personal independence to the people, and complete municipal jurisdiction to the individual tribes within the bounds of their reservations. Questions requiring decision upon this relation were frequently occurring in the course of my judicial experience. Among others was a case occurring in the Seneca tribe, of peculiar interest.

During the session of the Supreme Court at Fremont, in the year 1822, (I may be mistaken in the year,) some person in Fremont (then Lower Sandusky) instituted a complaint before a Justice of Peace against the head chief of the Senecas for murder, and he was arrested and brought before the Justice, accompanied by a number of the principal men of his tribe. The incidents upon which this proceeding was founded are very interesting as illustrating the Indian life and character. With this head chief (who, among the Americans passed by the appellation of Coonstick) I was somewhat acquainted. He was a noble specimen of a man, a fine form, dignified in manner, and evincing much good sense in conversation and conduct. Some two years before this time, in prospect of his tribe removing to the west of the Mississippi, Coonstick had traveled to the West, and had been absent a year and a half in making his explorations. The chief had a brother who was a very bad Indian, and during the absence of the chief, had made much disturbance among the tribe; and among other crimes, he was charged with intriguing with a medicine woman and inducing her to administer drugs to an Indian to whom he was inimical, which caused his death. When the chief returned home, he held a council of his head men, to try his bad brother; and upon full investigation, he was condemned to be executed. The performance of that sad act devolved upon the head chief—and Coonstick was required to execute his brother. The time fixed for the execution was the next morning. Accordingly, on the next morning, Coonstick, accompanied by several of his head men, went to the shanty where the criminal lived. He was sitting on a

bench before his shanty. The party hailed him, and he approached them, and wrapping his blanket over his head, dropped on his knees before the executing party. Immediately Coonstick, raising his tomahawk, buried it in the brains of the criminal, who instantly expired. These facts being presented to the Supreme Court, they decided that the execution of the criminal was an act completely within the jurisdiction of the chief, and that Coonstick was justified in the execution of a judicial sentence, of which he was the proper person to carry into effect. The case was dismissed and Coonstick discharged.

At the session of the General Assembly, in 1838-39, an act was passed creating the Thirteenth Judicial Circuit. This Circuit embraced ten counties; but out of the territory then existing, three counties, namely: Defiance, Auglaize, and Fulton, have since been erected. The following counties embraced the Circuit as then established, namely: Lucas, Wood, Henry, Williams, Paulding, Putnam, Van Wert, Allen, Hardin, and Hancock. This territory, at the time, formed part of three Circuits—Allen, Putnam, and Van Wert belonging to the Dayton Circuit, presided over by Hon. Wm. L. Hellenstein; Hardin, belonging to the Columbus Circuit, presided over by Hon. Joseph R. Swan, and Lucas, Wood, Henry, Williams, Paulding, and Allen, belonging to the Marion Circuit, presided over by Hon. Ozias Bowen.

Under the act creating this Circuit, Emery D. Potter was elected in February, 1839, Presiding Judge of the Circuit, and held the office until the winter of 1844, when he resigned, and took the seat in Congress, to which he had been elected in October, the year preceding. He was succeeded on the bench by Hon. Myron H. Tilden, who continued in office about eighteen months, when he also resigned.

On the 19th of February, 1845, the Sixteenth Judicial Circuit, embracing the counties of Shelby, Mercer, Allen, Hardin, Hancock, Putnam, Paulding, Van Wert, and Williams, was erected, and Patrick G. Goode, of Sidney, elected Presiding Judge. A law of the 10th of March, 1845, attached the then newly erected county of Defiance to this Circuit.

The same legislative session reorganized the Thirteenth Judicial Circuit, and made it consist of the counties of Henry, Wood, Lucas, Ottawa, Sandusky, Huron, and Erie, and elected as Presiding Judge, Ebenezer B. Saddler, of Sandusky City.

The several Judges who served in sub-divisions, embracing other counties in the Valley, are here appended :

COMMON PLEAS JUDGES UNDER THE CONSTITUTION OF 1851.

In District No. 3, sub-division 1, composed of the counties of Shelby, Auglaize, Allen, Hardin, Logan, Union, and Madison, Benj. F. Metcalf was elected in October, 1851, and William Lawrence in 1856. This district and sub-division was changed by a legislative act so as to embrace only the counties of Logan, Union, Hardin, Marion, and Shelby, and Judge Lawrence was re-elected in 1861, and resigned in 1864, (having been chosen to a seat in Congress,) and Jacob S. Conklin was appointed his successor, in October, 1864. At the election of the year following, Judge Conklin was elected to fill the unexpired term of Judge Lawrence, and re-elected in 1866 for the full term. An act of the Legislature passed in 1868, transferred the county of Marion to another sub-division, and to the sub-division so changed, Philander B. Cole was elected in October, 1871.

In District No. 3, sub-division 2, composed originally of the counties of Mercer, Van Wert, Putnam, Paulding, Defiance, Williams, Henry, and Fulton, John M. Palmer was elected in October, 1851, and Alexander S. Latty in October, 1856. The sub-division was changed by an act passed April 8th, 1858, and at the October election of that year, Benjamin F. Metcalf was elected an additional Judge for the sub-division composed of the counties of Auglaize, Allen, Mercer, Van Wert, and Putnam. Judge Metcalf was elected in October, 1863, and died in February, 1865. O. W. Rose was appointed March 6th, 1865, to fill, temporarily, the vacancy occasioned by the death of Judge Metcalf. James Mackenzie, at the October election of 1865, was chosen to fill the remainder of the unexpired term of Judge Metcalf, and in 1868, was re-elected. In March, 1869, an additional Judge was authorized in this sub-division, and Edwin M. Phelps was elected April 17th, 1869.

In District 4, sub-division 1, composed of the counties of Lucas, Ottawa, Sandusky, Erie, and Huron, Lucius B. Otis was elected in 1851. An additional Judge being authorized by law, John Fitch, in 1854, was elected, and re-elected in 1859, and again in 1864. S. F. Taylor was elected in 1856, and re-elected in 1861. Samuel T. Worcester was elected in 1858, and resigned, and in 1861, John L. Green was elected to fill the vacancy. Walter F. Stone was elected in 1866, and re-elected in 1871; and, (an additional Judge being



Very truly
Ernest D. Potter

authorized,) Charles E. Pennewell was elected in 1869. At the same election, William A. Collins was also elected as the successor to Judge Fitch. An act passed March 10th, 1871, authorizing an additional Judge, Joshua R. Seney was elected.

In the sub-division composed of the counties of Wood, Seneca, Hancock, Wyandot, and Crawford, Lawrence W. Hall was elected in 1851, and M. C. Whitely in 1856, and re-elected in 1861, in the sub-division then consisting of the counties of Wood, Hancock, and Putnam. George E. Seney, under an act passed April 8th, 1856, was elected an additional Judge for the first mentioned sub-division, in October, 1856; Chester R. Mott, December 12th, 1866; James Pillars, April 18th, 1868, and Abner M. Jackson, in October, 1871.

In the sub-division composed of the counties of Paulding, Defiance, Williams, Fulton, Henry, and Wood, Alexander S. Latty was elected in 1856, re-elected in 1861, and again in 1866. Under the act of 1868, the county of Wood was transferred to another sub-division, and Judge Latty, in 1871, was again elected to the sub-division composed of the counties of Paulding, Defiance, Williams, Fulton, and Henry.

THE OLD BAR MEMBERS.

The effort is now made to present the names and dates of commencement of professional business, of the early members of the Lucas county bar, and they are given, as near as possible to obtain them, in chronological order.

Emery D. Potter, whose Judicial service has already been mentioned was the first who opened a law office in Toledo. He is the last of his early professional cotemporaries, and is yet a citizen of Toledo, in full possession of his intellectual and physical powers, but only practices law when it is impossible to avoid it. His home, and an occasional indulgence in the sports of the forests, fields, neighboring bays and river, are his chief source of enjoyment. Having been a prominent actor in many of the important issues that divided the old political parties, some extracts from the February (1850) number of the *Democratic Review* are appended, which will afford a general view of the estimate placed by the leading organ of his party upon his services and position by a generation now passed away:

"Few men have risen to eminence and distinction in our Republic, whose lives more faithfully portray the proneness of all things

in our great West, to press on rapidly in the safe line of progress, than does that of Emery D. Potter, who represents the Fifth District of Ohio, in the Thirty-first Congress of the United States. He was born in Providence county, Rhode Island, the son of Abraham Potter, a farmer in limited circumstances, of that State, which has furnished so many eminent statesmen, lawyers and merchants, to aid the giant strides of our country to its present condition. At two years of age, Mr. P. was taken by his parents to Otsego county, New York, then well nigh a wilderness; and there he remained until after having completed his academical education; and being prepared to enter college, circumstances interfered which compelled him to commence the study of the law without achieving collegiate honors. He was entered in the office of Hon. Jno. A. Dix and Abner Cook, Jr., at Cooperstown, with whom he diligently pursued his studies until he was admitted to practice in the Supreme Court of the State; after which he pursued his profession at that point for two years, with much success for one of his age and experience. Finding that field already occupied by men of more mature age and well established reputations, he soon came to the conclusion that the region was "too old" to afford him the opportunity for which he longed. So, in the fall of 1835, he emigrated to Toledo, in Lucas county, Ohio, his present residence, where he immediately recommenced the practice of the law, and soon rose to distinction, earning a high reputation as a forensic orator, and for the extent and soundness of his legal attainments. His success at the bar having indicated him as the proper person on whom to bestow the office of Presiding Judge of the Thirteenth Judicial Circuit, he was accordingly elected, without solicitation, to that post of responsibility and honor, in February, 1839. The region embraced in his Circuit (then composing ten large counties, from the territory of which several have since been erected) was the last settled part of the State—the northwest—an eighth of the whole vast territory of Ohio. In the discharge of the duties of this office, he was compelled for five years to travel these counties on horse-back, swimming creeks when the waters were high, and at times laying out in the woods, when that might be necessary to enable him to meet his official engagements. Indeed, as in all new countries, the history of his Judicial career was marked with hair-breadth escapes from perils which, though lightly regarded in the Western country, would not be encountered by professional gentlemen of older communities, for many times the meagre compensation usually accorded to Judges in the great Northwest. In the discharge of these duties, Mr. P., of course, became extensively acquainted with the people of the Circuit, upon whose regard he so won, that in the fall of 1843, he was nominated and elected to Congress by a handsome majority; the District having been previously represented by a Whig, which party had always been victorious there, by from five to six hundred majority. On taking his seat in Congress, though

declining to make long speeches of a party character, his excellent sense, quickness of apprehension, good temper, and general knowledge of all the great issues between the parties at that era, soon caused him to be regarded as one of the leaders of the Democracy upon the floor, on all delicate and difficult occasions. . . . The records of that Congress are replete with the history of the effect of his mind and character upon his fellow members. Mr. Potter was placed upon the select committee to consider and report upon the best method for carrying out the will of the philanthropist, Amihson, and after a thorough examination of the subject he joined Mr. Adams in his famous report, which in fact formed the foundation of all the subsequent legislation of Congress, enacted with the view to render this noble charity available for the purpose designed—to diffuse knowledge among men."

In the fall of 1847, Judge Potter, without solicitation, and against his wishes, was elected to a seat in the Ohio House of Representatives. The session to which he was chosen, was regarded as one of unusual importance, and it appeared to be the settled aim of both parties, throughout the State, to secure the nomination and election of their ablest men. It was under the dictation of this policy that Judge Potter was called by his party to occupy a seat in the Representatives Hall of the General Assembly. The *Review* enumerates and analyzes the character of the leading measures of the session, and justly observes that Judge Potter, by common consent, was placed in the lead as the champion of the Democratic side of the House, and maintained this position very satisfactorily to his political friends, though not so satisfactorily to his opponents. The *Review* also regards it worthy of note that, from his entrance into the Legislature to the close of his service therein not a single question was put to the House, upon which he failed to vote. It is questionable whether the same may be said of any other gentleman who has ever served as a Legislator in any State of the Union. The *Review* thus closes its sketch:

"In the following August (1848), without the slightest solicitation on his part, he was a second time nominated for Congress. Indeed, he was a member of the County Convention to select delegates to that body, and excited himself therein to secure the selection of gentlemen known to favor the nomination of another.

"On taking his seat in Washington, in the contest over the selection of a presiding officer for the Thirty-first Congress, he received seventy-eight votes for that distinguished position in many of the sixty-two trials occurring before a choice was effected though he had previously served but a single term in the House, and that

many years before. In the selection of the committees, he was honored with the Chairmanship of the Committee on Post Offices and Post Roads, one of the most important committees of the House. His choice for the position, under the circumstances, conveyed a high compliment to his talents and attainments, and a grateful acknowledgment of the value of his previous public services."

Hon. Hezekiah D. Mason was in Toledo during 1835; but, although a well educated lawyer, he did not engage in practice. Caleb F. Abbott opened an office in the winter of 1835-36; and Richard Cook, during the spring of the same year, commenced practice, forming a law partnership, during the summer, with Geo. B. Way—the last named gentleman having been here previously, but not engaged in his profession.

During a portion of the year 1836, Tappan Wright, son of the late John C. Wright, of Cincinnati, was engaged in the practice of law in Toledo. It was also during this year that John Fitch commenced his professional career.

In 1837, Daniel O. Morton, John R. Osborn, and Myron H. Tilden—the two last named from Norwalk—opened law offices. Mr. Morton, under the administration of President Pierce, was appointed United States Attorney for the District of Ohio. He was also one of the commissioners who formed the first code of civil procedure under the present constitution of the State. He established a high reputation as a lawyer, and died in 1862. Wm. Baker (having formerly practiced in Norwalk) removed to Toledo in November, 1844, and opened an office, and in 1847, the law firm of Tilden & Baker was formed. Judge Tilden removed to Cincinnati, in 1850, and is in active practice in that city.

On the first Monday of December, 1837, Mr. Osborn was elected Clerk of the Ohio Senate, and with Cooper K. Watson, of Tiffin, as assistant, discharged the whole duties of the office, with the exception of a slight additional force employed during the last three weeks of the session. In 1839, he returned to Norwalk, and remained until 1853—representing his district in the State Senate at the session commencing December, 1844. In 1853, he was invited to take charge of the law department of the then projected Wabash Railroad, which position he yet holds, his supervision being limited to the Ohio interests of the company.

Among the early lawyers who were students in Toledo, and admitted to the bar, were Thomas Dunlap, Daniel McBain, Charles

M. Dorr, Charles W. Hill, Hiram Walbridge, James M. Whitney, Charles E. Perigo, Lewis McL. Lambert, Jerome Myers, and Wm. H. Hall. Some of these attained distinction in law practice, and one—General Hiram Walbridge—removed to New York City, was elected to Congress, and became prominent as a politician.

At Maumee City, at an early period, were David Higgins, John M. May, Nathan Rathburn, Henry C. Stowell, Horace F. Waite, Samuel M. Young, Henry S. Commager, Morrison R. Waite, and Daniel F. Cook. Mr. Commager was successful as a lawyer—was conspicuous as a politician, and possessed the confidence of his friends, and the respect of his opponents—and during the late civil conflict, made an honorable record, and at the close of the war held the rank of Brigadier General. He died at Galveston, Texas, August 14th, 1867. Mr. Waite in November, 1871, received the appointment as Counsellor for the American members of the Anglo-American Commission, which met at Geneva—a distinction which conferred as much honor upon the administration that made the appointment, as it did upon himself.

In the list of lawyers of the olden time, who, occasionally, as they were retained in cases, and others regularly attending the terms, were Joseph R. Swan, Edward Wade, Orris Parrish, Joshua R. Giddings, Noah H. Swayne, Benjamin F. Wade, Chas. Sweetser, and others of equal note. In looking over the Lucas County Court Docket for the terms held in 1836 and 1837, one finds the interests of parties in the hands of Giddings & Osborn, May & Young, J. Stetson, Glasgow & Way, Wheeler & Morton, Stone & Brown, Swayne & Brown, Reed & Hosmer, (Perrysburg lawyers—Henry Reed and Hezekiah L. Hosmer,) Perkins & Osborn, C. L. Boalt, E. E. Evans, Purdy & Morton, G. W. Stanley, Samuel B. Campbell, E. Allen, Wing & Noble; and in 1839, E. S. Hamlin, W. P. Berry, Hitchcock & Wilder, Evans Darling & Lownsbury, and John Wilson. And coming down to 1844, which is about the date at which this sketch should be terminated, we discover in charge of cases, the names of Stowell & Commager, J. R. Hopkins, B. W. Rouse, Allen & Stetson, McKay Scott, A. & J. M. Coffinberry, W. M. Scott, and Lathrop, Morton & Whitney.

At Perrysburg, the county seat of Wood county, which then embraced more than the present area of both Wood and Lucas counties, appeared John C. Spink, and Henry Bennett—the former in 1831, the latter in 1833. Thomas W. Powell, who had been a

practicing lawyer, and resident of Perrysburg since 1820, removed to Delaware, where he now resides. Henry Bennett formed a law partnership with Samuel B. Campbell, the firm name being Bennett & Campbell. In 1843, after ten years' residence in Perrysburg, Mr. Bennett removed to Toledo, and at once became one of the law firm of Tilden, Hill & Bennett. After the election of Mr. Tilden as Judge of the Thirteenth Judicial Circuit, Messrs. Hill & Bennett continued their association until 1850. During that year they separated in business, and Mr. Bennett formed a law partnership with A. C. Harris, a brother-in-law of ex-President Fillmore. The firm was dissolved in 1852, by reason of Mr. Bennett's declining health, which made it necessary that he abandon his profession; and since that time, with physical powers well recuperated, he devotes his time to the insurance business. General Hill continues in practice with his son, Avery S. Hill. Henry S. Commager had removed from Maumee City to Toledo, and spent several years in practice with R. C. Lemmon.

Thus it has been attempted to sketch, with as slight reference to the fair record of the living who continue in active practice, as it was possible to do, the old bench and bar of the lower portion of the Maumee Valley. Although conspicuous in the struggles of a generation that may be regarded as past, the remnant of the old band evince no signs of failing energies. Some one in the future will take up the record where this leaves it at a distance of about thirty years, and will bring it forward to later times. None of the old class occupy places on the bench; but the survivors, who continue in the profession, maintain a front rank among their brethren throughout the State, and have substantial reason for self-gratulation in contemplating the honorable record they are making up.

In numbers, the veteran lawyer corps now constitute only a small body beside their more recently-established competitors for forensic renown; but they are generally well-preserved, albeit some of them, retaining an inflexible hold upon those habits of severe toil which were formed in earlier days, when, perhaps, very close application was a necessity, (but a necessity no longer with most of them,) are gradually receiving upon their features and frames the impress which nature stamps upon those who are so determined in their preference to "*wear out*, rather than to *rust out*," [For a list

of some of the lawyers in the Maumee Valley engaged in practice in 1872, see appendix marked "A."]

DELAWARE, Ohio, November 30th, 1871.

H. S. KNAPP, Esq. :

Dear Sir :—Your kind letter of the 9th instant, was duly received while I was quite busily engaged, and was therefore compelled for the present to delay answering, but did not intend so long a delay, which I hope you will excuse.

I first went to Wood county and attended its second court in the fall of 1820; and soon afterward settled at Perrysburg, where I remained until December, 1830.

In 1868, at the request of W. V. Way, Esq., of Perrysburg, I wrote an account of my recollections of the Maumee Valley, which was published in the Perrysburg *Weekly Journal*, March 13th and 20th, 1868; and reprinted in the *Defiance Democrat*, May 2d, 1868. In both of these there were some typographical errors; but of the two, the *Defiance* paper was the freest of them. Unaccountably they got the name of Mr. Small instead of Levell, as our landlord at *Defiance*. I hope you may be able to procure a copy of the *Defiance* paper; and if I can give you any further information, I shall be happy to do so.

I cannot now recollect whether our first court at *Defiance* was in the summer of 1824 or 1825, but believe it was the latter. At that time, besides Judge Lane, the presiding Judge of the court, that court was attended by Eleutheros Cooke, of Sandusky City; Rodolphus Dickinson, of Lower Sandusky, (now Fremont); Mr. Gage and myself, from Perrysburg; Charles and William G. Ewing, from Fort Wayne, and one or two from Dayton. I can not recollect all. There must have been eight or nine lawyers attending that court.

J. C. Spink came to Perrysburg a few weeks before I left there, and took my office. Count Coffinberry attended the court at Perrysburg for a few years before I left there, but did not remove there until a few years afterward; and subsequently he settled at Findlay.

Yours truly,

THOS. W. POWELL.

REMINISCENCES OF HON. THOMAS W. POWELL.

DELAWARE, Ohio, February 9th, 1867.

W. V. WAY, Esq. :

Dear Sir :—I am in the receipt of your very kind letter of invitation, on the behalf of the Pioneer Society of the Maumee Valley, to be with you at your meeting on the 22d instant; and if not able to attend, to communicate. I find it impossible to be there personally, as I should be extremely happy to be with you: I have, there-

fore, prepared the following hasty sketch of my reminiscence of the Maumee Valley while I resided there, which you will please present to the Society with my best respects :

I have a cherished memory of the Maumee Valley, and fondly retain a warm recollection of the inhabitants I found and left there; who, from their general intelligence, and high moral character, were fully entitled to it. No better or more deserving people were ever found in a new country.

At the close of the war of 1812, the attention of the public was more directed towards the Maumee, on the account of its promising future importance, in the estimation of all intelligent persons, than to any other new country. That war had expelled all the former inhabitants and rendered the country entirely desolate. But on return of peace, settlers began to repossess the valley, and form settlements at prominent points—as the Foot of the Rapids, Roche de Boeuf, Prairie Denasque and Defiance.

I came from Utica, in New York, in 1819, to Ohio, and while waiting for my admission to the bar, I spent my quarantine, (as it is called,) of about eighteen months, at Canton, in Stark county. While there, I looked around for some prominent point that put forth promise of natural advantages, where I could settle and grow up with the place, as it was then frequently expressed to me.

I then, in my imagination, would draw a line from the Foot of the Rapids to the northwest, and another to the southwest; and to that point I concluded the commerce of the country, to the West at some future time, (not far distant,) must converge. I was admitted at the Supreme Court at Wooster, in September, 1820, and went immediately to the Maumee. On seeing the beauty of the valley, with my exalted confidence in its future destiny, I became an enthusiast in hope, and determined to make it my future home. From Wooster I traveled on horse-back, by the way of the place where Ashland now is, New Haven, Lower Sandusky, to the Maumee. The country through which I passed was very new—with here and there a settlement. From Lower Sandusky to the Maumee, it was an entire wilderness, and known as the Black Swamp, through which there was no road except a mere trail through the woods. I arrived at Perrysburg in the afternoon of a fine day, about the middle of September, and upon arriving on the high bank near Fort Meigs, I was most favorably struck with the magnificent scenery and beauty of the valley. Along the rapids, the intervals from hill to hill were originally prairies, and even these were mostly covered with the finest fields of corn. At that time there was not a single house upon any of the in-lots in Perrysburg—there were a few on some of the out-lots. The Front street had just been cut open and cleared from the wood and brush. I crossed the river at a ford at the foot of the rapids, and came to the town of Maumee, where I made my home for some time, at a public house kept by Mr. Peter G. Oliver, a brother of Major William Oliver, a gallant

young officer who had distinguished himself by important and meritorious services rendered under General Harrison at the siege of Fort Meigs.

Upon arriving at Maumee, I found there a considerable village, with two good taverns, two or three stores, and other objects and appliances necessary for the convenience, comfort and business of such a place. But above all, it was gratifying to me to find there quite a number of intelligent and well informed people, and the society of the place far above that usually found in a new country. Among the men that I then found there, who, on account of their character and intelligence, became my friends, were Dr. H. Conant, Almon Gibbs, Esq., General John E. Hunt, Judge Robert A. Forsythe, Judge Ambrose Rice, John Hollister, and two or three of his brothers. These and others constituted a society there, which would be acceptable any where, and who, on account of their intelligence and enterprise, would be prominent citizens in any place. Settled along the river in various places from Swan Creek to Roche de Boeuf, were found persons who were entitled to our notice, amongst whom were the Keelers, the Hubbells, the Hulls, the Spaffords, the Wilkinsons, the Prays, the Pratts, and the Nearings—all distinguished for their intelligence, enterprise and industry. Finding there was so acceptable society, and commendable population, and being charmed with the beauty of the valley, I soon determined to make it my future home, and to which determination I adhered against every obstacle for ten years.

Previous to the war of 1812, the foot of the rapids had been settled by a considerable population engaged in agriculture and in the extensive Indian trade, that the natural advantages of the place afforded. But soon after the commencement of the war, upon the defeat of Hull at Detroit, these first settlers of the Maumee, were all driven off by the British and Indians—their homes burnt down, and their habitations rendered desolate. Soon after the restoration of peace, inhabitants began to return, and settlements were formed. In 1817, the General Government sold the lands in lots within the "twelve miles square at the foot of the rapids," and then permanent settlements were formed, and the improvements made that I found when I arrived there. The interesting events connected with the earliest known history of the valley—the taking possession of the country by the British, at the close of the Revolutionary War, and the building of their fort just below the foot of the rapids—at what subsequently became Fort Miami—the events of 1794, and the battle of General Wayne's campaign—the defence of the country by General Harrison, the defeat and massacre of Colonel Dudley's men, and the siege of Fort Meigs, as well as the treaty held by Generals Cass and McArthur in 1817, are all events highly interesting in the history of the country, and render the valley of the Maumee the classic ground of Northern Ohio. But all these transpired before I came to the country, and I do not further intend to

allude to them. The county of Wood was organized in the spring of 1820, and at that time included the whole valley. In May of that year, the first Court of Common Pleas was held at the town of Maumee, by Hon. George Tod, of Trumbull county, whose circuit as presiding judge, included all Northern Ohio, (the Reserve and the New Purchase,) and who continued to hold courts there for several years. The Clerk was Thomas R. McKnight, Esq., from Wooster, Ohio, and who was continued in that office until his death in 1832. The Prosecuting Attorney was J. C. McCurdy, Esq., a young lawyer who was transiently there, and who I never saw.

In October, soon after my arrival at Maumee, was held the second term of the Court of Common Pleas, at which Judge Tod presided, Mr. McKnight was the Clerk, and I was appointed the Prosecuting Attorney—an office I held during the whole ten years I resided there. There were at this term several cases tried, both civil and criminal, of considerable interest and some importance. The Court was then attended by several able lawyers from various parts of the country. Eleutherus Cooke, Esq., from Huron county—then a brilliant and eloquent lawyer; Ebenezer Lane, an able lawyer and finished scholar—a graduate of Harvard; W. Dogherty, Esq., of Columbus; Jonathan Edwards Chaplin, Esq., of Urbana, a good lawyer and scholar, and on his mother's side a descendant of Jonathan Edwards, and a near relative of the celebrated Aaron Burr; Charles I. Lanman, from Michigan, a brilliant and accomplished gentleman whose father was then Senator in Congress from Connecticut. These distinguished men, as well as a few others, gave the court an interest and standing which the court of Wood county always retained. When that court was over, the whole of us—bench and bar—made an excursion up the rapids to Roche de Boeuf, and we were all delighted with the beauty of the country and its future promise.

Upon the close of the war of 1812, the foot of the rapids became an important point in the commercial business of the country. In the spring of the succeeding year, large quantities of the produce of the western part of Ohio and Northeastern Indiana was brought down the river in flat-boats and transferred to the shipping of the lake. The Indian trade was large. The quantity of furs and peltries collected here by the Indian traders, and that of the sugar made by the Indians from the sap of the sugar maple, and put up by them in cases made of bark, each weighing sixty or eighty pounds, and called "mocoeks"—these and other like objects of trade and commerce, made up a considerable business. The fisheries of the river also constituted a large item in the then business of the place. The quantity of corn even then raised on the Maumee, was very large, and was exported in large quantities to Detroit and other parts of the upper lakes—this was so much the case that it was called "coming to Egypt for corn." These objects, and other minor subjects of commerce and traffic, rendered the business of the place far larger than that which would be indicated

by the population of the place, and the amount of the lake shipping that came up there to meet this commercial demand was quite considerable. The connection of transient persons with these transactions in the various departments, made the business of the place assume a variety and character far superior to what the permanent inhabitants would afford or require. This gave to the law business of the place a variety and interest it could not otherwise attain. It induced a large number of lawyers to attend the courts there, during the time I made the valley my residence. Among those who thus attended in subsequent years, (besides those whom I have already mentioned,) were Judge Parish, of Columbus; G. W. Ewing, of Fort Wayne; Lanman, Lawrence, and Noble, of the River Raisin; Dickinson and Latimore, from Sandusky and Huron counties, and occasionally others, which rendered the bar of Wood county, at court times, large, able and interesting.

Soon after I came to the Maumee, a lawyer by the name of Roby came and settled there with his family. He commenced his practice in Albany, New York, and afterwards settled for a while in Southern Ohio. He attended our courts a few terms, when he took the bilious fever of the country and died. About the same time, James Lee Gage, Esq., and Cyrus Lee Gage, Esq., two young lawyers, came and settled in Maumee. They remained and practiced there some years, and then removed to other places. With J. L. Gage, I was longer and better acquainted. He was a man of talent and intelligence, but tinctured with considerable eccentricity. He afterwards settled at McConnellsville, Ohio, where he became distinguished as an able lawyer, and as the husband of Mrs. Fanny D. Gage, distinguished for some literary productions, for her woman's rights advocacy, and for considerable eccentricity.

During the time I was there, the law business of the valley furnished the courts of Wood county a number of quite interesting cases. Among them, also, were a few of the more important criminal cases of homicide, burglary and the like, in which a number of the accused were convicted and sent to the penitentiary.

In the spring of 1826 there transpired at Perrysburg a case of more than ordinary interest and excitement. Elijah Huntington, Esq., of Perrysburg, had about that time been collecting his money with a view to be prepared to purchase some lands on the river that were soon to be resold by the United States, and which had become forfeited for non-payment by the former purchasers. Huntington had in his house some four hundred dollars, which he kept by him, waiting the sale of these lands. Early one morning, Mr. H. came to my house greatly excited, with a club in his hands, saying that in the night previous some persons had entered his house, broken open his drawers, taken his money, and left in the room that club. Mr. H. thought himself ruined; for at that time four hundred dollars, with a view to the approaching sales, was an important sum of money. But who had committed the crime could not be even

guessed at. It for a while baffled all conjecture, and became quite a mystery. A week or two previous, a pocket-book and a small amount of money had been missed from the house of Chas. O'Neil, of Perrysburg, and suspicions after a while began to be placed upon one Stockwell and his wife, who had not long before settled there. The citizens of Perrysburg became greatly excited upon the subject of this robbery; and for a time it seemed to elude all endeavors to detect the perpetrators. Suspicions having been placed upon Stockwell and his wife in regard to the O'Neil affair (though as yet there was no evidence against them), public attention was directed immediately to Stockwell as a person who might be in some way connected with the robbery of Mr. Huntington. The club that was found in Huntington's house, after the burglary, was for a while handed around as a curiosity. When tired of its exhibition, Mrs. H. threw it upon the fire for the purpose of making a final disposition of it. Just then, as luck would have it, Judge Ambrose Rice, an old citizen of Maumee, a remarkably shrewd man and close observer, came into the house and immediately snatched the club from the fire, with the observation that it should be preserved, as it might yet be evidence against the perpetrators of the act. The club was a hickory stick, considerably reduced at one end by long chips taken from it with a knife. Judge Rice thought that possibly the chips might be somewhere found and identified with the club, so as to implicate some one with the burglary. Strenuous investigations were made for some days without any result. At length a number of the citizens of Perrysburg determined to make a search of Stockwell's house, and take him and his wife, for a while at least, into custody. For this purpose they went in the night time, when they would be sure to find them at home, took possession of the house, and them into custody, and made diligent search of the house without finding any evidence against them. Stockwell and wife asserted entire ignorance of the whole matter in question. The next morning Judge Rice went to the house with the club, and examined to see if some of the chips taken from the club could not be found there. After some diligent search he found some fresh chips scattered under the floor of the house. These chips upon examination would correspond exactly with the marks of the club, so completely that there could be no question of their identity. This was a crushing answer to Stockwell's assertion of his innocence in the matter. But as yet no further evidence was discovered against them. But becoming alarmed in consequence of the identity of the chips found at his house with the club, and finding that his associates had played a trick upon him in keeping him ignorant of the amount of money that had been taken, and applying the whole of it to their own use, he became indignant towards them, and determined to disclose the whole. For this purpose he sent for me as the prosecuting attorney, and disclosed to me the whole transaction as far as he knew it. He told me that he and his wife had the O'Neil money,

and informed me where I could find it; but as to the Huntington money, he knew nothing beyond eight or ten dollars of it. He said that a night or two before Huntington's house was robbed, two men by the name of Keiser, old cronies of his in crime, came to his house and inquired of them if there were not some plunder to be had in Perrysburg. Stockwell informed them that his wife had discovered that Mr. Huntington had a quantity of money on hand in his house. This they soon formed a resolution to take. They kept secreted at his house a day or two making observations and planning how to take the money. On the night that the money was taken, they all three rallied forth and went to Huntington's house, found them all asleep, and one of the Keisers made his way into the house and soon returned, saying he had got Huntington's pocket-book, but he feared it was a "water-haul." The club he had taken into the house with him, he had accidentally left there, which gave them some concern, and some time debated upon the subject of returning for it. They did not however, and proceeded to Stockwell's house to examine the pocket-book and divide the spoils. Keiser presented the pocket-book as all that he had taken. Upon examination it was found that it contained only fifteen or twenty dollars, and the Keisers gave Stockwell eight or ten dollars as his share of it. Stockwell was dissatisfied, and suspected fraud; and so questioned Keiser about it. Keiser declared upon his "honor" that that was all he had taken—it was, he said, only a water-haul; and proposed to Stockwell that he might search him. Stockwell was silenced by the brass and impudence of the Keisers, who immediately left Perrysburg; and no one except Stockwell and wife knew anything of their having been there, or within a hundred miles.

Now, if the club had not been saved by Judge Rice and identified with the chips found in Stockwell's house, and was likely to throw upon him the guilt of the whole transaction, and the conviction on his part that the Keisers had perpetrated upon him what he considered to be a dishonorable and knavish trick, in secreting from him almost the whole of the spoils they had taken, it is not probable that this most wicked transaction could have been ferreted out. But the ways of Providence are mysterious and the ways of the wicked are hard, and in the best laid schemes of the criminal is found the train of circumstances that leads to his inevitable detection. Stockwell, smarting under the conviction that an infamous trick had been played off on him, finding by sad experience that there was no "honor amongst thieves," and finding that the evidence against him was likely to make him a victim of the knaves who had appropriated, by means of a dishonorable trick, the whole spoils to their own use, was now ready to make a frank and open disclosure of the whole transactions as far as he knew them. He informed us that the Keisers were to be found in a strip of woods on the north cape of Maumee Bay. A committee of the citizens was immediately dispatched for them, and within a few days the Keisers

were in custody of the committee in Perrysburg. They held out for some time before they could be induced to disclose where the money was. But after being put through a pretty severe course of discipline, they, in the course of about a week, revealed where the money was to be found. It was buried at the foot of a tree on the north cape of the bay. Two women, the mother of the Keisers, and the wife of one of them, who were then at Perrysburg, were to show where the money was to be found. These women, Mr. Huntington, myself, and a few men to man a boat, went down there to receive the money. When we arrived at the cape, we found a most desolate place—a mere sand bar with a few trees and shrubbery, where we found a miserable log house—the home of the Keisers. The women took us to the tree where the money was buried. After a little search, it was found; and principally in paper money, which had laid there some ten days, it had become so very damp, that it was very near being worthless. Through the means of these various proceedings, Mr. Huntington recovered nearly all of his lost money. Stockwell and the Keisers remained in jail several months after that, waiting their trial. But just before court they broke jail and made their escape to Canada.

But in my recollections of the Maumee, I ought not, and cannot forget the courts and their doings. While I was there, the Court of Common Pleas was organized with a president and three associates. The court, as I have already remarked, was, during the whole time I was there, presided over by Judges Tod and Lane. There were frequent changes amongst the associates, and their number became quite large. Their names will appear in the history of the times, and therefore I will not occupy time in repeating them. But I must say for them, that, after seeing Associate Judges in many and various parts of the State, I have seen no where a body of men, more competent or intelligent than the Associate Judges of Wood county. I would be glad to particularize and commend a number of them; but that would be invidious.

Mr. Gage, a few years since, published in the newspaper of Perrysburg, an interesting account of one case as his "first case." It was an action brought by Gage (under the necessities of circumstances) to replevy some nursery trees. But it has been perversely misrepresented by some of our members of the bar, as a standing joke against Mr. Gage, that he had brought the action to replevy an orchard.

Another case has attained some celebrity in the reports of Judge Wright, who never missed an opportunity of perpetrating a joke, or publishing an obscenity. The case is that of *Laking vs. Gunn*. Laking had been a merchant at Waterville, and some of his good neighbors thought he was a little too gallant, and they wished to bring him a little down in his gallantry and his estimation of himself. They therefore confederated for that purpose, and procured a girl to tell Laking that she had something important to communicate

to him, and would that night meet him at a certain place, and inform him what it was. When poor Laking, as the victim of the conspiracy, had arrived at the place agreed upon, the conspirators had a parcel of boys there secreted, who arose around him, firing guns, blowing horns, etc., creating great noise, and falsely pretending that they had caught Laking there in some unlawful act. Laking claimed that all this was done maliciously, to injure his good name and fame, and ruin him as a merchant. He was anxious to bring a suit, and counseled Judge Parish and myself. Upon the urgent solicitations of our client, we agreed to bring the suit—Judge Parish saying that if I could draw the declaration, we would go it. I promised to draw it; though in the further prosecution of the case, Judge P. was unaccountably found on the other side of the case. I drew up the declaration, never dreaming that it was afterwards to be put into print. But there it is, and I rejoice to say that it is a good one. I submit to any lawyer who has intellect enough to know what a declaration should be, whether it is not a triumph. But Judge Wright was determined that the case should not have a trial upon its merits, and therefore upon demurrer dismissed the case, by imagining that the declaration contained much more, and a far different case from what it did. Judge Wright was an old cock of great worldly experience. He could not keep his imagination from surrounding the case with the result that his experience would throw into it; and which my want of such experience and *naivete* never permitted me to imagine to be in the case, and what certainly was not in the declaration. The case served Judge Wright's purpose—to show off his wit and perpetrate a joke at the expense of the law; but certainly was violating every principle of law in relation to pleading and demurrer.

The most interesting case that transpired in the valley while I was there, was the trial and conviction of Porter for murder. Isaac Richardson, the man whom Porter had killed, had been for many years a citizen of the valley. About the year 1817, he and a Mr. Thompson had purchased a lot of land containing Roche de Boeuf. They had commenced to build mills at those rapids, and progressed at one time, so far as to get the mills in operation. But continued quarrels and difficulties existed between these two men, so that the one of them would one day tear down and destroy what the other had built up the day before. So that Roche de Boeuf, instead of becoming a prosperous mill locality, as it should have been, became the scene of endless strife and litigation. Without saying anything about Thompson—Richardson was in every sense of the word a bad man. He was a tall man, with a well-proportioned figure, flaxen hair and corresponding features; and it was then remarked that he would make a good model for an ancient Anglo Saxon. If a bad man was needed for such a model, certainly they could scarcely obtain a better one.

Porter had labored for Richardson at the mills, as a carpenter

and laborer, and had considerable claims for such labor, while Richardson could not be induced to pay, or do anything, except to taunt Porter that he could not collect his claims. This taunt, without denying in any manner the justice of the claim, he would cast up to Porter in the most aggravating manner. At last Porter became indignant and irritated beyond the power of his endurance. One evening after dark, while Richardson was sitting in his hall with his family and others around him, Porter came unexpectedly and immediately shot him dead in his chair. Porter went off announcing that it was he. Great excitement was produced over the whole river, and much search was made to find Porter. After a day or two Porter returned—gave himself up, avowing that he did the act to avenge his wrongs. He was incarcerated, and in due time brought to trial in the Supreme Court for the county. That court was held by Judge Peter Hitchcock and Judge Henry Brush. I was the Prosecuting Attorney, and Mr. Higgins (afterward Judge) was appointed to defend Porter. Porter did not desire to make any defence, became religiously convicted, and very penitent. It was with difficulty that his friends could persuade him to go into a trial, with the hope of procuring his acquittal on the grounds of his insanity. But when the defence commenced, that ground was urged with energy and ability. Mr. Higgins urged every circumstance to the jury to prove his insanity and want of discretion. He called the attention of the jury to the fact, that by law he had the right to make his choice to be tried in the Court of Common Pleas instead of the Supreme Court, which would delay his trial and put it off until some time late in the fall. Judge Hitchcock noticed the turn that this argument might take; and never missing an opportunity of perpetrating his wit and jokes, called out: "What, what, Mr. Higgins, do you contend that it is evidence of the man's insanity, that he chooses to be tried by us?"

In opposition to this claim of insanity, I put the grounds of prosecution upon the theory adopted by Lord Erskine in Hadfield's case: That every person is responsible for his acts whenever he acts upon actual facts and real circumstances. That all that Porter claimed as motives for his acts—the injuries and insults received from Richardson—were all founded upon actual facts and real circumstances. There was no delusion or unreal facts about his case. Whatever acts he committed, or whatever motives actuated him, they were like all the rational acts of the rest of mankind, founded upon real facts and actual circumstances. The court adopted this view of the case, and Porter was convicted. In about a month afterward, in pursuance of the judgment of the court, he was executed by being hung, in the ravine at the east end of Fort Meigs. Thus terminated a tragedy in which the law triumphed, where the sympathies of the people of Wood county were far more with Porter than with Richardson.

About 1825, Judge Lane succeeded Judge Tod as Judge of the

Common Pleas, and about the same time the courts were organized at Defiance for Williams county, then including all the north-western part of the State west of Wood county. Judge Lane's circuit of the Common Pleas then included the whole of the Northwestern part of the State—including the counties of Huron, Richland, Delaware, and Union, being fully one-fourth of the State. He was very punctual in attending the courts of Perrysburg and Defiance, and Gage and myself always accompanied him; and they were frequently attended by other lawyers from other parts of the country. Those excursions from Perrysburg to Defiance, in attending the courts there, were enjoyed with rare pleasure and attended with considerable excitement. We usually made the trip on horse-back, but frequently when the river was in a high stage of water, we would procure a canoe at Defiance and make our way back by water. We frequently took two days to make the trip, and then would make Prairie Damasque our half-way stopping place over night, at the house of Judge Vance, a brother of Governor Vance, of Ohio; a welcome and desirable resting place; and which was made thrice interesting and acceptable by his good French lady for a wife, whose accomplishments, especially as a house-keeper, made his home and hospitality most acceptable.

At that time, Defiance consisted only of a few houses, such as would be found at a new town of the smaller dimensions; a warehouse on the bank of the river afforded a court house, and the house of Mr. Lovell afforded us a hotel. Yet the term there was attended with interest and pleasure. Frequently the cases tried were of a highly interesting character creating considerable excitement. Many lawyers were frequently congregated there from various parts of Ohio, sometimes Judge Ewing and a Mr. Cooper, from Fort Wayne. At those times our social meetings were often animated and highly interesting. Judge Lane, so distinguished for his learning and intelligence, and who afterward became one of the ablest of the distinguished Judges of the Supreme Court of Ohio, and forms a brilliant figure in its judicial history, would be our leader in learning, science and literature; Gage, in anecdotes, jokes and eccentricities; and all would contribute, what in any country or society, would render the gathering marked and highly interesting. Nor was the journey void of many interesting incidents. Among which is that of Gage getting a man at Prairie Damasque so far entangled in the meshes of the law, as to secure him under the promise of professional assistance, to engage to take us up to Defiance in a canoe, by water. Our horses were left at the Prairie, and we were relieved by a voyage instead of a ride. When we arrived at Defiance, Gage made a new engagement with his client, that, in case he would clear him from his legal restraints, he would take us all back again to the Prairie at the end of the term. Gage soon procured a writ of habeas corpus, upon which his client was released; and as compensation for which, we were taken back by water, and

Gage had a long standing credit, of killing two birds with one stone—engaging the man to take us up, by getting him into difficulty, and then to take us back again, by getting him out.

In return from court at Defiance, in the spring of the year (I think it was 1827), Gage and myself came down the river in a canoe. The river was extremely high at that time, and we made our way down rapidly and pleasantly until we were below Roche de Boeuf. So far we had passed the dangers of the rapids without difficulty; but when we were near the island, opposite Waterville, a person on the south shore, near to which we were keeping and intended to keep, called out to us, as though he intended to give us some important instructions, which we took to be, to “keep close to the island,” but it possibly may have been as we intended to do, to keep close to the shore. The river was high, and the rolling surges of the water on the rapids just below the island, was truly terrific. It was much more like the frightful waves of the ocean in a boisterous storm, than anything else it could be compared to. In accordance with what we took to be the directions of the stranger, we turned our canoe towards the island, and along the shore of which we passed forward without difficulty. But immediately upon leaving the foot of the island, we found ourselves, in a frail canoe, in the midst of the frightful waves and breakers of the rapids, and by them tossed so that it seemed impossible for us to live a moment. I turned my sight towards Gage, and beheld the most frightened face I ever saw upon man; and perhaps mine was no better. We immediately made for the shore again, and our perils were soon over. It was indeed a very providential escape from the most imminent danger. I have seen many perils, but I look upon that moment as the most critical of my whole life.

One of the most interesting characters of the persons who were figuring on the Maumee in those early days, was that of a person, then and since well known as Major Stickney. This person had been appointed by Mr. Jefferson as Indian Agent, and as such had long resided in the Western country—first at Upper Sandusky, and then at Fort Wayne. About the time I came to the Maumee, he was residing at the mouth of Swan Creek, on the immediate banks of the river, at a place then known as Port Lawrence. He was a man of some intelligence, and assumed to be a scholar and philosopher. His wife was a highly respectable lady—every way amiable, and a daughter of the celebrated General Stark, of the Revolution. But Mrs. Stickney’s accomplishments did not prevent him from resorting to all kinds of eccentricities. A part of this was to be as much as possible, like no body else. This he carried out in the naming of his children. Not after any names found in either Christian or profane history; but the boys were to represent the numerals, and the girls the States—as far as their numbers would go. The boys, therefore, were named One, and Two, etc., and though he condescended to name his eldest daughter, from respect

to Mrs. Stickney, Mary, the rest of his daughters were named after the States—Indiana, Michigan etc. This eccentricity produced some of the most ridiculous anecdotes: amongst which is the following: Soon after the family moved to Port Lawrence, and living in a house put up at the landing of the mouth of Swan Creek, Mrs. S. one morning came to the piazza in front of the house, where a vessel laid at anchor, and called to her sons, and said, "Two call One to breakfast." A sailor aboard the vessel looked up and said: "Is this Maumee? It is a terrible hard country, if it takes two to call one to breakfast."

In the spring of 1821, Major Stickney was a ruling spirit at Swan Creek. There was then a thriving settlement in the neighborhood, amongst which was a Mr. Wilson, the custom house officer of the port, Major Keeler, living on his farm, and others whose names I have forgotten, besides a number of French, Indian traders and immigrants—Yankees and foreigners. Up to this time Swan Creek had been without a question within the jurisdiction of Ohio. Writs had been issued from Maumee, in Wood county to them, as witnesses, jurors and suitors, and they until then, had answered as such without a question as to jurisdiction. But other views had entered into Major Stickney's policy and philosophy. He called a public meeting of the citizens; and to them when thus assembled, he represented, that the citizens of the incipient city had very seriously mistaken their interest as to the question—where the true northern line of the State of Ohio was. He did not care as to what the constitution of the State of Ohio said on the subject—the true line was the one run due east from the southern extremity of Lake Michigan; which run considerably south of Port Lawrence, and would leave them in the Territory of Michigan, instead of the State of Ohio, and therefore they were Wolverines instead of Buck-eyes. That it was greatly their interest to be so. That while they were citizens of the Territory they would be cherished and protected under the auspices and guardianship of the United States; while in Ohio, they could not expect anything except to be taxed. He said he was well acquainted with General Cass, the Governor of Michigan, and would go to him, and get a commission of a Justice of the Peace for Michigan for that place, in case the citizens there would sustain him. The motion carried—the secession was complete. Major S. procured his commission and was exercising the jurisdiction of a Justice of the Peace of Michigan over the seceded territory. Soon after these things had matured, General J. E. Hunt, of Maumee, had some official business to transact at Port Lawrence, as an officer of Wood county. The citizens there threw every obstacle in his way to prevent the discharge of his duties, and to convince him that they had really seceded. General H. returned with just complaint of the conduct of the citizens there. A meeting of the Commissioners of the county was called, at which I acted as advisory member, as Prosecuting Attorney. The question

was, what shall be done with the seceding rebels—shall they be prosecuted and hung? Perhaps so, if justice were done them. But mild and discreet measures and counsels were adopted. It was considered that Congress and the State of Ohio would in due time settle the question, and in the meantime it was neither discreet nor prudent to get up a war which could be avoided. This policy prevailed, and they were let “alone in their glory.”

In the meantime a very serious and interesting question arose in the affairs of the Maumee Valley. Under the authority of the State of Ohio, a survey had been made for a canal along the valley, and the great question was where that canal should terminate. Judge Gaddis, of New York, who had been employed as Civil Engineer for Ohio, had reconnoitered the valley and determined that the canal should terminate at the foot of the rapids—that a dam with a sloop lock should be placed on Knagg's bar, just below Maumee City and Perrysburg, and the river from there down, to be improved for ship navigation. When this matter was so ascertained, Major Stickney called another meeting of the citizens of Swan Creek, and to them he now represented that they had committed a great error in seceding from Ohio, and going over to Michigan; that while they belonged to Michigan, they could not expect that the State of Ohio would construct the canal to Swan Creek. They must go back to Ohio. They must secede from Michigan and go back to Ohio again. They must undo their former secession and rebellion, or they could not expect to secure the canal. Thereupon all sorts of resolutions were adopted, to the effect, that they were, and of right should be a part and parcel of the State of Ohio; that Ohio was a great and glorious State, and that they would maintain their position, if necessary, at the point of the bayonet.

These measures succeeded in arousing Michigan to a demonstration of war. Militia soldiers were sent from Detroit by land and water to Swan Creek, to whip the rebels into subjection to their legitimate authority. They came, in war arrayed, and took possession of the territory where the proud City of Toledo now stands, made the citizens succumb to the power and jurisdiction of Michigan. They returned back to Detroit in the most jubilant triumph, drinking all sorts of toasts to the glory of Michigan and to anathematize Major Stickney in Ohio, one of which was, “Here is to Major Stickney's potatoes and onions—we draft their tops and their bottoms volunteer.”

This was all to the wishes of the Major, and in accordance with his policy. He went immediately to Columbus, to represent to the Governor and people of Ohio, the intolerable barbarity of the Wolverines, and how they had desecrated the just authority of Ohio, and trampled under foot the loyal citizens of the State. The State was aroused by these means to a proper sense of her dignity and injuries. War was declared, and troops raised in every part of the State. Regiment after regiment were marched to the disputed territory on

the Maumee. Some fighting was done, and little blood spilt, but the transaction will be remembered as the Michigan War of 1835. In the meantime, however, Congress interfered by sending Peace Commissioners to the distracted country, and by making the disputed territory a part of the State of Ohio. This settled the question of jurisdiction, and the excitement produced by the war enabled Major Stickney to get the canal not only to Toledo, but even to Manhattan, five miles beyond where they wanted it, or had any use for it. Never, in either ancient or modern history, has there been an instance of secession and rebellion so successful, and no one is so entitled to be the hero of one of them, as Major Stickney of this.

I have thus sketched a number of incidents in my reminiscences of the times I was a citizen of the Valley of the Maumee.

And now it may be inquired by some one, how it was that I came to leave the country, after a residence there of ten years, and having so admired the country and so hopeful of its future? I never changed my opinion of the country in either of these respects; but after battling for its prosperity so long, I became convinced that the time for its prosperity, that I so firmly anticipated, would not come in time to answer my purpose. But in this, after all, I may have committed an error of judgment. From various causes the valley did not progress and improve, from 1825 to 1835, as was anticipated by almost all its friends. None changed their opinion of its ultimate destiny—it was only a question of time; and in that I had been mistaken.

From 1820 to 1830, a vast new country was thrown open by the United States to emigration. Throughout the whole West, there were numerous enticing places, holding forth their future promises to emigrants, besides the Maumee. During that time thousands of emigrants passed through the Maumee Valley to Indiana, Michigan, and other parts of the West; and it seemed as though they purposely avoided this valley. The principal cause of this, was then well known—the unhealthiness of the country. Since then such a change has come over the healthiness of the country, that no one who resided there during that time that I made it my residence, could believe that it would become so far improved as it is at the present time. During the forepart of my residence there, the amount of sickness arising from bilious complaints in the shape of ague and fevers—intermittent and remittent of the most virulent type, was often frightful. This sickness would commence in September and October, and last until some time in the cold weather of the coming winter. Those who have been in the country some years would become acclimated, and would be exempt from the effect of the sickly season. But during the time I was there, the stranger who remained there would be as certain to be taken down in the course of the sickly season as that he remained. I have known whole families who came there in the spring of the

year to be in the fall every one of them taken down, so that there would not be enough well persons to take care of those who were sick. Yet, by Christmas and New Year, all this would be entirely forgotten, and all would become jubilant and joyful. The old citizens who had been there before the war of 1812, declared that before the war, the country was healthy, and did not at all suffer from bilious complaints. Without stopping to speculate upon the question, how it came that the country was so much healthier before the war, and has so greatly improved in point of health since 1835, I will only say that the character of the country for health from 1820 to 1835, was the great cause of the delay in the rapid improvement of the country, which, with the wet character of the lands in the country back from the river, caused a delay in the settlement and improvement of the country, and brought it almost to a standstill from 1825 to 1835. In the fall of 1830, I became utterly discouraged, and so disappointed in my expectations, which were that the country would grow up as Toledo has since, that I came to the reluctant determination to leave the country. I left there in November, 1830, after a most determined struggle of ten years for the interest and prosperity of the valley. A few weeks before Jno. C. Spink, Esq., came there as a resident lawyer, and occupied my place and office: whose memory still lives fresh in the recollection of the present inhabitants of the country, and over whose decease, they are ready, I doubt not, to bestow a sympathetic tear to his many generous qualities and virtues.

I must now close, with the warmest and kindest feelings of respect for those old citizens of the valley with whom I was so long identified in the struggle for the welfare and prosperity of the country, and to them I bid an affectionate farewell.

THOMAS W. POWELL.

COUNT COFFINBERRY.

Conspicuous among the old time lawyers of the Maumee Valley, and beloved by his professional brethren, and by all with whom he came in contact, was the good Count Coffinberry.

He obtained his *sobriquet* by reason of his genteel address, and uniformly nice apparel. In these personal matters, Judge Potter was also, in those days, fastidious, and during his judicial service, accompanied often by roystering members of the bar, and tossed about for lodgings in miscellaneous places, he would permit no one to share his room and bed except the Count.

When traversing the circuit, the journeys always being on horseback, the Count carried in his portmanteau, or saddle-bags a con-

siderable wardrobe. It was during a heated term of the summer solstice, when the roads were supposed to have been exhausted of water and mud, that Judge Potter, Judge Higgins, Mr. Collinberry, John C. Spink, James G. Haley, and some others, left Deliance for Kalida, to attend the opening of the Common Pleas Court. The good Count had decked himself in his best—bearing no evil in the form of rain or of water or mud; but somehow, before the party traversed those thirty-two miles, his apparel, so faultless on starting out, was in a condition when he reached Kalida to exhibit him as the most sorry specimen of the whole party—the mud-marks upon his linen being more conspicuous than those upon the coarser garments of his travelling companions, and giving his clothing the general appearance of the unchangeable spots of the leopard. He was in ill-humor with himself, by reason of his poor outward appearance, when he entered the village; but the contents of his portmanteau enabled him to appear next morning, as usual, "nice as a pin."

One who, during the life-time of Mr. Collinberry, was a junior member of the bar, but since relieved of his office, in his profession, contributes the following:

Andrew Collinberry, Esq. was born at Martinsburg, Berkeley county, Virginia, August 20th, 1788, where his grandparents had settled in 1759, having emigrated from Wurttemberg and Scarsburg. He removed with his father, George Collinberry or Colandro, (as his German neighbors called him), to Ohio county, Virginia, in 1794, and from there to Chillicothe, Ohio, in 1801, thence to Lancaster, Ohio, in 1807. At this place he left his father and shipped for two years in the naval service, and served his time in the *Banbridge* and *Hull*, then rejoined his father, who had removed to Mansfield, Ohio, in the fall of 1808, or spring of 1809. The remainder was his father during the war of 1812-15, living sometimes in a log cabin, and at others, when the settlement was attacked by hostile Indians, in one of the two block-houses erected upon the public's part of the village. At the close of the war he read law with John M. May, Esq. at Mansfield, where he continued to reside until he removed to Perysburg, in 1836. For some years before leaving Mansfield, he regularly attended the sessions of the Common Pleas and Supreme Courts in all or nearly all the counties of northwestern Ohio, beginning with the organization of those of these counties, and continuing down to a few years before his death, which transpired at Findlay, Ohio, May 12, 1856.

We are not able to state definitely at what time he first began to attend the Courts of Wood and Lucas counties, but he was a counsel to Governor Lucas at the border controversy between the State of Ohio and Territory of Michigan, and accompanied Governor Lucas

in his military expedition to the frontier, for the purpose of vindicating by the *wager of battle*, the title of the State of Ohio to the harbor of Toledo, in the spring of 1835.

There are but few of his cotemporaries left to bear testimony to his ability as a lawyer and his worth as a man.

But when it is understood that for almost half a century he was associated in the practice of his profession with men of the character and caliber of Thomas Ewing, Charles H. Sherman, William and Henry Stanberry, Willis Silliman, Ebenezer Lane, Josiah Scott, Orris Parish, T. W. Bartley, Jacob Parker, and Hosmer and Henry B. Curtis; and in the later years of his life with Richard Cook, Geo. B. Way, John C. Spink, Thomas W. Powell, Henry S. Commager, D. O. Morton, M. H. Tilden, M. R. Waite, and many others scarcely less distinguished lawyers of the Maumee Valley; and that he was beloved and honored by them without an exception, it is almost superfluous for us to say that he was not only an excellent lawyer, an honest, honorable man, but a great hearted, genial gentleman as well.

His boyhood was passed so entirely upon the extreme verge of Western civilization, and so surrounded with the perils of Indian warfare and the vicissitudes of pioneer life, as to deprive him of the advantages of early culture. He informed us that he had attended school for but three months of his life, but by his own unaided efforts he acquired a good English education, made considerable proficiency in the study of the French and German languages, and became a well read and thoroughly intelligent man. He was indifferent to the acquisition of wealth, fearless and out spoken in the expression of his convictions on all subjects, never united with a church, and never became a member of any association, order or society of any kind. He was without malice, and there was no taint of bitterness or ill-nature in his composition, but he could not tolerate pedantry, hypocrisy or humbug of any kind. He was faithful to all his engagements, zealous and efficient in the cause of his client. If he ever had a hobby, it was his passion for the study and investigation of geological science. His habits were always good, his life was simple and pure, but amongst all his compeers no one enjoyed convivial occasions more than he, whilst his quaint wit and pleasant temper contributed largely to the enjoyment of others. Many good stories are told of him. Having one night attended the wedding party of his friends John M. May and Miss Eliza Wolf, his 4 years old boy appeared at his bedside at day break the next morning, and called him to account for keeping late hours the night before. He was told that his father and mother had been out until after midnight helping May catch a *Wolf*. The urchin took to his trotters and made a straight shirt-tail, (having no other garment on) for May's lodging, where he promptly appeared shouting, "Mr May, I want to see your *Wolf*." May replied "here she is, 'Gunner,' come and see her." The urchin scrambled upon the bed and was fairly caught by "Mr. May's *Wolf*."

Being pitted against Judge Higgins, at Kalida, in the defence of a slander suit, the Judge who was a venerable looking man, with a pale face and hair as white as snow, closed his speech by reading with solemn voice and reverent air, several verses from the Bible condemnatory of the tongue of the slanderer, &c. Apprehensive that it was getting to be a solemn occasion for his client, the Count slowly rose to his feet, adjusted his spectacles, elevated his nose to an angle of about 45 degrees and in a most clerical tone addressed himself to the Court and said: "*Your Honors, shall we sit?*" The Judges struggled till they were black in the face to comport themselves with becoming dignity; but it would not do; judges, jurors, lawyers and spectators were convulsed with laughter, but the Count looked as solemn as a funeral, while Judge Higgins' unfortunate client was being literally laughed out of Court.

The Count and his son James were upon one occasion opposed to each other in a trial before the Wood County Common Pleas, of a suit brought to recover damages for deceit practiced in the sale of a horse. A young gentleman of about his own age had given very damaging evidence to the younger Coffinberry's case, and for the purpose of belittling the witness, and having the jury understand that he was but an inexperienced boy, James on cross examination continually addressed him as "George," which the Count thought unbecoming in his son, and disrespectful to his intelligent witness. Finally James said: "George, won't you tell the Court and jury what state of flesh that horse was in?" Whereupon the Count leaned over the table towards his son, and whispered just loud enough to be heard by everybody in the court room: "Jeems," that creetur was probably in a state of horse flesh." "*Jeems*" subsided.

The writer of the foregoing, although possessing better opportunities than any one living for a knowledge of the character of the Count, is mistaken on one point. He *did* belong to a secret society, and on one occasion, as High Priest of the "sublime order" of the Thousand and One, during a Court term at Findlay, was master of the imposing ceremonies attending the initiation of the late Ben. Metcalf and "the subscriber," then both residents of Kalida, into the mysteries of that wonderful organization. It was an impressive scene, and one which the surviving witnesses will not forget, while memory holds its seat.

General Hill, of Toledo, relates the following anecdote of the Count:

The dignity and grace of the Count, in addressing a Court or jury, were conspicuous, and even his attitude was very marked. In the year 1840 he was the Whig candidate for the State Senate, and Colonel William Sawyer, then a resident of Miamisburg, Montgom-

ery county, was the Democratic candidate for Congress against Patrick G. Goode. It was during the famous "hard-cider and log cabin" campaign, and party spirit ran high. Colonel Sawyer, having been advertised to address a meeting at Maumee City, the friends of Mr. Coffinberry challenged Sawyer to engage in a joint discussion to be held at Perrysburg. Colonel Sawyer promptly accepted the challenge. The odds were unequal, as the Count, although a lawyer of acknowledged power, possessed none of the elements which form the successful politician: while Sawyer was an old campaigner, and thoroughly posted on public measures and party issues, and on all the arts and devices of the politician. Under the arrangement, Sawyer made the opening speech. He charged upon the leaders of the Whig party that they were aristocrats, controlling the banking and moneyed interests of the country, and that their professed sympathy with the real dwellers in log cabins was a sham and a fraud. The wire-pullers of the Whig party, he said, occupied the palaces of the land, and were arrayed in purple and fine linen. [And here he gave a significant glance at the Count himself, designed to convey the intimation that *he* was "one of 'em."]

"As to myself," continued Sawyer, "I was born in a log cabin, and I yet reside in a log cabin. My blacksmith shop, where, when at home, my circumstances compel me to severe toil about twelve hours out of the twenty-four, is a log cabin. My associations, sympathies and hopes have ever been, and now are, identified with the pioneers of the country, and the occupants of log cabins. Can my highly aristocratic friend who is to follow me in this discussion, and who resides in a lordly mansion almost within sight of this audience, say this for himself?"

Slightly embarrassed and vexed, the Count rose, struck his characteristic "attitude," and commenced by deprecating the personal allusions in which his friend, Colonel Sawyer, had thought proper to indulge. To get even with his opponent, he tossed his head back to a point that looked towards the zenith, and exclaimed, with great emphasis: "Yes, gentlemen, if there is any merit in having been *b-^o-n* in a log cabin, I, too, Mr. Chairman, and ladies, and fellow-citizens, was born in a log cabin—in *the first instance!*" The latter part of the sentence being one that he was accustomed to use in his opening addresses before courts and juries. This incident virtually closed the political controversy between Mr. Coffinberry and Colonel Sawyer, and, for that campaign, at least, virtually placed the former upon the retired list.

A scene that in our day would be considered rare in a court room, but one that, in the time it occurred, was a characteristic episode, happened at the fall term of the Court of Common Pleas held in Napoleon, in 1839, the first year of Potter's judicial service. The Court at this time occupied the second floor over the kitchen and dining room of the tavern kept by General Leonard. This was a

story-and-a-half log house, covering about 16 by 25 feet of ground. The Court were seated upon a platform slightly elevated, at the end of the room opposite the narrow door-way and stair case; and to the right of the Court sat the jury, a rough-looking, but honest body of men, as fully alive to the responsibilities of their oaths, as any twelve men who could probably now be selected to discharge the same duties in Henry county.

The jury occupied a single row of puncheon seats, so placed that they could rest their shoulders against the log walls of the building—something after the custom adopted for a class of boys and girls in an old time spelling school.

The case on trial was an old one—not as musty, probably, as the chancery suit described by Dickens, "*Jarndyce vs. Jarndyce*;" yet it had much odor of antiquity. It was familiarly known to the old *habitués* of the court sessions, and particularly to the clerk who wrote the docket, as "*Morehead vs. Rohn*;" and a suit that originated in a claim of plaintiff for a pig, which he valued at two and a half dollars. As near as can be ascertained, the claim was commenced before a Justice of the Peace some time during the first quarter of the present century; and Judge Potter found this case upon his calendar when he held his first Court at Napoleon. As regards both parties to the controversy, it will be inferred, all reflections upon the disputed title to the swine aside, that the litigation in its inception and progress, developed in both adversaries qualities savoring in an eminent degree of pig-headedness. At this term, all expedients for further delays and postponements having been exhausted, and the uncompromising belligerents having each expended nearly their substance—the "bottom dollar" of both being then visible to the naked eye—there was reason to believe that the conflict would be brought to a final close. Defendant's counsel was an old and able Attorney, and extremely punctilious on points of judicial decorum, (having himself occupied the bench,) and was also possessed of a mercurial and sanguine temperament. The oft-repeated testimony in the case was again rehearsed and closed. The attorney for defendant had labored faithfully for his client, and it now became in order for him to address the jury. It was his habit to wear spectacles not only when he had occasion to refer to and read the law authorities and his manuscript notes, but also during the time occupied in expounding matters to the jury, which he had a peculiar style in adjusting, so arranging them that one of the glasses would cover an eye, while

the other would be turned downward, and rest upon his cheek. Hence he would only "go one eye" on the jury, or on any other given object. It was also his custom to select a single jurymen, and concentrate his look and speech upon him alone. This he was particular to do in the present instance.

But it so happened that at one end of the range of puncheon seats occupied by the jury, and that end the head and most conspicuous, as well as most convenient to the grotesque vision of the attorney, there was a vacant space just large enough to seat another man. A spectator who had become weary of standing upon his feet, discovered this opening, and at a moment when the lawyer had paused in his address, and was engaged in a search for some law authority on the table before him, this "sovereign" quietly took possession of the vacant place. The attorney lifted his countenance from the book, having read his authority; and, not discovering that one had been added to the lawful number of jurymen, resumed his address:

"Gentlemen of the jury," [looking full in the face, through both eyes—one, as usual, naked, and the other clothed with a lens—at the raw recruit, whom he had mistaken for one of the jury, and, judging from his conspicuous position, very likely the foreman]. "Gentlemen of the jury, I want to know what this man," [meaning, of course, the plaintiff,] "has come into Court for? Why is he here? Now, I repeat, gentlemen of the jury, why is he here?"

The self-chosen juror, not doubting that these high-sounding interrogatories were addressed to any other than himself, made haste to utter a tremendous oath, that fairly "roared in the index"—there were some profane, vulgar people in those days, as there are many now—

"I'm around, sir, a witness; have been here these three days, waitin' for my fees, and nary a dime can I git. *That's* what I'm here for! Pay me my witness fees, sir, and I'll git out."

The attorney was shocked, dumbfounded, and very tremendously insulted. An explosion by members of the bar, bench, and others was imminent. The Court put on its most elaborate marble front. The brethren of the bar, among whom were the genial and mirth-loving Count Coffinberry, James G. Haley and John C. Spink, struggled manfully to maintain the proprieties;—broad grins overshadowed some of the countenances of the jury and spectators; while the unconscious offender sat as one suffering from a momentary paralysis. The irate counsel, choking with passion, and losing sight, in

the pangs of his exacerbation, of the wealth of humor involved in the scene, demanded the protection of the Court, and the condign punishment of the offender! This appeal was promptly complied with by Judge Potter, so far as to say to the man:

"My friend, you will please find a situation a little lower down, and leave this space to the jury."

And thus ended this commingled tempest of wrath and merriment, and the attorney, after a while recovering his equanimity, proceeded with his address to the jury.

John C. Spink was one of the most brilliant and genial lawyers in the Maumee valley. Prior to his removal hither, his residence had been in Wooster, of which city his family were pioneers, and held in high esteem. W. V. Way, Esq., of Perrysburg, communicates the following:

"Some time in the fall of 1834, I was at the old court house, on Front street, and Spink was riding past on an Indian pony. I had some business with him, and requested him to stop. He replied that he had an engagement at Sloane's tavern, on the opposite side of the street, and requested that I cross over there, where we would transact our business. I informed Spink that his request was unreasonable owing to the condition of the streets, (at that time there were neither side-walks nor cross-walks), and a sea of mud extended from the court house to Sloane's) and in order to reach there I should be compelled to walk a great distance around. Spink, in a joking way, said that I should get up behind him, on the pony, and ride across. I seconded the joke, and sprang out; my feet, after getting on, reaching to the ground. I had scarcely mounted when the pony commenced kicking, and practicing a lively double-shuffle—plunging out into the depths of the sea of mud and water; but it was too late for me to get off without going to my knees in the mud. Spink headed the pony for the tavern, and the beast persisted in doing just what might have been expected of him, if he had been indulging at the bar, and about leaving the tavern. The farther we progressed, the more frantic became the kicks of the pony, until we got nearly across the street, and where the mire was deepest, when Spink and myself were tossed over the animal's head into a world of trouble. When we straightened up, we found ourselves completely mud-clad. Spink's face was in a condition to destroy identification by his most intimate friend, and even his mouth was filled. My own plight was equally sorry. As soon as he could speak, both of us standing in the mire, facing each other, he stretched himself up as though he were in court, and about to utter the great sentence indicative of triumph in his case, and shouted: "Way, if we *have* been wallowing in the mud like two silly boys, we have the proud satisfaction of knowing that we are the two first lawyers in the county!"—

the point of which consisted in the fact that we were the *only* practicing lawyers in the county at that time."

Mr. Way also relates the following on the authority of Joshua Chappel, who commenced his residence in Perrysburg in 1817:

"In 1819 a man was owing Jacob Wilkinson a debt of about nine dollars, payable in fish at the next fishing season. The season came, and the fish were caught; but the debtor sold them, and pocketed the proceeds. Failing to meet his promise, Wilkinson called upon him, but could attain no other satisfaction than that if he wanted the fish, he must catch them himself. In those days there was great leniency on the part of creditors towards poor debtors who could not pay, although the law imprisoning for debt was then in force. Wilkinson considered this man a fit subject for the extreme rigors of the law, and sued him—took judgment, and got out a *ca sa*—and had the debtor arrested, supposing that he would pay the small amount, rather than go to jail. Wood was then attached to Champaign county for civil purposes, and Urbana, about 150 miles distant, was the county seat, to which point the debtor would have to be taken to comply with the writ. The constable started with the prisoner, furnishing him a horse to ride. They proceeded through the woods, having nothing but an Indian trail to follow, by the way of Fort Findlay. At this time there was not a white inhabitant living between the foot of the rapids and Findlay. When they reached Urbana, the jailor refused to receive the prisoner, without payment of a week's board in advance, as the law provided. The constable, not having anticipated this demand, was not provided with the funds, and returned home with the prisoner in his company. It is said the constable's bill against Wilkinson for services and expenses amounted to a little above \$150."

This case illustrates the disadvantages the early settlers labored under in judicial proceedings; and particularly presents a strong case where a man going to law may have the right on the merits, yet get badly beaten on the execution.

There were several non-resident lawyers who traveled with the Presiding Judge from county to county through the circuit. They were commonly called circuit lawyers. The most prominent were Andrew Coffinberry and James Purdy, both then residents of Mansfield. Spink was the very embodiment of humor, and would turn every incident into fun. He was a genial and happy man in the society of those who could appreciate him. Count Coffinberry was, to all external appearance, as grave as a clergyman: yet he possessed a remarkable degree of humor, and only required some genius to draw his fire, and fun would begin in earnest. And just such a genius was Spink. Both were endowed with rare gifts, and each seemed par-

ticularly formed for the other; yet two beings more unlike are rarely found.

Each term of Court in Wood county was a carnival of fun for the lawyers. The Presiding Judge and circuit lawyers always put up at Spafford's Exchange, where the Judge occupied habitually the best sleeping room in the house, a capacious apartment in the northwest corner, over the bar room, to which the lawyers resorted nightly for a social time. The Count, Spink and Way were the chief actors. Way was not naturally humorous, but the Count and Spink had a way of playing about and making him funny in spite of himself, and the three constituted a capital theatrical stock company, including the orchestra, in which the Count represented the bassoon, Spink the violin, and Way the trombone, while the Judge would act as stage manager. These entertainments were the most brilliant and hilarious during the time that our friend Judge Potter presided over the circuit. The Judge always preserved inviolate his dignity on the bench, but like a popular country school master would play with the boys out of school hours, and joined heartily in the laughs which his rare fund of humor always produced. The Judge sometimes opened the entertainment by singing his favorite song of "Lord Lovel" which was always received with tremendous applause, and the *chorus* frequently responded to by "Rosin the Bow," in which he was immitable.

Major McMillen and Ralph O. Keeler resided in the county at this time. Keeler near the present village of Weston, for whom the Keeler prairie was named, and McMillen about four miles south of Keeler in Milton township, and were about the first settlers in their respective neighborhoods. In those days the inhabitants were so few in the country that a large proportion of the population was necessary to make up the two juries and witnesses; consequently they were very often obliged to come to Perrysburg during the periodical terms of Court, but quite as frequently their love of fun brought them to enjoy the holiday enjoyment of the "*Bar Theatre*." These entertainments were usually limited to the lawyers, but the rare social qualities and wit of Keeler and the Major, secured them a place among the favored few. On one of these occasions, Keeler emphatically declared he had attained the very finale of happiness, and when the Count had concluded one of his happiest renditions of "Jupiter in love with the Mermaid," Major McMillen pitched from his chair, rolled on the floor, kicked up his heels and sang out,

“scripture says ‘woe unto you, lawyers,’ but if this is the way you enjoy life in this world, you can well afford to endure a little scorching in the next.”

Our good host, Jarvis Spafford, was usually a participant in these festivities, when not engaged in preparing hot punches for the performers.

Spink was a successful lawyer. Although not possessing the habit of great industry, he had a keen perception of the winning point in his cases, and seldom failed to make it available, especially in the defence of criminals.

He used to say he was unlike other lawyers, in having become a practitioner without making the usual “maiden speech” *at the bar*, but that he made his maiden speech *before an audience of maidens* in the swamp between Perrysburg and Lower Sandusky under the following circumstances: Soon after he was admitted, but before commencing practice, he was traveling over the Black Swamp road in company with a young clergyman, whose professional pin feathers were of about equal length with his own, and they put up together at a tavern at Sugar Creek, a few miles west of the present town of Fremont.

At that time the road had not been McAdamized and was one of the very worst to travel, but it was, however, used a great deal. Taverns were all small, log buildings and travelers were compelled to put up with whatever accommodations they could find.

It was late when Spink and his companion reached the tavern; supper was over, and the house crowded with moving families, but the landlord, having an eye to profit, assured them of comfortable quarters, which they gladly accepted. During the preparation of supper, the movers were stowed away for sleeping, as well as possible, though there was but one bed in the house unoccupied by the family. This spare bed room being the cleanest, the female movers were assigned the floor on which to make their beds, of their own bedding, while the bed was reserved for the newly arrived professional gentlemen. The room was small, and dimly lighted by a smouldering fire when they were assigned their bed, to which they were compelled to make way through a sea of women. Arriving there, they discovered the faces of the women all turned upon them, and themselves unable to elude their embarrassing gaze. How to proceed was a problem they could not readily solve, as this was their first adventure in a new country, involving undressing in presence of women.

At length the minister calmly pulled off his coat and asked Spink to hold it stretched out in both hands between him and the women, which he did, and the minister quietly got into bed, covered up and left his legal companion to escape from the difficulty as he best might. Spink was sorely perplexed. He could not get the landlord to come and hold the coat for him, as he had already retired. To get in with his pantaloons on was out of the question as they were covered with mud and wet. Had each face been a pointed musket to be discharged the instant he should be divested of his lower garments, he could have been little more terrified. Finally, reflecting that, as a lawyer, he must be compelled to make his living by his wits, he determined to make then and there his "*Maiden Speech*" to the fair occupants of the floor, which he proceeded to do in about the following language: "Ladies, this is my bed, and I am without means of screening myself from your observation. This is my first introduction to new country life. Probably it is yours also, as you appear to be moving. I hope you will not impute to me rudeness, but I will esteem it a great favor if you will duck your heads while I get into bed." Every face disappeared, while he retired unharmed to meditate on his folly in having *awoken* the *stumbling* beauties by his *speech*.

The following sketch of Judge Coffinberry is taken from a work entitled "*Representative Men of Cleveland*."

James M. Coffinberry, son of Andrew, or the good "Comit," is a native of Mansfield, Ohio, having been born in that town in 1818. He studied law with his father, who was then located at Perrysburg, in the western part of the state, and upon his admission to the bar in 1841, opened a law office in connection with his father in Maumee City. He very early obtained the public confidence, being appreciated for his high personal and professional integrity, and giving evidence of fine abilities as a lawyer and advocate, he was elected and served as Prosecuting Attorney for Lucas county for several years. About the year 1845, he removed to Hancock county, and purchased and edited the *Findlay Herald*, a whig paper of that day, and for about ten years practiced his profession with credit and success in the large circuit of Hancock, Allen, Putnam, Van Wert and Wood counties.

"In 1855, he removed to Cleveland, where he entered very readily into a good practice, and for six years confirmed the good reputation which he brought with him, and took high rank at the bar which numbered among its members some of the best lawyers in the State.

"In 1861, he was elected Judge of the Court of Common Pleas, and performed the duties of the office for his full term of five years, with credit to himself and to the eminent satisfaction of the public, and an appreciative bar. The kind and genial traits, characteristic of Judge Coffinberry's mind, and his quiet manners upon the bench made it always agreeable for both lawyers and suitors doing business in his Court. His charges to the jury were always plain, clear and forcible, and in the course of his judicial service, he delivered some very able opinions, verbal and written which elicited the favorable consideration of the profession, and it is understood that no judicial opinion pronounced by him has ever been reversed on review by a higher court. The charge to the jury on the trial of Dr. John W. Hughes, for the murder of Tamzen Parsons, of Bedford, which took place in December, 1865, was acknowledged by the Cleveland bar to be one of the ablest ever delivered from the Cuyahoga bench.

"Judge Coffinberry is remarkable for an apparently intuitive perception of legal truth, which gives to his argument at the bar, and as a lawyer and Judge, to his opinions, a tone of originality. He has a fine appreciation of the learning of the profession, and is regarded as among the best advocates of the Cleveland bar.

"Judge Coffinberry has been successful in almost every undertaking, and has richly deserved it."

[Transcript from the docket of John Amstutz, of Richland Township Allen County.]

State of Ohio) Criminal action of an assault in a menacing manner,
vs.)
 Levi Tope. } June 29, 1867.

This day appeared before me, John Amstutz, a Justice of the Peace of said county, Isaac N. Mark and made oath by an affidavit that Levi Tope assaulted and struck at him in a menacing manner. Therefore, the said Isaac N. Mark was the complainant, and said Levi Tope the defendant. A State warrant was therefore issued forthwith against said Levi Tope, defendant, and the same was delivered by said Isaac N. Mark, complainant, to William Lewis, regular Constable of Richland township, in said county. There was also a subpoena, on request of said complainant, issued for State witnesses against Joseph A. Murray, I. McHenry, Charles E. Wilson, George Burget, John Fenton, Thomas Murray, Ira Townsend, Erastus Thompson and George Ramer. All said witnesses were commanded to appear forthwith, July 1, 1867. The said Levi Tope, defendant, appeared before me, at about half past nine o'clock, and requested me to issue a subpoena against A. W. Rokatch, Ebenezer Russell, Sr., Wm. F. McDermott, Wm. Vance, Peter K. Mummer, Ralph Ewing, Samuel Whissler, John Fenton and Thomas Fenton. Said witnesses

were commanded to appear forthwith, and were intended by the defendant to defend him before the Justice's Court.

Defendant likewise made a motion if I would want another Justice of the Peace assist me, in the proceedings of the action, that matter was therefore accepted by me. I therefore issued a notice to George W. Goble, a J. P. in said township of Rienland.

Complainant gave himself and Erastus Thompson bails on a bond, taken and acknowledged before me for the costs of the action if the State should fail. Past 3 o'clock same day, witnesses appeared. Said George W. Goble, my assistant, also appeared. Wm. Lewis, Constable, made his returns. I therefore made it known before we went into trial, to the complainant, and to all the presence, that I will have said Goble as my assistant, in every respect during the trial, stating the reasons such, that things appear to me to be ticklish, and dubious and critical; that I would only have to bear half of the burdens, if I should go either way. It was therefore accepted by the complainant, and by the defendant, likewise before the presence, that said Goble may be my assistant during the action in every respect.

The trial therefore began by asking Levi Pope, defendant, whether he was guilty or not guilty of the fact charged against him. He therefore pleaded "not guilty." Therefore witnesses on behalf of the State, were duly sworn. Also, I. N. Mark, complainant, was sworn. I. N. Mark, complainant, was the first witness to testify; then George Burget, Charles E. Wilson, and Erastus Thompson. The balance were not called to testify. Then the witnesses for defendant were sworn. John Fenton, Wm. Vance and Peter K. Mummer and another testified. The balance were not called. After the testimony, allegation, examination and re-examination of the witnesses and proceedings on behalf of the State, and for the defendant, of the whole testimony, John Ewing, Esq., attorney of complainant, opened the pleading debate. Charles N. Lamson, Esq., pleaded for defendant, and Isaac N. Mark, complainant, closed the matter.

After that, I, John Amstutz, and George W. Goble, my assistant, stepped off in a separate room, to consider on the matter, to render a judgment according to testimony. After the absence of about half an hour, we concluded that the complainant, like defendant, were alike, in our consideration, offence in fault. The complainant, we found him to be in the offence of provoking defendant; and the defended, we found him to be in the offence of assaulting the complainant. Therefore, our pure judgment would be to discharge defendant, and each of them would have to pay his own costs, or the half of the whole costs, provided, if they are satisfied, and confess on it - that is to say, as the law gave us no power to give that kind of a composing judgment, what we considered to be the purest judgment according to our consideration. We therefore considered that we will offer our pure judgment to the parties. Therefore I offered

the said judgment to the parties, and they would accept it, for the costs matter; but the complainant want that the defendant shall confess that he did wrong, nevertheless the complainant confessed before the whole crowd, that he was sorry towards the defendant. But defendant would not confess, and complainant would not withdraw his motion. Even I offered him to suffer loss of my whole fees. We therefore considered that we will discharge the defendant, and the complainant will have to pay the costs. Therefore, in the name of us both, I discharge the defendant, and complainant shall pay the costs of the whole action, and this was our final judgment, and all what we could do according to law in this case. But I, for my part, will never consider it a pure judgment according to the whole transactions and circumstances between the complainant and defendant, as both parties tresspassed the civil action of reasonable men, and they ought to pay for it alike, as lessons.

This transcript was given to the complainant on his request. His intention is to reverse the judgment of this action; but the transcript itself will show that I was trying to act in a way that might perhaps produce more than this course. As a matter of course, I want to be satisfied as soon as possible before I am required to issue execution; and that by the County Clerk, and under seal. I do not care about my fees. I said once that I would suffer my fees, and I say that yet, if I only can produce peace among my fellow-citizens. I therefore will not charge any fees to the complainant for this transcript; as he has already trouble enough. It shall be free gratis.

Yours very respectfully,

JOHN ARMSTUTZ.

When Judge Hitchcock held his first term of the Supreme Court in Tiffin, Joshua Seney was Clerk of the Court. On the day fixed for the term, and when the Judge was expected, Mr. Keen and Mr. Seney were sitting in the Clerk's office; and the latter, looking out of the window, observed a rough looking person approaching the office, and, taking him for the same one who had been annoying Mr. Keen for the sale of a lot of hay, observed: "Now, as I am a sinner, if there isn't that same villainous old Irishman coming to torment us again about that hay." Soon the offensive person entered; the two occupants of the room continuing their conversation, and neither suggesting a seat to the intruder, but expecting every moment to hear a re-opening from the Irishman of the pestiferous hay business. Mr. Seney became considerably embarrassed when the person approached his desk, and, very politely, but in the bearing and tone of voice of one clothed with authority, inquired: "Is the docket of the Supreme Court in this office? I would like to see it."

Although habited in very similar clothing, and bearing upon his head an almost exact duplicate of the old straw hat worn by the Irishman, the stranger, it was now on closer scrutiny quite clear, was none other than Judge Hitchcock himself.

The late Judge Metcalf would relate the following: Under the ancient regime in good old Virginia, the mother of States and of Lawyers, the fundamental law of that Commonwealth raised the senior justice of the peace of the county to the dignity of Sheriff. An old gentleman, who had passed through the several grades of justice and finally attained to the Sheriffalty, determined to cast his lot across the border, on Ohio soil, and engage in law practice. With this view, and under the impression that by virtue of the official experience above mentioned, he would be competent to discharge the duties of an attorney before any Ohio Court, he confidently demanded admission to the bar in the county he had selected for his residence. He was advised, however, that under the Ohio system, as in Virginia, it would be necessary that he enter his name with a lawyer and pursue a course of studies for a term of years, when he could obtain a certificate from his preceptor, which would form the basis for his application to the Court for admission to the bar. Accordingly he entered his name, but under the unshaken conviction that he possessed a better knowledge of law than the average of Ohio attorneys, he concluded that the only point with him was to put in the time, and that actual study was unnecessary. The two years having expired, he made application to the Court, and soon found himself before a Committee of the bar. A few questions relating to elementary principles of law were proposed to him, to none of which was he enabled to return satisfactory answers. The Virginian, finally, in much perplexity, observed: "I tell you what it is, gentlemen; *I never did* pretend to be much of a Blackston lawyer, but you once take me on the Virginnny statoots, and you'll find me thar." He retired from the disgusting ordeal in high and dignified dudgeon.

In 1857 a new Sheriff was inducted into office in Allen county. He was much inclined to waggery, and plumed himself upon his success in the practical jokes he would get off on his friends. Judge Robb, who habitually takes everything in good humor, and had been in several instances his victim, devised the following retaliatory scheme:

Seeking a conversation with the new officer, he informed him that it was the smallest number of Sheriffs who understood the true form of opening Court. "Now," said Robb, "while our Democrats may not like the English government and people altogether, it must nevertheless be admitted that we are indebted to our British ancestry for the fundamental principles of our admirable system of jurisprudence. The more closely we adhere to their venerated forms, the more imposing and sublime appears the administration of justice." The Sheriff concurred in this view, and the Judge then proceeded to drill the officer as to the true method of opening Court—and having learned to "speak his piece," Judge Metcalf and the bar and spectators were electrified next morning to hear the new Sheriff proclaim, in stentorian voice, in response to the order to open Court:

"Oh yes! oh yes!! oh yes!!! All manner of persons having anything to do with this Court of *nisi prius*, held in this county of Allen, will draw near and give attention. God save the Queen!"

At the April term, in 1847, of the Mercer county Court, a hog case was tried before Judge Patrick G. Goode. The arguments of counsel had been concluded, the charge of the Court had been made, and the case submitted to the jury within a few minutes of the regular dinner hour, and they ordered into their room. The Court then adjourned until after dinner. Within a few minutes one of the jurymen, Cyrenius Elliott, (then a rough-hewn specimen, but withal a young man possessing more than average ability and coolness,) entered the room of the hotel where the Judge was seated. The latter regarded Elliott with much surprise, and excitedly inquired: "What are you doing here? Have the jury agreed?"

"Jury agreed?" hissed Elliott; "you must be a simpleton to ask the question. You must understand, Pat Goode, that I don't believe much in the divine right of Kings, or in the infallibility of Courts, when run by such men as yourself. Your right way was to have let us had our dinners before sending us into the jury-room—knowing, as you must, if you had good sense, that jurors have stomachs and bowels as well as judges and lawyers."

The Judge, in a towering rage, threatened that his first business, immediately after the re-assembling of the Court, would be to visit

upon Elliott the severest penalties of the law; to which the jurymen, with much *sans froid* responded, that it was not necessary for him to wait until after the meeting of the Court to make a more flagrant Muggins of himself than he had already shown himself to be.

Upon re-opening Court, however, the Judge, reflecting that the law was inadequate to punish, as he thought they deserved, the recalcitrant jurors, made the disposition of the case as explained below in the Mercer County *Standard*:

“Abraham Miller, of this place, happened to be one of the famous twelve, and when the Court had re-assembled in the afternoon, the Judge, after censuring those of the jurymen who had appeared in the Court room, for their conduct, and after some hesitation as to what disposition to make of the case, ordered it to be recorded, which closed as follows: *and the jury not being able to agree, dispersed; and the case was continued to the next term.* The next term of court ordered “that the defendant go hence without day,” and so the matter has slept until the last term of Court, when Mr. Miller was ushered into the jury box by the Sheriff, whereupon Mr. LeBlond who was attorney for the defendant in the case in 1847, objected to him on the ground that a man couldn't serve as a jurymen on two cases at the same time. Judge Mackenzie intimated that a man who was unable to make up his mind in *twenty-four years* was hardly competent to sit on a jury; however, he was permitted to remain till the final disposition of the case; but the fact still remains that the jury which went out in 1847, has never returned into court.”

And at this point, in these random notes, as illustrative, in some degree, of the judicial practice in primitive times, we cross the Ohio border into the Indiana portion of the Maumee Valley, and relate the following on the authority of Judge John Morris, now of Fort Wayne—authority that may be accepted as unquestionable:

Arial Walden, a most excellent man, noted for his intense veneration of Henry Clay, was among the first settlers of DeKalb county. His education was limited, but he could read, and had read everything within his reach that in any way related to Clay. To him Clay was in fact the great embodiment, not alone of Whig principles, but of the Constitution and everything valuable in our institutions. Walden had memorized many of Clay's speeches, which had inspired him with a deep reverence for the Constitution. He read and re-read the sacred instrument, and always, as he declared, with increasing interest and devotion. He regarded the expunging resolutions and the

drawing of the black lines across the Senate journal as a wanton and outrageous violation of the Constitution. The pet banks of Jackson and the sub-treasury system of Van Buren, he looked upon as menacing the very existence of our free institutions. If his best and most cherished friend spoke lightly or irreverently of the Constitution, he dropped him at once, regarding him as the enemy of his country, and but little better than Jackson, Calhoun or Benton.

Walden was, nevertheless, a kind-hearted, amiable man, and generally tolerant of the opinions of others. He would listen patiently to any criticism of his views upon religion or any other subject, save that of Clay and the Constitution. Upon these two subjects there was no room for debate. The Constitution was just what Clay said it was; the expunging resolutions, the pet banks, the sub-treasury were clear violations of it. Jackson, Calhoun and Benton and their associates were traitors. His devotion to Clay was looked upon as a sort of infatuation, and did not at all affect his popularity among his neighbors, though they were generally opposed to Clay. Finally, Walden was taken up by the people of the county and elected to the office of Associate Judge. He was an honest and zealous, if not a remarkably intelligent Judge. Lawyers soon found out that with Walden on the bench, the Constitution was the "supreme law of the land," and that he who could appeal to it, was sure to win.

In 1840, there was, among a half dozen causes pending in DeKalb county, a slander suit which attracted unusual interest. The presiding Judge, who was always a lawyer, had gone home: the associate Judges, (two of them,) who were not lawyers, were holding the Court. The slander suit came on for trial. One of the best lawyers of the State appeared as counsel for the plaintiff, and Messrs. Coombs and Colerick, of Fort Wayne, for the defendant.

The plaintiff's case was clearly made out, and the defence, so far as the evidence was concerned, was a complete failure. The counsel for the plaintiff expected a verdict for a reasonable amount of damages at least. But his client was personally unpopular, and, as sometimes happens, especially in a new country, the jury, without regard to the evidence, found for the defendant. All were surprised, and none more so than the defendant and his counsel.

Mr. H——, counsel for the plaintiff, as soon as the verdict was read, moved the court for a new trial. He demonstrated the injus-

tice of the verdict, and somewhat confidently and imperiously demanded that it be set aside at once.

The counsel for the defendant whispered a few words of consultation, when Mr. Coombs, assuming an unusual degree of gravity, arose and addressed the court substantially as follows :

“May it please your Honors: The counsel for the plaintiff is a gentleman of much learning and ability, for whom we have all heretofore entertained the greatest respect. He is familiar with the Constitution, that great palladium of human rights, and to it he owes the right to appear before this Honorable Court. Imagine, therefore, my surprise to find him standing before this tribunal and audaciously demanding that your Honors shall deliberately *violate* the following provision of the Constitution :

“The right of trial by jury shall remain inviolate.”

“To ask this Court to lay its hand ruthlessly upon the verdict of a jury, is to treat with contempt the people, the court, and above all the Constitution itself. I know your Honors understand the Constitution; I know how profoundly you reverence it, and I cannot but hope that you will severely rebuke the imprudent zeal of the counsel, and stop at once the discussion of a proposition which assails our glorious Constitution in its most vital part. I'll not impugn the intelligence and patriotism of this tribunal by a word of argument upon such a proposition. Here the Constitution is safe, and, I trust, supreme. Shall not this jury trial remain inviolate?”

This speech profoundly impressed the Court. There was a moment's silence, and then:

Mr. H.—“May it please your Hon—”

Judge Walden—“Sit down, sir; sit down. The Constitution is the supreme law of the land. It *shall* be maintained.”

Mr. H.—“But—”

J. W.—“Sit down, sir. We will not hear you. True, the jury overlooked or forgot the evidence—I don't care which—but the Constitution plainly says that trial by jury shall remain inviolate. It must and shall be preserved. This trial must be as perpetual as the Constitution. We will not hear you. The Court advise the learned counsel to go home and read Henry Clay on the Constitution.”

The counsel left the room at once, and though a supporter of Henry Clay, just then he would have been glad the statesman had never been born.

Here it may not be out of place to recur to the early members of the old Fort Wayne bar. Those who quitted their jurisdiction, and crossed the border to practice in the northwestern counties of Ohio, have been already named in the reminiscences of Hon. T. W. Powell, of Delaware, Ohio; but more ample testimony regarding the early lawyers of Fort Wayne could be furnished by the veteran member of the Northeastern Indiana bar, David A. Colerick, Esq., who removed from Lancaster, Ohio, to Fort Wayne in 1829, forty-three years ago. The only member of the bar then residing at Fort Wayne was Henry Cooper; and now Mr. Cooper being dead, Mr. Colerick is the only survivor of the bar of that date. Subsequently about 1831, the bar was reinforced by the addition of Thos. W. Ewing, (a man, says Mr. Colerick, of rare intellect and culture, and eminent as a judge and a lawyer.) The next lawyer was Charles Johnson, who opened an office in Fort Wayne in 1834—a gentleman faithful to his clients, and a good lawyer. His death occurred in 1845—resulting from exposure on his return home from a professional tour at Bluffton. Lucien P. Ferry was about this date admitted to the bar at Fort Wayne, having studied with Mr. Cooper. His death was caused by a similar exposure, and occurred on the same night that carried off Mr. Johnson.

These are all the reminiscences, furnished by Mr. Colerick—by reason of the pressure of business, advanced age, and ill health—regarding the “old time” lawyers of Fort Wayne.

One of the early lawyers of Findlay was John H. Morrison, a character well adapted to the people and the times in which he lived. His right arm had returned to its native dust some half century before the main trunk perished. His natural gifts were good, and a noble heart was ever lodged on the left side of his vest. Judge M. C. Whiteley recalls the following of him:

During a term of Court at Findlay, he had a case in which he manifested much interest, and after the evidence had closed he felt that the cause of his client was lost, and opened his address to the Court and jury with the following declaration: “May it please the Court: By the perjury of witnesses, the ignorance of the jury, and the corruption of the Court, I expect to be beaten in this case.” The Judge (Patrick G. Goode) turned to the counsel and inquired:

“What is that you say, Mr. Morrison?” The latter promptly replied: “That’s all I have to say on that point,” and proceeded in his remarks to the stupid jury.

Judge Whiteley also recalls the following remarkable replevin case:

A husband and wife whose domestic wrangles had led to a separation, were the parents of a single child, the exclusive possession of which was sought by both husband and wife. The mother, however, had maintained her charge of it. The father applied to Morrison for counsel, and was advised to get out a writ of replevin! The proceedings had reached the point when it became necessary for the Sheriff to summon two persons to appraise the “property.” These first could not fix a value upon the child; when they were dismissed and yet others summoned, with the same result; and while a third effort to establish a value was pending, a brother of the mother seized the child, and placing it before him on his horse, pushed the animal forward upon his highest rate of speed, and soon was at a distance that would render successful pursuit impossible.

“There!” exclaimed Morrison, “there goes my case! I could replevin the devil out of hell, if I could only get appraisers to put a value upon him.”

During the judicial service of Judge Goode, three new associates, by reason of death, resignation, and expiration of term of office, appeared upon the bench. They were men of very fixed notions of morality, but all strangers to Mr. Morrison. In those days tavern licenses were granted by the Court to applicants whose moral character and general fitness to keep a public house, were endorsed by two responsible witnesses. A man in ill repute made application to the Court for license, and procured two witnesses, boon companions of himself, to testify to the virtuous character of the applicant. The Court considered the proposition, and Judge Goode announced that the application was refused. Mr. Morrison, much excited and agitated, rose and addressed one of the Associates: “Judge Ewing, is that *your* decision?” Judge E. responded affirmatively. “And Judge Price, do *you* concur in that decision?” “Yes.” And Morrison was about putting the same question to the third Associate, when he was interrupted by Judge Goode with the question: “Mr. Morrison, what are you about? What are you doing?” “Why, I’m polling the Court, your honor.”

Hon. William Mungen solemnly asseverates as follows :

When an early term of the Supreme Court was held at Findlay, Judge Wood presiding, (perhaps his first visit to Haucok) he, in company with John C. Spink, Andrew Coffinberry, (better known as the old Count) Jude Hall, J. M. May and some others, at the close of the District Court left Findlay on horseback, for Kalida or Defiance. They had saddle-bags, in which about all the law books in this part of the country were packed and carried around with the Court in its migrations. After getting down the river some twelve miles, they called a halt at a house to get some water to wash down their "drink." They hitched their horses to the fence and went into the yard. About the time the Court was washing down his drink, one of the horses reached his nose over the fence, and upset a beehive, which stood just inside. The scene which followed was a lively one. The horses struck for the "tall timber," and soon the saddle bags were emptied of their contents. The party followed in pursuit of the fugitive horses, which they succeeded, after much delay and racing through the woods, tinning and fretting, in recovering; though the "library," saddle-bags, bridles, &c., had suffered considerable damage.

CHAPTER VII.

THE CANAL SYSTEMS OF OHIO AND INDIANA.

In any true history of the early settlement and material progress of the Maumee Valley, the two important Canals—the Wabash and Erie, and the Miami and Erie—which unite near Defiance, and thence reach the Maumee Bay by a common trunk—must fill an important page. However valuable may be the railroads, built long afterwards, it is safe to say that the canals had prepared the way, settled the country, and laid the foundation of its cities, of which Toledo at the mouth, and Fort Wayne at the source of the river, are the chief.

In 1816 Hon. Ethan Allen Brown, of Cincinnati, had a correspondence with DeWitt Clinton—the latter being then at the head of the Board of Canal Commissioners of the State of New York, upon the subject of the proposed canal connecting the waters of Lake Erie with those of the Hudson River.

In February, 1820, an act was passed by the Ohio Legislature, appointing three Commissioners to locate a route for a navigable canal between Lake Erie and the Ohio River, and providing for its location through the Congress lands, then lately purchased of the Indians. The act also proposed to ask of Congress a grant of one or two millions of acres of land. This act was not thoroughly enforced, by reason of some failure to appoint Commissioners, or to have a suitable survey made.

Governor Brown, in his inaugural address, 14th December, 1818, thus called attention to the subject of public improvements:

“If we would raise the character of our State by increasing industry and our resources, it seems necessary to improve the internal communications, and open a cheaper way to market for the surplus produce of a large portion of our fertile country.”

Gov. Brown also called the attention of the Legislature to the subject of canals, at the two or three succeeding sessions.

The subject of a canal did not, however, receive attention at the hands of the Ohio Legislature until at the session of 1821 and 1822, when, on the 3d day of January, of the last named year, Micajah T. Williams, of Cincinnati, a Representative from Hamilton county, and chairman of a committee to whom the subject had been referred, made the first report, discussing elaborately this question of connecting by canal, the Ohio River with Lake Erie. A sentence or two from this statesman-like document, will afford some adequate idea of the condition of the State and its industries at that period, and of the progress made in efforts to secure means of artificial transport:

“ It is a well-established fact that man has not yet devised a mode of conveyance so safe, easy and cheap, as canal navigation; and although the advantage of easy and expeditious transportation is not likely to be perceived when prices are high and trade most profitable, yet the truth is familiar to every person of observation, that the enormous expense of land carriage has frequently consumed nearly, and sometimes quite, the whole price of provisions at the place of embarkation for a distant market. This is essentially the case in relation to all commodities of a cheap and bulky nature, most of which will not bear a land transportation many miles, and consequently are rendered of no value to the farmer, and are suffered to waste on his hands. The merchant who engages in the exportation of the produce of the country, finding it a losing commerce, abandons it, or is ruined; and crops in the finest and most productive parts of the State, are left to waste on the fields that produce them, ‘or be distilled to poison and brutalize society.’ ”

The valuable report of Mr. Williams concluded with the introduction of a bill authorizing an examination into the practicability of connecting Lake Erie with the Ohio River by a canal, which was read the first time, and finally passed January 31, 1822. The 2d section appointed Benjamin Tappan, Alfred Kelley, Thomas Worthington, Ethan Allen Brown, Jeremiah Morrow, Isaac Minor and Ebenezer Buckingham, Jr., commissioners, “ whose duty it shall be to cause such examinations, surveys and estimates to be made by the engineer as aforesaid, as may be necessary to ascertain the practicability of connecting Lake Erie with the Ohio River, by a canal through the following routes, viz: from Sandusky Bay to the Ohio River; from the Ohio River to the Maumee River: from the lake to the river aforesaid, by the sources of the Cuyahoga and Black rivers

and the Muskingum River; and from the Lake by the sources of the Grand and Mahoning rivers to the Ohio River."

At this period the population of the Maumee Valley was so sparse as to prevent the exercise of an influence adequate to compete for the prize with other routes—particularly with those of the Sandusky Bay and Cuyahoga River—and her claims were hardly considered. Cleveland was finally selected, over Sandusky City, as the lake terminus of the Ohio Canal. Between two of the gentlemen representing interests engaged in the bitter strife for the lake terminus, which arose out of these surveys, the late Eluthernus Cooke, of Sandusky City and the late Alfred Kelley, then of Cleveland, personal alienations were engendered, that continued throughout the lives of these eminent and useful citizens. The Maumee Bay, however, was from the first, looked upon as the proper lake terminus of the Miami and Maumee Canal, from Cincinnati to the lake, when that should be built.

On the 27th of January, 1823, an act was passed, "supplementary to the act authorizing an examination into the practicability of connecting Lake Erie with the Ohio River, by a canal." The 2d section of this act appointed Micajah T. Williams, of the county of Hamilton, a Canal Commissioner, in place of J. William Morrow, resigned. Under the 5th section of the act, the commissioners were "authorized and required to take the necessary measures to ascertain whether loans can be obtained on the credit of the State, for the purpose of aiding the State in the construction of a canal, from Lake Erie to the Ohio river; and if so, on what terms and conditions;" thus, in the incipient stages of the public improvements, imposing upon this Board, the duties of Fund as well as Canal Commissioners.

In a letter addressed to Micajah T. Williams, Esq., one of the Ohio Canal Commissioners, by DeWitt Clinton Governor of New York, on the 8th of November, 1823, in response to inquiries from Mr. Williams, he thus refers to the project of constructing a canal from the Lake to the Ohio River: "The State of Ohio, from the fertility of its soil, the benignity of its climate, and its geographical position, must always contain a dense population, and the products and consumptions of its inhabitants must forever form a lucrative and extensive inland trade, exciting the powers of productive industry, and communicating alient and energy to external commerce.

But when we consider that this canal will open a way to the great rivers that fall into the Mississippi; that it will be felt, not only in the immense valley of that river, but as far west as the Rocky Mountains and the borders of Mexico; and that it will communicate with our great inland seas, and their tributary rivers: with the ocean in various routes, and with the most productive regions of America, there can be no question respecting the blessings that it will produce, the riches it will create, and the energies it will call into activity."

During the season of 1824, a careful and continuous survey of what is now the Miami and the Wabash & Erie Canal, was made from the Ohio River at Cincinnati, through the Miami Valley to the Maumee River, at Defiance, and thence along the northwest bank of the River to the head of the Bay; and an estimate of the cost of the Canal on this route was reported to the Legislature of Ohio at the session of 1824-25. This survey was under the direction of M. T. Williams, Esq., then, and for ten years afterwards, Acting Commissioner and a leading member of the State Board of Canal Commissioners. The engineer corps was headed by Samuel Forrer, Esq., who still survives, and, at the age of four score years, continues in professional charge of the Miami Canal. Besides Mr. Forrer, three of the engineers engaged in this first survey, forty-eight years ago, are still living, to-wit: J. L. Williams, Francis Cleveland and Richard Howe.

One half or more of the route of this survey was through an unbroken forest. From Fort St. Mary's, where the town of that name now stands, to the Auglaize River, some forty miles, not a house nor a trace of civilization existed.

On the southwest bank of this river was found a squatter by the name of Thomas McClish, with a clearing of about one acre. While the engineer party were at this encampment, the second officer, in the corps, Thos. J. Mathews, father of the Hon. Stanley Mathews, of Cincinnati, was overtaken by a special messenger, who had made his way through the wilderness, with notice of his appointment as Professor of Mathematics in the Transylvania University at Lexington, Ky.

A few miles further down the Auglaize the party encamped near an Indian village, Oquauoxa's town, (now Charloe,) of the Ottawa tribe, at that time numerous in the lower section of the Maumee

Valley. It was a time of threatening war with the Miamis, then dominant and powerful on the sources of the Maumee River and Upper Wabash. The Ottawa braves and warriors were at Fort Wayne to take vengeance for the loss of an Ottawa Indian, slain by a Miami. A money compensation, however, (or Indian goods) was agreed upon in lieu of blood, probably through the influence of the Indian Agent at Fort Wayne, the Hon. John Tipton, afterwards U. S. Senator from Indiana—an early instance in which arbitration proved better than war. From this Indian village the party proceeded to Fort Defiance, where they found the block houses yet standing, on the extreme point, at the junction of the two rivers.

But, returning to the legitimate history of the Canal survey, it should be recorded that from one of the encampments in the depths of the forty miles forest south of the Auglaize River, Mr. Williams, the Acting Commissioner, left the party, and, with proper guides, explored in advance the route to the foot of the rapids. Taking there a small boat, he sounded carefully the depth of the water in the River from the foot of the Maumee rapids to Turtle Island, so called, off the north cape of the Bay. His report of these soundings, as communicated to the engineer on his return to camp, and afterwards stated in his official report to the Legislature, clearly indicated the mouth of Swan Creek, now the site of Toledo, as the point where the immense Commerce in the future to seek Lake Erie would be transferred from canal boats to Lake vessels.

But while the survey on the Cincinnati branch of the Maumee Canal was a few years in advance of the explorations of the Wabash line, yet it is historically true that the Indiana work, known as the Wabash & Erie Canal, was first to seek efficiently and to obtain means for its construction through the beneficent and judicious action of the Congress of the United States in granting alternate sections of land, through this vast unsettled region of northern Indiana and northwestern Ohio.

In the treaty of 1826, between the Miami tribe of Indians and the Government of the United States, through its Commissioners, Lewis Cass, John Tipton, and James B. Ray, by which the Indian title in all northeastern Indiana, with the exception of certain reserves, was extinguished, the idea of the Wabash and Erie Canal found substantial recognition. The treaty contained the following clause:

“And it is agreed that the State of Indiana may lay out a canal

or road through any of these reservations, and for the use of a canal, six chains along the same are hereby appropriated."

The next step in the progress of events was the procurement, chiefly through the agency of the members of Congress from Indiana, of a survey of the Canal by a corps of United States Topographical Engineers. A corps of Engineers, under the command of Col. James Shriver, was detailed for this survey, by order of the War Department. After a tedious journey through the wilderness, the survey was commenced at Fort Wayne in May or June, 1826. But little progress had been made, when the whole party was prostrated by sickness, and Colonel Shriver soon afterwards died in the Old Fort. He was succeeded in command by Colonel Asa Moore, his assistant, under whose direction the survey was continued during 1826 and 1827, down the Wabash to the mouth of Tippecanoe, then considered the head of navigation. The work was continued along the Maumee in 1827 and 1828, until Colonel Moore also fell a victim to disease, so prevalent at that time in these forest-covered valleys, dying in his tent at the head of the Maumee Rapids, on the 4th of October, 1828. This survey was completed to the Maumee Bay by Colonel Howard Stansbury, who, from the beginning, had been of the party.

Following this survey was "an act to grant a certain quantity of land to the State of Indiana, for the purpose of aiding said State in opening a Canal to connect the waters of the Wabash River with those of Lake Erie."

By this act, approved March 2, 1827, Congress granted to the State of Indiana, one-half of five miles in width of the public lands on each side of the proposed canal, from Lake Erie to the navigable waters of the Wabash river, amounting to 3,200 acres for each mile. The Indiana terminus of the Canal, and therefore of the grant, was at that time established at the mouth of Tippecanoe river, a distance from the Lake of 213 miles. At the session of the Indiana Legislature of 1827-28, the grant was accepted by the State, and a Board of Canal Commissioners appointed, consisting of three members, to-wit: Samuel Hanna, David Burr, and Robert John.

The Indiana Commissioners were directed to re-survey the Summit division in 1828; but sickness again interrupted the progress of the work. Mr. Smythe, the engineer, accomplished no more, after arriving at Fort Wayne, than to gauge the river and adjust his in-

struments, when he was laid aside for the season. In this emergency the Commissioners themselves, though not engineers, took hold of the instruments, and with the aid of a competent surveyor, completed the survey of the division of thirty-two miles.

An act "to aid the State of Ohio in extending the Miami Canal from Dayton to Lake Erie, and to grant a quantity of land to said State to aid in the construction of the canals authorized by law," &c., was passed by Congress and approved May 24, 1828.

The first section granted to Ohio for the purpose of aiding said State in extending the Miami Canal from Dayton to Lake Erie, by the Maumee route, a quantity of land equal to one-half of five sections in width on each side of said canal, between Dayton and the Maumee river, at the mouth of the Auglaize, so far as the same shall be located through the public land, and reserving each alternate section of the lands unsold, to the United States, to be selected by the Commissioners of the General Land Office, under the direction of the President of the United States; and which land, so reserved to the United States, shall not be sold for less than two dollars and fifty cents per acre. The said land, hereby granted to the State of Ohio, to be subject to the disposal of the Legislature of said State for the purpose aforesaid and no other. This section also required that the extension of the said Miami canal shall be commenced within five years, and completed within twenty years, or the State shall be bound to pay to the United States the amount of any lands previously sold; and that the title to purchasers under the State shall be valid.

Section 4 enacted that "the State of Indiana be, and hereby is, authorized to convey and relinquish to the State of Ohio, upon such terms as may be agreed upon by said States, all the rights and interest granted to the State of Indiana to any lands within the limits of the State of Ohio, by an act entitled, "An act to grant a certain quantity of land to the State of Indiana, for the purpose of aiding said State in opening a canal, to connect the waters of Wabash river with those of Lake Erie," approved on the 2d of March, A. D., 1827; "the State of Ohio to hold said lands on the same conditions upon which it was granted to the State of Indiana by the act aforesaid."

The munificent grant to Indiana of the public domain before alluded to, of March 2d, 1827, was the first of any magnitude made

for the promotion of public works, and may therefore be viewed as initiating the policy afterwards so extensively adopted of granting alternate sections for these objects.

Under the section above quoted, Commissioners with plenipotentiary powers, were appointed by both States: W. Tillman, of Zanesville, on the part of Ohio, and Jeremiah Sullivan, of Madison, on the part of Indiana, by whom a compact was agreed upon in Oct. 1829, which, after some delay on the part of Ohio, was ratified by both States—Indiana agreeing to surrender to Ohio the land within her territory, and Ohio stipulating to construct the canal, and guaranteeing its use to the citizens of Indiana on the same terms as her own citizens. From this period, the canal, though one work as respects its commercial interests and bearings, became separated into two divisions, as regards its finances, construction and management. It is to the Indiana division that the following historical description chiefly refers:

The portion of this land-grant, falling to Indiana, east of Tippecanoe river, amounted to 349,261 acres as the selections were finally made and approved.

During the year 1830, the middle or summit division of thirty-two miles, was located and prepared for contract by Joseph Ridgway, Jr., of Columbus, Ohio, an engineer of experience and skill, employed for that purpose by the Canal Commissioners. The actual construction of the work was not authorized until the session of 1831-32, when a law was passed empowering the Board of Commissioners to place the middle division under contract, and creating a Board of Fund Commissioners, and authorizing a loan of \$200,000 on the credit of the State. Jeremiah Sullivan, Nicholas McCarty and William C. Linton formed the first Board of Fund Commissioners, whose organization took place at Indianapolis on the 28th of February, 1832. The Board reported the entire Canal Fund at that date to be \$28,651 received from the sale of Canal lands. Jesse L. Williams was appointed chief engineer of the Canal in the spring of 1832.

The formal breaking of ground on this great work, with such ceremonies as could be arranged in an uninhabited region, where the chief and indeed only village contained but 400 people, was performed at Fort Wayne, on the 1st of March, 1832, just in time to save the land grant under the limitation of the act of Congress. In

June, following, under the direction of the Board of Canal Commissioners, then consisting of David Burr, Samuel Lewis and Jordon Vigus, the first letting of contracts was made, embracing some fifteen miles, and in the fall of the same year, four miles in addition, including the St. Joseph Feeder Dam, were placed under the contract. Up to the close of 1832 the Commissioners report work performed by the contractors only to the value of \$4,180. The remaining thirteen miles of the middle or summit division, thirty-two miles long, was let in May, 1833. This division, uniting the sources of the Wabash with the waters of the lake, was completed in 1835, and on the 4th of July of that year, the first boat passed through it. It was the beginning of canal navigation in all the vast region of country lying northwest of Cleveland and Dayton, and was appropriately celebrated at Fort Wayne in the presence of an assemblage of citizens of Indiana as numerous as could be gathered in that sparsely settled district, to whom an appropriate and able oration was delivered by Hugh McCulloch, late Secretary of the Treasury of the United States.

It may serve to illustrate the rigid and judicious economy of that primitive period, as it also shows the greater relative value of money compared with other commodities for which it was exchanged, before the discovery of California gold, to state that this division of Canal, with a fair proportion of lockage and an important dam, cost but \$7,177 per mile, though constructed in a wilderness where supplies of provisions could be obtained only from the distant settlements on the Upper Miami through the limited and tedious progue navigation of the St. Mary's river.

The Canal was constructed literally through and amongst Indian villages and wigwams. At the village of White Raccoon, a Miami chief, the log cabin of Chapine, the orator of the tribe, was found to stand exactly on the line of the Canal and was necessarily moved and rebuilt at the expense of the canal fund, and to the great disgust of the Indian.

Probably no one contributed more to the success of the canal policy, during the first and trying years of its progress, than the late Samuel Hanna, of Fort Wayne. From 1828 to 1836, he was successively Canal Commissioner and Fund Commissioner, besides serving three years in the State Senate and one year in the House, representing as Senator, perhaps one-third the entire area of the State,

and filling in each body, for a part of the time, the post of chairman of the Canal Committee. In these official stations he evinced the same judgment, tact and force of character, which, near a quarter of a century afterwards, enabled him to render important service to the northern section of Indiana, in the enterprise of completing, under financial difficulties such as would have discouraged men less courageous in assuming pecuniary responsibilities, that portion of the Pittsburgh, Fort Wayne & Chicago Railway lying west of Crestline.

In the summer of 1837 the division between Fort Wayne and the Ohio State line was placed under contract. These several sub-divisions were successively opened for navigation until a water communication was perfected, in 1840, between the east line of Indiana and Lafayette, the head of steamboat navigation of the Wabash river.

The State of Ohio, realizing less than Indiana the want of this channel of navigation, from the sparse settlement of her northwestern territory, was more tardy in providing for its construction. It was only after repeated and urgent soliciations from the authorities of Indiana, by legislative resolves and through the appointment, finally, of a special commission, that the Ohio Legislature was induced to commence the construction of her division.

The people of Indiana, in 1839 and 1840, gave evidence of a disappointed feeling regarding the tardiness of the Ohio authorities in prosecuting their portion of the work, and a joint resolution, approved January 22d, 1840, made it the duty of the Chief Engineer, J. L. Williams, "to proceed immediately to the seat of government of the State of Ohio, and in a respectful manner to urge upon the consideration of the members of the Legislature of that State the necessity of a speedy completion of the Wabash & Erie Canal, from the Indiana State line to the Maumee Bay, in compliance with the compacts heretofore made between the two States in relation thereto."

Mr. Williams, thus accredited, hastened to Columbus; on the 30th he addressed a forcible and elaborate letter to Governor Shannon, which, on the day following, January 31st, was, together with the joint resolution of the Indiana Legislature above mentioned, communicated by Governor Shannon, in a special message to the General Assembly.

In his letter to the Governor, and referring to the magnitude of the enterprise, and the extensive interests dependent upon its early completion, he thus refers to the capabilities of the Wabash valley

for furnishing transportation, by means of its production and consumption :

“ For this trade the Wabash & Erie Canal will form the natural, and, in fact, the only channel, so far as a Northern market may be sought. From the first settlement of the Valley, its citizens have anticipated the opening of this Canal at no remote period, for which expectation they, perhaps, had sufficient grounds in the donation of land for this object, and the acceptance of this donation, with all its requirements, by the States. They have neither sought nor desired any other connection with Lake Erie, but on the contrary have located and constructed their common roads, to say nothing of their lateral canals and railroads, some of which have been commenced, so as to concentrate their trade on this Canal, as the main trunk. From this circumstance, as well as from the directness of the route, the Wabash & Erie Canal will not be subjected to competition with other established channels of trade, as is often the case on the opening of a new work, but from the first will command the undivided commerce and intercourse between the Wabash country and the Northern markets.

“ The district for which this Canal will form the main channel of trade, may be described as extending from the State line, as far down the Wabash as the Grand Rapids, a distance of three hundred miles. The boundaries of the district on the south and south-east may be defined by a line pursuing generally the valley of the west fork of White River, to the east line of the State, embracing nearly one third of the surface between the Wabash and the Ohio River; and on the north and west by a line diverging from the Grand Rapids of the Wabash, and extending about one-third the distance to the Illinois River on the west, and Lake Michigan on the north. The limits of this district, it will be perceived, are marked out with due reference to the influence of the Ohio navigation on the south, and of the Illinois River and Lake Michigan on the west and north, as rival channels of commerce. The district thus described contains a surface equal to thirty-eight counties in Indiana, and nearly nine counties in Illinois, including an average area of 22,000 square miles.”

The difficulties encountered by Ohio, in the prosecution of her division of the work, and the earnest efforts put forth to keep faith with Indiana, are illustrated in the extracts given below, from reports of several consecutive years of the Board of Public Works :

Extracts from Annual Report of Ohio Board of Public Works, January 16, 1838 :

“ Early last spring, the principal engineer, Mr. Forrer, was directed to complete the final location of this Wabash & Erie Canal, and on the 25th of May last, proposals were received at Maumee City, by the Acting Commissioner, for the construction of so much

of the line as extends from its eastern termination, near Manhattan, to the "Head of the Rapids," being about thirty miles, and contracts entered into for all the sections, with the exception of those containing the lockage.

"On the 25th day of October, proposals were received at Defiance for the construction of the remaining part of the line, extending from the "Head of the Rapids" to the Indiana State line, and contracts entered into accordingly.

Extracts from Annual report of Board of Public Works, December 30, 1839:

"The contractors on this work have, from the commencement, labored under difficulties, to an extent that no other work in the State has been subjected. This has resulted from the continued high prices of provisions, enhanced by the remote situation of the line from the better cultivated portions of the State, and consequent high prices of labor, which, with the sickness that has prevailed along the line of the canal during the summer months, has much retarded the progress of the work. On the first of April last, it was progressing as rapidly as could be expected, and so continued until about the first of July, at which time, on account of the dread of sickness, such as prevailed the season previous, the larger portion of the laborers left the line and sought employment elsewhere. Owing to this cause, and the difficulty experienced by contractors in not receiving regular payments, but little work was done from the first of July until the middle of October."

From the Annual Report of the Board of Public Works, January 12, 1841:

"At the close of the last year, and until the month of April, the prospect of obtaining money for completing this work was so doubtful that contractors were advised of the fact, and recommended to use their own discretion and consult their own convenience in prosecuting their jobs; consequently, not much work was performed during that time. But from the first of April until the month of July, the season of the year when laborers usually leave the canal, on account of sickness, the work progressed as rapidly as could have been expected, with the limited number of laborers remaining on the line. All the locks and culverts are commenced, except the three locks connecting with the Maumee river at Manhattan, Toledo and Maumee City. From Defiance to the State line, the want of proper material rendered it necessary to build the locks of wood."

From the Annual Report of Board of Public Works, January 8, 1842:

"Seventy miles of different portions of the line are finished, leaving about twenty miles to be completed. From Manhattan, the eastern termination of the canal, to the head of the rapids, a distance of thirty one miles, the earth work and culverts are completed, and

all of the locks on the main line, consisting of eight lift and one guard lock, are nearly so, and will be finished at the opening of navigation. The two locks on the Toledo side cut, and five on the Maumee side cut, are also finished, with the exception of the gates, which will be completed this winter. The outlet lock on the Maumee side cut will be finished next May, and the aqueduct across Swan Creek, which completes the canal communication with Manhattan, will not be finished before the month of July next. The water has been let in, and the canal used for the purposes of navigation the past season, from the head of the Rapids to Maumee City, a distance of eighteen miles; and during the present month, it is expected, the water will be let into the canal from Maumee City to the head of the locks at Toledo, an additional distance of nine miles.

From the Annual Report of Board of Public Works, January 2, 1843:

"The whole of this work is now so far completed as to admit the water, when the proper season for using the same shall arrive, and nothing but unforeseen accidents will from this time forward, prevent at all proper seasons of the year, an uninterrupted navigation."

"For the last fifteen months there has not been paid one dollar in money, to contractors on this canal, and the amount now due is equal to \$500,000. Almost the whole resources and credit of that portion of the State in the vicinity of this work have been used up and invested in the construction of the same."

The financial embarrassment of that period which had so retarded the work in Ohio, was felt also in Indiana. The extended system of public works commenced in 1836, was entirely suspended with the failure of State credit. The Wabash & Erie Canal was left without means, other than the small receipts from land sales thereafter to be made. To open navigation from the Ohio State line to Lafayette, required about a quarter of a million of dollars. The following extract from the report of J. L. Williams, Chief Engineer, then also *ex-officio* a member of the Board of Internal Improvements, dated November 27th, 1849, shows the pledges by which these financial difficulties were overcome:

"The completion of the Canal in this State has been accomplished during the past season, under circumstances peculiarly embarrassing to contractors and their creditors. The legislation of last winter, while it authorized and directed the completion of the work, provided not a dollar in payment therefor, until it could be realized from the sale of Canal lands, which was fixed by law for the month of October. Believing it important that the few remaining contracts which had been so long on hand, should be completed, in order that the community might enjoy the early opening of the navi-

gation, and that the State might save the expense of maintaining any longer a corps of engineers for its superintendence, the undersigned has been unremitting in his exertions for the accomplishment of this object.

“ By giving an assurance to the laborers and others that their adjusted claims would be recognized, and that each claim would receive its proportionate dividend of the money received at the land sale, the contractors were enabled to keep up their operations and complete their jobs. On final settlement, made during the present month, there was found to be due to contractors and others, the sum of \$115,124.08, of which amount the money received for sale of lands was found sufficient to pay twenty five per cent., leaving the sum of \$86,587.47 unpaid, for which the Commissioner has issued drafts on the fund commissioners, based upon the further proceeds of the canal lands. These drafts, of which there are eleven hundred and seventy-two in number, vary in amount from one dollar to several thousand dollars, in proportion to the size of the claims. Under existing laws they are redeemable only when the amount is realized from the future proceeds of the lands. The propriety of meeting them at an earlier day will doubtless suggest itself to the Legislature. If there be no other means of paying these drafts, perhaps the substitution of scrip or Treasury Notes, of small denominations, made receivable for lands, would afford a convenience to the holders of them.”

No action having been taken by the legislature for the speedy payment of these drafts, the engineer, upon his own responsibility, and without the authority of the law, (necessity knows no law) procured a plate to be struck in imitation of a bank note, from which, on more lasting bank note paper, and in small denominations, new notes were issued in redemption of the first white paper drafts then nearly worn out by circulation. This issue, bearing interest and receivable for canal lands, entered readily during that period of pecuniary stringency, into the circulating medium of that part of the State, under the name of “ White Dog,” a name facetiously given to it by the recipients for reasons well understood at that time.

The extension of the land grant from the mouth of the Tippecanoe river to Terre Haute, as claimed by the State, and finally authorized by Congress, laid a financial basis for the canal along the Wabash to that point. The construction of this part of the line was authorized by the legislature of Indiana at the session of 1841-42. Following the precedent set by the engineer east of the mouth of the Tippecanoe, which, though without law, had proved a success, the legislature having no other financial resource, authorized the issue of canal land scrip in payment for the work, of the denomination of

five dollars, and in the shape of Bank issues, receivable for these lands. This land scrip, as in the other case, formed a part of the circulating medium in that region. By the year 1845 navigation was extended as far west as Covington on the Wabash.

The contrast, financially, between the year 1810 and 1850 is certainly striking. Now, millions of money are readily obtained from Europe and in this country for the construction of public works in exchange for securities of far less strength than the bonds of the State. Then, even State obligations, small in amount, required the pledge of future land sales to make them current.

In the summer of 1813, as the Board anticipated, the Ohio portion of the canal was completed, and the entire work in navigable order between Lake Erie and the fertile valley of the Wabash. The achievement was appropriately celebrated by the united assemblage of the citizens of both States at Fort Wayne, on the 4th of July, 1813, to whom an able and classic oration was delivered by General Lewis Cass.

The Miami Canal Extension, now known as the Miami and Erie, was open for business in June 1845—thus completing a continuous line of canal between the Maumee bay and the Ohio river at Cincinnati.

Thus is sketched a history of the origin, progress and completion of the canal systems of the two great States of Ohio and Indiana, so far as the Maumee valley is concerned.

It may not be out of place here to give a sketch of one of the civil engineers who was prominently connected with the public works of the Maumee valley. The names of others and their public services are referred to in another place. In a volume entitled, "Lives and Works of Civil and Military Engineers of America, by Charles B. Stuart, Civil Engineer," a handsomely printed octavo volume of 323 pages, and one of the most interesting of its character ever issued from the American press, embraces sketches of Major Andrew Ellicott, Surveyor General of the United States; James Goddes, Benjamin Wright, Canvass White, Jesse L. Williams, David Stanhope Bates, Nathan S. Roberts, Gridley Bryant, General Joseph G. Swift, Col. William McRee, Samuel H. Knass, Captain John Childe, Friederich Harbach, Major David Bates Douglas, Jonathan Knight, Benjamin H. Latrobe, Colonel Charles

* Recently published by D. Van Nostrand, 23 Murray St., New York

Elliott. Jr., and others who have been prominent in the grand achievements made in Civil Engineering in the United States during the last half century. And among other civil engineers whose biography and services are sketched in the above named volume, and who have been connected with the early public works of the Maumee valley, undertaken by the joint action of the States of Ohio and Indiana, none have been more conspicuous than Samuel Forrer of Ohio.

The subjoined sketch of him is from the volume just mentioned of Mr. Stuart :

“Samuel Forrer, born in Dauphin county, Pennsylvania, January 17, 1793, visited Ohio at the age of 21 years, but soon after returned home, where he remained until 1817, when he removed to Dayton, which has since been his place of residence.

“In July 1825, the Ohio canals were commenced under the general supervision of David S. Bates as Chief Engineer. Mr. Forrer had been before employed from the very beginning of the canal surveys in Ohio, and now took charge of the work on the Miami and Erie canal. He continued in the service of the State until 1831 during which time he located the whole of the Miami and Erie canal and its branches, and a great portion of the Ohio canal. In 1832 he was appointed a member of the Board of Canal Commissioners, and continued in that position three years, when that Board was abolished and a Board of Public Works created in its stead by the Legislature of Ohio, of which he was a member several years. Not only was he exceedingly useful in this capacity, but by his zeal, general intelligence, and force of character, he contributed largely to the promotion of the canal system, and was a valuable co-laborer with the men of that period who shaped the policy of the State and laid the foundations of her commercial institutions. Mr. Forrer was at one time a contractor on the Wabash and Erie Canal in Indiana.

“The following extract from a letter written by the Hon. Jesse L. Williams, of Fort Wayne, an old professional co-laborer, dated Dayton, Ohio, April 12, 1871, and published in Stuart's work, explains the condition in which he found Mr. Forrer :

“I was to-day an hour with Mr. Samuel Forrer at his home. He is in a feeble state. Paralysis has been gradually coming on, which affects somewhat his speech and strength of body, yet his intellect is unimpaired. He is still the consulting engineer and chief dependence, professionally, of the Ohio State Board of Public works, especially as to everything relating to the Miami and Erie canal for the enlargement of which work he has lately submitted an estimate. He attends all meetings of the Board at Columbus. His age is 78 years. I was gratified in having the opportunity, probably the last one, of conversing with so good a man, so near the close of a useful life.”

Captain George Dutch Davis, now of the United States Revenue office, Toledo, kindly furnishes "some recollections of the palmy days of the Miami and Wabash canals, together with the names of boats and captains," which may be properly appended here. The fact may be recalled that the office of captain of a canal packet boat, in those times, was regarded as invested with a dignity equal to that now awarded to one in command of the best steamer that floats upon the lakes; and, though slower and more expensive, they had the advantage of railway coaches on the score of comfort. Some of the generation of to-day make merry when they recur to what now strikes them as the slow modes of travel and transportation of the canal days, and commiserate the condition of their fathers, whose highest rate of speed in a passage packet boat was from seventy-five to a hundred miles in twenty-four hours; while, by improvements since made, six hundred miles, in the same length of time, can be conveniently passed over in railway coaches; yet, if they had "roughed it" through the black swamp, when, indeed, it *was* a "black swamp"—though one no longer—paying high rates of passage in the rude and comfortless vehicles that then conveyed the United States mails, and struggling, often on foot, half the distance through mud and water, because the horses had not the strength to draw their weary load; and again, when off the stage routes, to undertake a journey of a hundred miles, one would leave home on horse-back, and before reaching his destination, would perhaps travel by the various conveyances of pirogue, raft and canoe, and finally be glad to finish his journey after several days of severe toil, on foot and horseless; and, if our young friend would recur to the fact that farm-products, in many places, did not pay transportation charges to reach a market; and also to the fact that the country merchant often paid more in freights on some of his goods, than the invoice amounted to in the market where purchased; he would not then marvel at the exultation indulged in by the inhabitants of the Maumee valley, when the canals were opened for travel and transportation uses.

But in turning to the recollections of Capt. Davis: he states that in the year 1843, Samuel and Archie Mahon, brothers, commenced running two small packets between Toledo and Fort Wayne—starting and stopping without reference to regular time—sometimes camping out, and getting their meals at farm houses along the line of canal. Nothing, however, was permanently undertaken in packet

boating until the summer of 1844, when Samuel Doyle and William Dickey, of Dayton, Ohio, organized a line making regular trips between Toledo and Cincinnati, and from Toledo to Lafayette, comprising the following boats, namely: "Erie," "Banner," "Ohio," "Indiana," "Illinois," "Missouri," "Kentucky," "Tempest," "Cataract," "Atlantic," "Fashion" and a steam propeller named "Niagara."

Capt. George Dutch Davis opened the first regular packet office in Toledo, in 1844, and in 1845 resigned the position to again take charge of his boat, and Wm. J. Finlay was given charge of the office, and retained it until the opening of the Toledo and Wabash railroad in 1854 caused the withdrawal of the line. During the last five years of the existence of the line the proprietorship was in the hands of Jerome Petree, of Little Falls, N. Y., and E. B. Holmes, of Brockport, N. Y., who purchased the interest of Doyle & Dickey in 1849.

The names of the old packet captains, which have a choice place in the memories of thousands yet residents of the Maumee valley, and of other thousands distributed over distant regions, are given below, and the disposition which the hand of Providence has made of them:

Thomas B. Filton, deceased; W. S. B. Hubbell, deceased; M. Van Horne, resides in Iowa; John M. Wigton, Toledo; Clark Smith, deceased; A. Vanness, deceased; Byron O. Angel, Fort Wayne; Wm. Sturgess, deceased; Benjamin Ayres, deceased; Joseph Hoskinson, Napoleon; William Phillips, Lima; Charles Sherwood, Cincinnati; Christian Snavelly, deceased; George Alvord, in Arkansas; James Popple and Nathan Nettleton, St. Louis; Thomas B. McCarty, late State Auditor of Indiana, at Indianapolis; Elias Webb, Middletown, Ohio; William Dale, New York; Geo. Dutch Davis, Toledo; J. R. Smith, Cincinnati.

George Owen and David S. Davis, of Dayton, were proprietors of the first packet line from Dayton to Cincinnati. Samuel Doyle was the first to experiment with steam on the Miami canal—having built in 1845, the propeller "Niagara," at a cost of \$10,000. She was commanded by Capt. William Dale, and proved a failure financially.

Mr. Colerick, among his interesting reminiscences of early times, contributed to the Fort Wayne *Gazette*, gives the following account of the first boat ride on the canal:

In the spring of 1834, the canal being finished from the feeder dam

to the town, and the water having been let in in the month of June, all were regretting that there was no boat with which to have a ride on the approaching 4th of July. Then the ind fatigable F. P. Tinkham, seeing the situation, went to the woods and cut down the trees with which to make the hull of a boat, and in less than two weeks time had a staunch craft completed and afloat, and on the morning of the glorious 4th of July the entire population embarked thereon and proceeded to the feeder dam, five miles distant, where, after spending the day in eating, drinking and making merry, all returned to their homes, well pleased with the day's doings, and feeling themselves under great obligations to Mr. Tinkham for the first boat ride on the canal.

By the first of June of the following year the canal was completed to Huntington. Capt. Asa Fairfield (recently deceased) in the meantime had contracted for the building of a boat, which was finished in the latter part of the month of June, and was called the Indiana. He placed his brother, Capt. Oliver Fairfield, an old sea captain, who had just come to the country, in command; and on the morning of the anniversary of American independence, (now an obsolete idea), the Indiana started on her first trip to Huntington, carrying a large party of gentlemen, (no ladies), including Dr. L. G. Thompson, Judge Hanna, Allen Hamilton, Samuel and Wm. S. Edsall, W. G. and G. W. Ewing, Francis Comparat, Capt J. B. Bourie, Wm. Rockhill, Col. John Spencer, J. L. Williams, D. H. Colerick, L. P. Ferry, Jas. Barnett, M. H. Scott, Madison Sweetzer, and many others. Capt Fairfield, now a resident of Decatur, Indiana, with whom I had a conversation recently regarding the matter, said that this was the *liveliest* party that he ever carried on the Indiana. On the return trip the next day, Dr. Tate, Capt. Murray and many other citizens of the town returned with the party, and thereafter trips were made every other day, carrying freight and passengers, and as the canal was completed to each point, the "Indiana" extended her trips thereto. And with what pleasure did we frequently repair to the dock on her arrival, (an event of no small interest to us isolated beings) which was always heralded by the clarionet and violin of Ed. Parker and Bill Patchin, employees, as the boat emerged from the aqueduct and rounded the bend west of town. Sweeter music I think I never heard than these two men made; at least, such is the impression that it left long years ago. There were no buildings then on the banks of the canal to interrupt the sound or view from Columbia street."

CHAPTER VIII.

FORT WAYNE.

This city, situated at the head of the head of the Miami of the Lake, and among the first founded in this empire of the north-west, by Europeans—the Ke-ki-ong-a of the aborigines—the capital of the ancient Twigtwee, or Miami confederacy, appropriately occupies the first place in the sub-divisions commenced with this chapter.

It has been stated (see ant. p 9), that the chevalier La Salle visited this place, and, as early as 1680, erected a stockade. As hitherto remarked, the authority for this statement is the late A. T. Goodman, Secretary of the Western Reserve and Northern Ohio Historical Society, whose intelligence in archaeological researches throughout both continents, in collecting material relating to the early history of the West, was appreciated and recognized by the best minds in the country. In a letter to the author of this work, dated Cleveland, August 28, 1871, Mr. Goodman says:

“I was glad to learn by your favor of the 26th that you contemplate publishing a ‘history of the Maumee Valley;’ and after some allusion of a personal character adds that “the field abounds in interesting historical resources, and I desire to place myself at your service, to aid and assist with what material I have in my private collections, and what is on file in the rooms of the society.”

With reference to the early occupation of the country, he assures his correspondent that his facts on this point are “drawn from French records at Montreal and Quebec, and papers at Albany and Harrisburg.” In a subsequent letter he promises “full data as soon as his health improves,” but unfortunately that improvement never came, and within a few days subsequent to writing his promise, his useful life was brought to a close.

Mr. J. L. Williams, in his historical sketch of the First Presbyterian Church of Fort Wayne, says that “a report of LaSalle, written probably in 1682 [but more probably in 1680,] mentions the route

by the Maumee and Wabash, as the most direct to the Mississippi;” and very justly observes that “it is improbable that the French would pass this thronged centre of the Miamis, at the carrying place between these rivers, without establishing here one of that cordon of military posts designed to connect their Canadian and Mississippi settlements. Vaudreuil,” says Mr. Williams, “Governor of Louisiana, writing in 1751,” seventy-one years after the erection of the original work, “names Fort Miami at this point. It was a small stockade fort, and situated near the St. Mary, probably in the vicinity of the canal aqueduct. The dim outlines of the fort were traced by Wayne in 1794, and by Colonel John Johnston in 1800.”

Not having the benefit of the “full data” which Mr. Goodman intended to furnish, it is assumed as probable that the Chevalier built his stockade here in the autumn of 1680, on his return route from the St. Joseph’s of Michigan to Fort Frontenac. In confirmation of this view, and in conclusion of its discussion, it may be added that the pioneers relate, as a current tradition among the Indians at Fort Wayne, that they were first visited by white men who came from the West.

From the earliest record the Miamies have been a leading and influential tribe. Baneroff says: “The Miamies were the most powerful confederacy of the West, excelling the Six Nations. * * Their influence reached to the Mississippi, and they received frequent visits from tribes beyond that river.” Mr. Gamelin, the messenger sent by Governor St. Clair, in April, 1790, to know the mind of the Indians as to peace or war, after reading the Governor’s speech to the chiefs and head men, in every village on the route from Vincennes, was everywhere desired to proceed to the Miami town (Ke-ki-ong-gay). They said, “you know that we can terminate nothing without the consent of our brothers—the Miamies.” The impress of its name upon so many western rivers, shows the predominance of the tribe. The two Miamies of the Ohio will ever perpetuate it. The Miami of Lake Erie (now Maumee) was likewise named for the tribe. The St. Joseph, of Lake Michigan, was called the “*river Miamies*,” when LaSalle erected a fort, and Henepin first raised the cross at its mouth in November, 1679.* Our own St. Marys was marked “*Miamies river*” on the rude skeleton map, made to represent the western country at the time of Colonel Boquet’s expedition in 1763.—*Note by J. L. Williams.*

In the conspiracy of Nicholas, begun in 1745, described in preceding pages, the destruction of the French village at Fort Wayne, it

*This is one of Henepin’s historical errors. Father Marquette or Allez had preceded Henepin at this point several years, and established a mission and erected the cross.

will be observed, formed an important part of the scheme; and the fort and village were besieged, captured and demolished. The Fort Miami that was re-built, and occupied by the French under Lieut. Dubuisson, after the conspiracy of Nicholas had been crushed, was doubtless the one at Fort Wayne, and not the Fort Miami formerly erected at the mouth of the St. Joseph's of Lake Michigan, about 1678 or 1679.

The next historical event, memorable in the annals of Fort Wayne, occurred in 1763, during the Pontiac war. The conspiracy of Nicholas was designed to subvert the French power; the scheme of Pontiac was directed against the English. [See ante, pp. 34, 35, 41, 42, 43 and 44, for events in the Pontiac war having relation to Fort Wayne and the Maumee valley.]

Mr. J. L. Williams, in his interesting address from which liberal quotations have been already made, says:

“Four nations, at different periods, have held dominion here. For near half a century prior to the conquest of Canada, the tri-colored flag waved at the meeting of the St. Joseph and St. Mary. The French adapted their manners and character to forest life. Schoolcraft says, the Indians of the North West often referred to ‘the days of French supremacy as a kind of golden era, when all things in their affairs were better than they now are.’ Then came the English in December, 1760, and the British flag was run up in its stead. Their manners were reserved and haughty, far less adapted than the genial, pliant and vivacious French to win the confidence of the Indians. In no particular is there a greater dissimilarity in the two Nations. The French, like the Spaniards, readily meet a lower civilization upon an intermediate platform, as in Canada and Mexico. The genuine Anglo Saxon takes no step downward. English society in Calcutta is as select and high-toned as in London. To elevate, near to its own level, or else to destroy by gradual encroachment and pressure, seems to be the mission of the race among the sluggish and decaying nations. Whether or not the Indian sagacity was adequate to a full perception of these diverse tendencies, certain it is that the Miamis of that day were haters of the English. In less than three years the British flag was lowered, and its proud defiant folds trailed in British blood.* The conspiracy of Pontiac—greatest of the Red race, in genius, force of character, and statesman-like combination—had done its work. Nine of the twelve English Forts in the Northwest, scattered from Presque-

*It was about the period of these stirring changes, that the late Miami Chief Richardville was born under the “the big apple tree,” standing some sixty rods from the supposed site of this old British Fort. This tree yet stands, connecting the memories of the past century with the present. Its circumference is eleven feet. We need not question its identity. There are specimens of the hardier varieties in this country now bearing fruit at the age of 150 to 200 years. (See Am. Cyclopaedia.)

Isle (now Eric) to Green Bay, and from Mackinaw to Ouataton (near Lafayette) were captured, with terrible carnage, in the space of a few weeks. Only Detroit, Fort Pitt, and Green Bay, successfully resisted the simultaneous attack. Thenceforward, for thirty-one years, as in the preceding century, the barbarian power and glory of the Miamis at this point were unchecked, until the advent of Wayne. To the Indians, as to us, it was a chosen central home and place of thronged concourse. Here the tribes and bands gathered in council for War or for Peace. History attests their attachment to it. Their appeal at the Greenville treaty in 1795, after their country had been conquered, for permission still to occupy this spot, was touching. But the earth is for cultivation, not permanently for the chase. For great and beneficent providential ends—the greatest good to the greatest number—civilization and religion were to be introduced, and the red man has passed away. Under American rule has risen this beautiful city of some twelve thousand† inhabitants, with Railroads and Telegraphs, Churches and Free Schools.”

In the same lecture another historical event of much interest is thus noticed:

“The expedition of LaBalm against Detroit in August or September, 1780, also connects Fort Wayne, by memorials written in blood, with the war of the Revolution. This daring forest chieftan, with earnest sympathy for the American cause, and, we must think, with more zeal than knowledge, collected at Kaskaskia and Vincennes, about an hundred men, and set out for the capture of Detroit, then in possession of the British. The signal achievement of Col. George Rogers Clark, a few months before, in taking Vincennes with one hundred and seventy men, no doubt incited to this daring adventure. Seizing the goods of British traders at Fort Wayne, on his march, the Miamis, instigated by the English, attacked his encampment on the River Aboite in this vicinity. In this battle LaBalm’s little army, with few exceptions, was entirely cut off.”

Charles B. LaSalle, of Logansport, formerly a citizen of Fort Wayne, published in the Democratic Pharos, in 1857, some reminiscences, which were copied into Mr. Brice’s history, and which contain the following reference to the ill-considered expedition of LaBalm:

“Colonel Clark, on the capture of Vincennes, had meditated an expedition against Fort Wayne, as well as against Detroit; and though he seems never to have abandoned the idea, yet he could not succeed in his arrangements to attempt its execution. But while the subject was still fresh in the mind of Clark, and the inhabitants of the Lower Wabash, another individual made his appearance to

†This address was delivered in March, 1860.

undertake what even the daring Clark, with greater resources, did not deem prudent to venture upon. This was LaBalm. But of him and his expedition, it may be here stated, very little information, of an entirely authentic shape, is within our reach. Whatever may be given in this brief sketch, has been obtained mostly from some of those who were in part eye-witnesses to the events, and from tradition as handed down by the old inhabitants. LaBalm was a native of France, and had come to this country as some kind of an officer, with the French troops, under LaFayette, in 1779. We are not apprised whether he came to the West on his own responsibility, or whether he was directed by some authority; but we find him, in the Summer of 1780, in Kaskaskia, raising volunteers to form an expedition against the post of Ke-ki-ong-a, with the ulterior view, in case of success, of extending his operations against the fort and towns of Detroit. At Kaskaskia he succeeded in obtaining only between twenty and thirty men. With these he proceeded to Vincennes, where he opened a recruiting establishment for the purpose of raising the number necessary for his object. But he does not seem to have been met here with the favor and encouragement of the principal inhabitants, or to have had much success in his enlistment. His expedition was looked upon as one of doubtful propriety, both as to its means and objects, and it met with the encouragement, generally, of only the least considerate. He conducted his march with such caution and celerity, that he appeared at the village of Fort Wayne before even the watchful inhabitants had apprehended his approach. The sudden appearance of a foe, unknown as to numbers, character and designs, threw them into the greatest alarm, and they fled on all sides. LaBalm took possession of the place without resistance. It was probably his intention, in imitation of Clark's capture of Kaskaskia, to take the village and its inhabitants by surprise; and then, by acts and professions of kindness and friendship, to win them over to the American cause; but the inhabitants, including some six or eight French traders, totally eluded his grasp. His occupation of the village was not of long duration. After remaining a short time, and making plunder of the goods of some of the French traders and Indians, he retired to near the Aboite Creek, near the point where the Wabash and Erie canal now crosses this stream, and encamped. The Indians, having soon ascertained the number and character of LaBalm's forces, and learning that they were Frenchmen, were not disposed at first to avenge the attack; but of the traders then living in the village, there were two named Beaubien (who married the chiefess, widow of Joseph Drouet de Richardville, and mother of the late chief of the nation, Joseph B. Richardville,) and LaFountain, (father of the late Miami chief, LaFountain,) who, nettled and injured by the invasion and plunder of the place, were not disposed to let the invaders off without a blow. These men, having incited the Indians to follow and attack LaBalm, they soon rallied their warriors of the village and vicinity,

under the lead of their war chief, the Little Turtle, and, falling upon them in the night time, massacred the entire party. Not one is said to have survived to relate the sad story of the expedition.

"Such is a brief and imperfect account of La Balm's expedition, of which so little is known. It may not have been impelled by the most patriotic motives, nor guided by wise counsels, nor attended with results especially beneficial to the country; yet, as an interesting event, connected with the early history of the country, it should be preserved from the oblivion which rests upon it."

"The sagacious mind of Washington," says Mr. Williams, "at an early period, fixed upon the junction of the St. Mary's and the St. Joseph's as of commanding importance for a strong military post." This statement will presently be fully verified. [See ante, pp. 72 and 74].

In a letter to Richard Henry Lee, written in 1784, Washington wrote: "Would it not be worthy of the wisdom and attention of Congress to have the western waters well explored, the navigation of them fully ascertained and accurately laid down, and a complete and perfect map made of the country, at least as far westerly as the Miami, running into the Ohio and Lake Erie, and to see how the waters of these communicate with the river St. Joseph, which empties into Lake Michigan, and with the Wabash? for I cannot forbear observing that the Miami village, [now Fort Wayne], points to a very important post for the Union."—*Brice's History of Fort Wayne*, page 109.

In the Indiana war in the West, the Miamis were the principal central power. Occupying, (says Mr. H. R. Schoolerdt), with their confederates, the valleys of the Wabash and the Miami of the Lakes, they stretched, like an impassible line, between Lake Erie and the lower Ohio. They were a complete bar to the enterprise and settlement of the West. The outrages they, in connection with the Shawanees and Delawares committed, and the threatening aspect they assumed, led eventually to the march, at separate periods, of General Harmar, General St. Clair and General Wayne. In the American State Papers appears a letter of Governor St. Clair, dated New York, August 23, 1790, addressed to the Secretary of War, in which the following is given as the motive of employing the military force of the first campaign:

"Three hundred of the militia of Virginia are to rendezvous at Fort Steuben, and, with the garrison of that fort, to march to Pos. St. Vincennes and join Major Hamtramck; the remaining twelve hundred of the militia to assemble at Fort Washington, under the orders of General Harmar, which, with the troops to be collected there, will form a body of fifteen hundred; these are intended to march directly across the country to the Miami village (Fort Wayne)

while Major Hamtramck moves up the Wabash to attack any of the villages on that river to which his force may be equal."

General Knox, the Secretary of War, in a communication dated September 4, 1790, discusses the military importance of the establishment of a strong garrison "at the Miami village, (Fort Wayne), in the heart of the Indian country." And, in a report dated December 26, 1791, "the great object" of the second military expedition under command of General St. Clair, is set forth in language yet more explicit:

"It will appear, by reference to report A, which accompanies this report, that the great object of the late campaign was to establish a strong military post at the Miami village, lying upon the river of that name, which communicates with Lake Erie; and that subordinate posts were also to be erected, as well on the Wabash as on the said river Miami.

"That, by an examination of the position of said Miami village, and its contiguity to, or connexion with, the waters of the river St. Josephs of Lake Michigan, and the river Illinois, and thereby the Mississippi; the Wabash and thereby with the Ohio; the Miami and thereby Lake Erie; its short distance from the Miami of the Ohio, which, at times, may afford considerable facility to transportation; it will appear that the said position, with its proper communications, is greatly superior to any other, in order to serve as a barrier to protect essentially a frontier of upwards of eleven hundred miles, stretching from the upper parts of the Alleghany to the lower parts of the Ohio.

"That it was intended to garrison the said post at the Miami village, and its communications, with one thousand or twelve hundred troops, and have it always well stored with provisions, etc. That, from the said number, a detachment generally might be spared of sufficient magnitude to chastise any of the neighboring villages or tribes, separately, who might have dared to commit depredations; or be a place to which mounted militia might suddenly repair, draw supplies, and act in conjunction, in case of a combination of the several towns or tribes in acts of hostility.

"Although the precise manner in which the force to be raised should be employed, cannot be pointed out with propriety at this time, as it will depend on the circumstances of the moment; yet it would not be improper to observe, that, upon a review of the objects of the late campaign, to-wit: The establishment of a strong military post at the Miami village, (junction of the St. Mary's and St. Joseph's,) with the necessary posts of communication, the necessity and propriety thereof remain the same; that this necessity will probably continue until we shall be possessed of the posts upon Lake Michigan, Detroit and Niagara, withheld from us by Great Britain, contrary to treaty. Without remarking upon the principles of this

conduct, it may be observed generally that every arrangement in the power of the United States, for establishing the tranquility of the frontiers, will be inferior to the possession of said posts. That it is, however, considered, that if the said posts were in our possession, we ought also to have a strong post at the Miami village, in order to render the protection effectual, and that the posts above mentioned will require garrisons whensoever they shall be given up."

In his official report to the War Department, communicating the particulars of the victory at the foot of the rapids, dated "Head-quarters, Grand Glaize, (Defiance,) 28th August, 1794," General Wayne says: "In the interior we shall improve Fort Defiance, and as soon as the escort returns with the necessary supplies from Greenville and Fort Recovery, the army will proceed to the Miami village, (Fort Wayne) in order to accomplish the object of the campaign."

A careful analysis of the above quotations will show the importance, in a military sense, attached to this point by General Washington's administration, and they also dimly pre-figure a just conception of its future commercial value.

This Indian capital, at the junction of the St. Mary's and St. Joseph's rivers, was the abode of the principal chiefs of the confederated tribes, and their reluctance in yielding its possession to the government of the United States was illustrated, as hitherto stated, in the conduct of Little Turtle during the negotiations of the treaty of 1795. In that contest at Greenville, there met two diplomatists—General Wayne, on the part of the United States, and Little Turtle, on behalf of the Indian confederacy—who would have been enabled to cope with the most sagacious State minister of a European court.

The council commenced its session on the 16th day of June, and the treaty was signed on the 3d and exchanged on the 7th of August. The time occupied would have been considerably abridged had it not been for the obstacles interposed by Little Turtle, the master spirit on the part of the Indians, whose chief point was to retain partial, if not full possession of his "glorious gain" at Fort Wayne. The other chiefs, many of whom, in the discussion, gave evidence of the possession of much wisdom and eloquence, early in the negotiations evinced a disposition to readily assent to all the terms presented by the commissioner of the United States. This entire discussion is of deep interest, but only that portion of it which relates especially to the negotiations affecting the title to Fort Wayne are given. In reply to a speech of Little Turtle, General Wayne said, in his address before the council held on the 24th of July:

“I have paid attention to what Little Turtle said two days since concerning the lands which he claims. He said his fathers first kindled the fires at Detroit, and stretched his lines from thence to the head waters of the Sciota; thence, down the same, to the Ohio; thence, down that river, to the mouth of the Wabash; and from thence to Chicago, on the southwest end of Lake Michigan; and observed that his forefathers had enjoyed that country from time immemorial.

“These boundaries enclose a very large space of country indeed; they embrace, if I mistake not, all the lands on which all the nations now present live, as well as those which have been ceded to the United States. * * * The Little Turtle says, the prints of his forefather’s houses are everywhere to be seen within these boundaries. Younger brother, it is true, these prints are to be observed; but, at the same time, we discover the marks of French possessions throughout this country, which were established long before we were born.

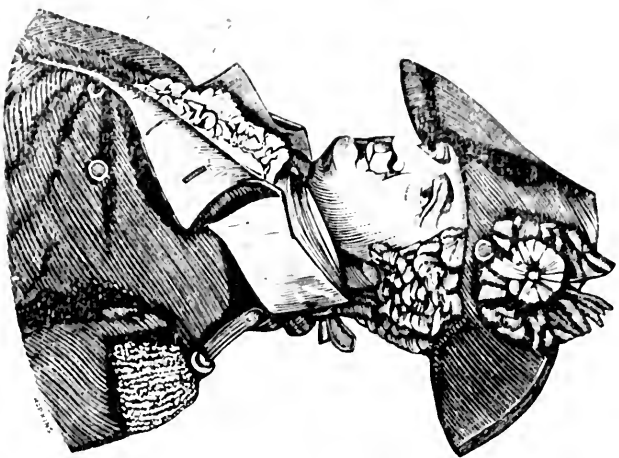
“I will point out to you a few places where I discover strong traces of these establishments; and first of all, I find at Detroit a very strong print, where the fire was first kindled by your forefathers; next at Vincennes, on the Wabash; again at Musquitou, on the same river; a little higher up that stream, they are to be seen at Onitawon; I discover another strong trace at Chicago; another on the banks of the St. Josephs of Lake Michigan. I have seen distinctly the prints of a French and of a British post at the Miami villages, [Fort Wayne.] and of a British post at the rapids, now in their possession.”

At the Council on the 27th of July, after a general acquiescence to the terms of the treaty had been given by the other chiefs, Little Turtle arose and said:

“Listen you, chiefs and warriors, to what I am about to say to you; to you I am speaking. We have heard what our elder brother has said to us this day. I expected to have heard him deliver those words ever since we have been here, for which reason I observed you were precipitate on your part. This is a business of the greatest consequence to us all; it is an affair to which no *one* among us can give an answer. Therefore, I hope we will take time to consider the subject, that we will unite in opinion, and express it unanimsly. Perhaps our brothers, the Shawanese, from Detroit, may arrive in time to give us their assistance. You, chiefs present, are men of sense and understanding; this occasion calls for your serious deliberation, and you, my uncles, the Wyandots, and grandfathers, the Delawares, view our situation in its true point of consideration.”

In the discussion on the day following, (July 28,) the New Corn, a Pottawattomic chief, growing impatient at the delay, exclaimed:

“Why do you hesitate? You know good works are always better,



GENERAL ANTHONY WAYNE.



LITTLE TURTLE.

The Statesmen and Diplomats—the first representing the interests of the United States, and the latter those of the Indian Tribes—at Fort Greenville, in 1795: pp. 230, 236, 255 and 257.

when executed with decision. I now entreat you all to join hand and heart, and finish this good work with our elder brother."

To this Little Turtle replied:

"All you present must know that every kind of business, especially such as we are at present engaged in, exhibits difficulties which require patience to remove, and consideration to adjust."

At the council on the 29th of July, addressing General Wayne, Little Turtle said:

"These people [the French] were seen by our forefathers first at Detroit: afterwards we saw them at the Miami village [Fort Wayne] —that glorious gate which your younger brothers had the happiness to own, and through which all the words of our chiefs had to pass, from the north to the south, and from the east to the west. Brothers, these people never told us they wished to purchase these lands from us.

"I now give you the true sentiments of your younger brothers, the Miamis, with respect to the reservation at the Miami villages. We thank you for kindly contracting the limits you at first proposed. We wish you to take this six mile square on the side of the river where your fort now stands, as your younger brothers wish to inhabit that beloved spot again. You shall cut hay for your cattle wherever you please, and you shall never require in vain the assistance of your younger brothers at that place.

"The next place you pointed to, was the Little river, and said you wanted two miles square at that place. This is a request that our fathers, the French or British, never made us; it was always ours. This carrying place has heretofore proved, in a great degree, the subsistence of your younger brothers. That place has brought to us, in the course of one day, the amount of one hundred dollars. Let us both own this place, and enjoy in common the advantages it affords."

In his reply, General Wayne used the following language:

"I find there is some objection to the reservation at Fort Wayne. The Little Turtle observes, he never heard of any cessions made at that place to the French. I have traced the lines of two forts at that point; one stood at the junction of the St. Joseph's with the St. Mary's, and the other not far removed on the St. Mary's, and it is ever an established rule, among the Europeans, to reserve as much ground around their forts, as their cannon can command. This is a rule as well known as any other fact.

"Objection has also been made respecting the portage between Fort Wayne and the Little river; and the reasons produced, are, that that road has been to the Miamis a source of wealth; that it has, heretofore, produced them one hundred dollars per day. It may be so; but let us inquire who, in fact, paid this heavy contribution? It is true the traders bear it in the first instance; but they laid it

on their goods, and the Indians of the Wabash really, and finally, paid it: therefore, it is the Little Beaver, the Soldier, the Sun, and their tribes, who have actually been so highly taxed."

At a private conference, on the 12th August (after the treaty had been signed and exchanged), with the Miamis, Eel river and Kickapoo Indians, the Little Turtle, in the name of the others, observed that, as they intended soon to depart, and return to their respective homes, he took the opportunity of repeating to the General that he, himself, and the Indians with him, were perfectly acquainted with every article of the treaty; that no part of it had escaped their serious and anxious deliberation: that, in the early stage of the negotiation, he had not comprehended the moderation and liberality with which he is now convinced it is dictated: that, to this cause, and to a duty which he conceives he owes his country, must be attributed the opposition he exhibited on sundry occasions; that he was persuaded his Father would not think unkindly of him for it; for he had heard him, with much pleasure, approve of the freedom with which he delivered his sentiments; that he was a man who spoke as he thought, and a man of sincerity: and that he embraced this last occasion to declare that, as he was fully convinced that the treaty was wisely and benevolently calculated to promote the mutual interest, and insure the permanent happiness of the Indians, and their Father, the Americans: so it was his determined resolution to adhere religiously to its stipulations. He asked for traders to reside at their different villages, and mentioned the names of some, who, for the confidence he had in their integrity, they wished might be licensed, and continued by the United States, as traders among them: he hoped (the Weeas particularly,) that a fort would be immediately established at Oniatanon: and promised every assistance which they could afford to the establishment: that he, himself, would reside near Fort Wayne, where daily experience should convince his Father of his sincere friendship; and that, as he intended to re-ignite the grand council fire at that place, by means of which the different nations might communicate with each other as usual, he requested his Father to give orders to the commandant at Fort Wayne, to inform him, from time to time, of any measures which the great council of the Fifteen Fires might adopt, in which the interest of their children should be concerned; and that Mr. Wells might be placed there as a resident interpreter, as he possessed their confidence as fully as he did that of their Father.

The next and final appearance of Little Turtle in the field of diplomacy, was at the Convention held at Fort Wayne, June 7, 1803. The following are the

ARTICLES of a Treaty made at Fort Wayne on the Miami of the Lake, between William Henry Harrison, Governor of the Indian Territory, superintendent of Indian affairs, and commissioner plenipotentiary of the United States for concluding any treaty or treaties which may be found necessary with any of the Indian tribes north west of the Ohio, of the one part, and the tribes of Indians called the Delawares, Shawanoes, Potawatimies, Miamis and Kickapoos, by their chiefs and head warriors, and those of the Eel river, Weeas, Piankashaws and Kaskaskias, by their agents and representatives Tutlinipee, Winnemac, Richerville and Little Turtle (who are properly authorized by the said tribes) of the other part.

ARTICLE I. Whereas, it is declared by the fourth article of the treaty of Greenville, that the United States reserve for their use the post of St. Vincennes and all the lands adjacent to which the Indian titles had been extinguished: *And whereas*, it has been found difficult to determine the precise limit of said tract as held by the French and British governments; it is hereby agreed that the boundaries of the said tract shall be as follow: Beginning at Point Coupee on the Wabash, and running thence by a line north seventy-eight degrees, west twelve miles: thence by a line parallel to the general course of the Wabash, until it shall be intersected by a line at right angles to the same, passing through the mouth of White river: thence by the last mentioned line across the Wabash and towards the Ohio, seventy two miles; thence by a line north twelve degrees west, until it shall be intersected by a line at right angles to the same, passing through Point Coupee, and by the last mentioned line to the place of beginning.

ART. II. The United States hereby relinquish all claim which they may have had to any lands adjoining to or in the neighborhood of the tract above described.

ART. III. As a mark of their regard and attachment to the United States, whom they acknowledge for their only friends and protectors, and for the consideration hereinafter mentioned, the said tribes do hereby relinquish and cede to the United States the great salt spring upon the Saline creek which falls into the Ohio below the mouth of the Wabash, with a quantity of land surrounding it not exceeding four miles square, and which may be laid off in a square or oblong as the one or the other may be found most convenient to the United States: And the said United States being desirous that the Indian tribes should participate in the benefits to be derived from the said spring, hereby engage to deliver yearly and every year for the use of said Indians, a quantity of salt not exceeding one hundred and fifty bushels, and which shall be divided among the several tribes in such manner as the general council of the chiefs may determine.

ART. IV. For the considerations before mentioned, and for the convenience which the said tribes will themselves derive from such

establishments, it is hereby agreed that as soon as the tribes called Kickapoos, Eel river, Weeas, Piankashaws and Kaskaskias shall give their consent to the measure, the United States shall have the right of locating three tracts of land (of such size as may be agreed upon with the last mentioned tribes) on the main road between Vincennes and Kaskaskias, and one other between Vincennes and Clarksville, for the purpose of erecting houses of entertainment for the accomodation of travellers. But it is expressly understood that if the said locations are made on any of the rivers which cross the said road, and ferries should be established on the same, that in times of high water any Indian or Indians belonging to either of the tribes who are parties to this treaty shall have the privilege of crossing such ferry toll free.

ART. V. Whereas, there is reason to believe that if the boundary lines of the tract described in the first article should be run in the manner therein directed, that some of the settlements and locations of land made to the citizens of the United States will fall in the Indian country—It is hereby agreed that such alterations shall be made in the direction of these lines as will include them: and a quantity of land equal in duality to what may be thus taken shall be given to the said tribes either at the east or the west end of the tract.

IN TESTIMONY WHEREOF, The commissioner of the United States and the chiefs and warriors of the Delawares, Shawanoes, Potawatimies, Miamis and Kickapoos, and those of the Eel river, Weeas, Piankashaws, and Kaskaskias, by their agents and representatives, Tuthinipee, Winnemac, Richerville, and the Little Turtle, who are properly authorized by the said tribes, have hereunto subscribed their names and affixed their seals at Fort Wayne, this seventh day of June, A. D., 1803, and of the Independence of the United States, the twenty-seventh.

WILLIAM HENRY HARRISON.

Miamies.

Richerville	} On behalf of themselves and Eel river,
Me-she-kun-nogh-quoah (or Little Turtle.)	

Kickapoos.

Nah-mah-to-hah, (or standing,) Pas-she-we-hah, (or cat.)

Shawanoese.

NEAHMEMICEH.

Pottawattomies.

Tuthinipee,	} On behalf of the Pottawattomies and Eel River,
Winnemac.	

Wannangsea, or Five Medals; Keesas (or Sun.)

Delawares.

Teta Buxike,	Hockingpomskenn.
Bu-Kon-ige-helas,	Kechkawhamund,

Shawanoese.

Cu-the-we-ka-saw, (or Black Hoof,) Methawnasice.

Signed, sealed and delivered in the presence of John Rice Jones, Secretary of the Commissioner; John Gibson, Secretary of Indian Territory; Thomas Pasterns, Capt. first regiment Infantry; Wm. Wells, Interpreter; John Johnston, United States Factor, Hendrick Anpanmert, chief of Muhhecon; Thomas Freeman.

The proceedings at the within treaty were faithfully interpreted by us, John Gibson and William Wells; that is, for the Delawares, John Gibson; and for the rest of the tribes, William Wells.

JOHN GIBSON,
WILLIAM WELLS.

To the Indian names are subjoined a marked seal.

The chief, Little Turtle, was the leader who had overthrown the Federal armies in the expeditions of 1790 and 1791, and which had struck with dismay and terror the white inhabitants of the exposed frontiers. His natural statesmanship was illustrated at Greenville. On that occasion the double task involved upon him to deal with and control his confederate chiefs, and at the same time cope with Anthony Wayne. Although environed by these perplexities, he passed the ordeal, and carried off honors only second to those which fell upon the representative of Washington's administration. He was surely a man endowed by nature with remarkable gifts. In the third campaign he met his superior in the invincible "Mad Anthony," and him he had to confront in the peaceful treaty ground at Greenville. Regarding him, Mr. Williams thus makes mention in the lecture (page 16,) above referred to:

"Of Little Turtle, Col. Johnston writes: "Meshkekunnaghquoh, or the Little Turtle, was of mixed blood, half Mohican, half Miami.
* * * * I knew him intimately—the gentleman of his race. He died at Fort Wayne, and was buried as he deserved, by the commanding officer, with all the honors of war due to his high character and rank." With great propriety, the spot which he so bravely defended against Harmar, in 1790, was selected as his burial place."

The successor to Little Turtle was "Peshkewah," or as his name is signed in the treaty of 1803, just copied, "Richerville," or, as more familiarly known to the pioneers of the Maumee and Wabash valleys, John B. Richardsville.

From the date of the treaty of Greenville, the *Miamis* remained at peace with the United States, finally realizing, from the sale of their fertile lands, much more than all the avails of their furs could have, under any possible supposition been worth. After the death of Little Turtle,* who had been their counsellor, leader, and war captain, ante and post-revolutionary, the chieftainship, being in the female line, fell into the hands of Peshkewah, or the Lyrx, a man better known on the frontiers as John B. Richardville. Inheriting French blood, of the *Metiff* cast, from the father's side, he was a man well adapted to conduct the affairs of the *Miamis* during this peculiar period. Putting forth high powers as the Governor of a numerous tribe, who had a reputation for their warlike qualities, and with a strong feeling of self-interest, he secured the best terms in every negotiation, enriching greatly both his tribe and himself.

Agreeably to tradition, Peshkewah was born within the present limits of Fort Wayne, about 1761. This was locally the period of the Pontiac war, in which the western tribes followed the lead of that energetic and intrepid Algonquin, in resisting the transfer of authority from the French to the English power. He was too young for any agency in this war, and the event has no further connection with the man than as it introduced him and his people to a new phasis of history. Braddock had been defeated in 1755. Quebec surrendered in 1759; and by the treaty which followed, France forever struck her flag in Canada. But France had left an element in the land which could not be extracted by a treaty. The French population had extensively intermarried with the Indian females, and the whole line of frontiers was composed almost entirely of this *Metiff* population. The influence of the Indian trade, that lever of power, was in their hands. They were almost exclusively acquainted with the Indian languages, and no negotiations could be accomplished without their aid. Thus England, from the fall of Quebec to the outbreak of the American revolution, may be said to have worked on the frontiers with French hands.

This is not the only great truth that belongs to this subject; for America has also been obliged to employ the same influence among the Indian population up to a period scarcely now passed. It was in this condition of things that gave Peshkewah, and all of his class who were similarly situated, such influence on the frontiers. We

*H. R. Schoolcraft, Part 5, pages 528, 529, 530.

can but allude to this period and these influences in calling attention to the man.

Within a dozen years of that time, the war of the American Revolution broke out, and the colonists found the western Indians as ready to take up the hatchet against them, as they formerly were against the English. In this feeling, as it was common to his tribe, together with others, Peshkewah naturally participated. As he was but nineteen at the close of the revolutionary war, he could have taken but little part in it. He was present, and assisted in Harmar's defeat in 1790.

Circumstances early brought young Peshkewah into notice; his mother being a chieftainess, he became the leading chief. His talents were rather those of the civilian than the warrior. He was kind and humane to prisoners while the war lasted, and as soon as peace was restored he became a worthy citizen, and enjoyed the confidence of the whites to the fullest extent. He spoke both the French and the English languages; and for a series of years, his house, which was eligibly situated on the banks of the St. Mary's, about four miles from Fort Wayne, was known as the abode of hospitality, where his friends and strangers were received with open hands.

To these generous qualities he united a disposition strictly honest, a capacity for the transaction of business far above the ordinary class of aboriginal chiefs and rulers, and a diligence and forecast in the acquisition and the husbanding of his property, which were as remarkable. In the negotiations of this tribe with the United States government for the cession of the Miami lands, he was the leading and guiding spirit of his tribe; and it is but justice to his memory to say, that he secured the best terms.

Peshkewah, at the time of his death, is believed to have been the most wealthy man of the native race in America, the estimate of his property exceeding half a million dollars. A large part of this was in the best selected lands, reserved out of the original cessions of his tribe, and other real estate. He left nearly \$200,000 in specie. This is the chief of whom it was said, on the occasion of the government feeling the general pressure for coin to meet its Indian annuities in 1837-38, that he offered to loan the disbursing agent the amount required for his tribe at a moderate interest.

A note appended to the lecture of Mr. Williams, relates, on the authority of the late Allen Hamilton, the following incident in Indian life at Fort Wayne:

“About 1792 a white man was bound to the stake for burning. The mother of the late principal chief of the Miamies, Richardville (or Peshkewah) herself the daughter of a chief, a woman of great influence in the tribe, had made fruitless efforts to save him. The savages stood around eager for the cruel sacrifice, and the torch was ready to be applied. Richardville, then a young man, had been designated as their future chief, but not yet installed. To him his mother appealed, and placing a knife in his hand, bade him assert at that moment his chieftainship. Rushing within the infuriated circle, he cut the cords that bound the white man. Though chagrined at the escape of their victim, all applauded, as men, savage or civilized, will honor a bold and decided character, and his influence and power were from that time established. The kind hearted Miami woman contrived to secrete the white man, sending him down the Maumee in a canoe, under a cover of furs and peltries, in charge of some friendly Indians. Many years afterward, the chief, on a journey to Washington City, stopped at a town in Ohio. A man approached him, throwing his arms around his neck in grateful embrace. It was the rescued prisoner.”

Richardville made a will, bequeathing his property to his children and relations with even-handed justice. He had expressed a desire to prolong his life, but finding that the time of his departure drew nigh, he resigned himself with perfect composure. He remarked that it was ordered by the Great Spirit that all men must once die, and he was ready and felt willing to obey the mandate. He died on the 13th of August, 1841, aged 80, within a few miles of the place where he was born; and it is a proof of his peaceful and domestic habits, that, with very few exceptions, his whole life had been passed upon the native domain of his tribe. His remains were deposited with religious ceremonies in the Catholic burial ground at Fort Wayne.

It has been reserved for this place and chapter to give some details relating to points of local and historical interest not embodied in preceding pages.

“According to the statement of chief Richardville, Mr. Peltier and others,” says Mr. J. L. Williams, “the extreme point of land just below the mouth of the St. Joseph, now so attractive in rural, peaceful beauty, is said to have been the accustomed place for burning prisoners.” And General Cass, in his address July 4, 1843, stated that, “for many years, during the frontier history of this place, (Ft. Wayne,) and region, the line of your canal was a bloody war-path, which has seen many a deed of horror; and this peaceful town has had its Moloch, and the records of human depravity furnish no more terrible examples of cruelty than were offered at this shrine. The Miami Indians, our predecessors in the occupation

of this district, had a terrible institution whose origin and object have been lost in the darkness of aboriginal history, but which was continued to a late period, and whose orgies were held upon the very spot where we now are. It was called the man-eating society, and it was the duty of its associates to eat such prisoners as were preserved and delivered to them for that purpose. And here occurs a resumption of notes, not given in the preceding part of this volume, relating to the visit and experience of General Wayne and his military successor at this point, Colonel Hamtramck; inasmuch as the events which occurred during the military administration of these officers are of local historical value."

On the 11th of September, 1794, the defences at Fort Defiance having been completed, the legion under General Wayne began their march for the Miami villages at the head of the Maumee, where they arrived at 5 o'clock, *v. m.*, Sep. 17; and on the following day the commander-in-chief reconnoitered the ground and determined on the spot to build a garrison. The following are extracts from the journal of Wayne's campaign :

"Camp Miami Villages, 18th Sept., 1794.—Four deserters from the British came to us this day, and bring the information that the Indians are encamped eight miles below the British fort to the number of 1600.

"20th Sept.—General Barber, with his command, arrived in camp about 9 o'clock this morning with 558 kegs of flour, each containing 100 pounds.

"23d Sept.—Four deserters from the British garrison arrived at our camp; they mention that the Indians are still embodied on the Miami (Maumee) nine miles below the British fort; that they are somewhat divided in opinion—some are for peace, others, for war.

24th Sept.—This day the work commenced on the garrison, which I am apprehensive will take some time to complete. A keg of whiskey, containing ten gallons, was purchased this day for eighty dollars, a sheep for ten dollars. Three dollars was offered for one pint of salt, but it could not be obtained for less than six.

26th Sept.—McClelland, one of our spies, with a small party, came in this evening from Fort Defiance, who brings information that the enemy are troublesome about the garrison, and that they have killed some of our men under the walls of the fort. Sixteen Indians were seen to-day near this place; a small party went in pursuit of them. I have not heard what discoveries they have made.

"4th Oct.—This morning we had the hardest frost I ever saw in the middle of December; it was like a small snow; there was ice in our camp kettles three fourths of an inch thick; the fatigues go on with velocity, considering the rations the troops were obliged to live on.

“6th Oct.—Plenty and quietness; the volunteers engaged to work on the garrison for which they are to receive three gills of whiskey per man per day. Their employment is digging the ditch and filling up the parapet.

“8th Oct.—The troops drew but half rations of flour this day. The cavalry and other horses die very fast, not less than four or five per day.

“9th Oct.—The volunteers have agreed to build a block house in front of the garrison.

“11th Oct.—A Canadian (Rozelie) with a flag arrived this evening; his business was to deliver up three prisoners in exchange for his brother, who was taken on the 20th of August; he brings information that the Indians are in council with Girty and McKee near the fort of Detroit, and that all the tribes are for peace except the Shawanees, who are determined to prosecute the war.

“16th Oct.—Nothing new; weather wet and cold; wind from N. W. Troops healthy in general.

“19th Oct.—This day the troops not ordered for labor; being the first day for four weeks, and accordingly attended divine service.”

On the morning of the 22d of October, 1794, the garrison was in readiness, and Lieutenant Colonel Hamtramck assumed command of the post, with the following sub-legions: Captain Kingsbury's 1st; Captain Greateon's 2d; Captains Spark's and Reed's 3d; Captain Preston's 4th, and Captain Porter's of artillery; and after firing fifteen rounds of cannon, Colonel Hamtramck gave it the name of Fort Wayne.

On the 28th of October, General Wayne, with the main body of the regulars, took up his line of march for Fort Greenville, arriving at that point on the 2d of November. Colonel Hamtramck remained in command at Fort Wayne until the 17th of May, 1796; and though nothing of a very important nature transpired during that time, yet there is much of interest to be gathered from the many letters of Colonel H. written from the fort, and addressed to Generals Wayne and Wilkinson—these letters having first been made public in the American pioneer, in 1843, and re-published in Brice's History of Fort Wayne:

“FORT WAYNE, December 29, 1794.

“Sir: Yesterday a number of chiefs of the Chippeways, Ottawas, Sacs and Pottawatamies arrived here with the two Lassalles, (Jacques and Antoine.) It appears that the Shawanees, Delawares and Miamis remain still under the influence of McKee; but Lasalle thinks they will be compelled to come into the measures of the

other Indians. After the chiefs have rested a day or two, I will send them to headquarters."

"FORT WAYNE, December 29, 1794.

"Sir: Since my last letter to you of the present date, two war chiefs have arrived from the Miami nation, and inform me that their nation will be here in a few days, from whence they will proceed to Greenville. They also bring the intelligence that the remaining tribes of savages acceding to the prevalent wish for peace, and collecting for the purpose the chiefs of their nations, who, it is supposed, will make their appearance at this post about the same time the Miamis may come forward."

"FORT WAYNE, December 13, 1795.

"The issues to the Indians would be very inconsiderable this winter, if it was not for about ninety old women and children, with some very old men, who live near us, and have no other mode of subsisting but by garrison. I have repeatedly tried to get clear of them, but without success."

"FORT WAYNE, January 13, 1796.

"About ninety old women and children have been victualled by the garrison. I have, yesterday, given them five days provisions, and told them that it was the last they could have until spring. (I was obliged to do so, because, from calculation I have no more flour than will last me until spring. But, sir, if other supplies could be got by land I would consider it politic to feed these poor creatures, who will suffer very much for want of subsistence.

(To General Wilkinson.)

March 28, 1796.

"I am out of wampum. I will be very much obliged to you to send me some, for speaking to an Indian without it is like consulting a lawyer without a fee."

(To General Wilkinson.)

April 5, 1796.

"Little Turtle arrived yesterday, to whom I delivered your message. His answer was, to present his compliments to you: that he was very glad of the invitation, as he wished very much to see General Wilkinson, but it was impossible for him to go to Greenville at present, as he had ordered all his young men to repair to a rendezvous, in order, when assembled, to choose a place for a permanent residence; that, as soon as that object shall be accomplished, he would go to see you, which, he said, would be by the time he hears from you again."

(To General Wilkinson.)

April 18, 1796.

"The bearer is Captain Blue Jacket, who, at your request, is now going to Greenville. Blue Jacket is used to good company, and is always treated with more attention than other Indians. He appears to be very well disposed, and I think him sincere."

“For a period of sixteen years subsequent to the treaty of Greenville, agreeable relations were maintained, by the United States, between the Miamis and some other tribes represented at that famous treaty. During this time the Indians seemed mainly to have betaken themselves to the forests and prairies in pursuit of game; and the result was that a considerable traffic was steadily carried on with the Indians, by fur traders of Fort Wayne and Vincennes, and at different trading posts which were established on the borders of the Wabash river and its tributaries. The furs and peltries which were obtained from the Indians, were generally transported to Detroit. The skins were dried, compressed and secured in bales—each bale weighing about one hundred pounds. A pirogue or boat, that was sufficient to carry forty bales, required the labor of four men to manage it on its voyage. In favorable stages of the Wabash river, such a vessel, under the management of skillful boatmen, was propelled fifteen or twenty miles a day, against the current. After ascending the river Wabash and the Little river to the portage near Fort Wayne, the traders carried their bales or packs over the portage, to the head of the river Maumee, where they were again placed in pirogues, or in keel boats, to be transported to Detroit. At this place the furs and skins were exchanged for blankets, guns, knives, powder, bullets, intoxicating liquors, etc., with which the traders returned to their several posts.”—*Dillon's History of Indiana, or Brice's History of Fort Wayne.*

In 1810, General William H. Harrison, the governor of Indiana territory, was made acquainted with a plot that was maturing for the surprise and massacre of Fort Wayne, Detroit, Chicago, Vincennes and St. Louis. Tecumseh, and his brother the Prophet “were moving with the slow but sure action of a volcano; and the internal heat of their efforts was continually made the more apparent by the rising cinders cast up in the endeavor here and there to secretly draw the different tribes of the west and south within their circle, and by other means, equally wily and surreptitious, to bring their plans to bear for the overthrow of the whites of the north west.”

Notwithstanding these machinations resulted in overt acts of hostility, including the bloody conflict of Tippecanoe, a few days after the latter event, on the 22d of November, 1811, the period for the annual meeting of the Indians to receive their payments arrived, and they began to assemble in great numbers to receive their allotted portions. Col. John Johnston was then Indian Agent at Ft. Wayne. Many of the chiefs in attendance claimed their respective portions of the annuity equal to that of the most peaceful of the tribes—representing that the Prophet's followers had him in confinement,

and purposed taking his life; that he was chargeable with all their troubles; together with many other stories of a similar character, all, in the main, untrue, especially as regarded the Prophet's confinement, for, at that time, he was at full liberty on the Mississinewa. But the stories presented to Col. Johnston had the desired effect, and he was induced thereby to inform the government that the Indians were all favorable to peace; and yet, says McAfee, "in most of the nations here assembled, a British faction was boiling to the brim, and ready to flow on our devoted frontiers, wherever the British agents might think proper to increase the fire of their hostility."

"The old council house was located about the spot now occupied by Michael Hedekin, Esq. It was a two story log building, about sixty feet long, by twenty wide; and stood but a short distance to the southwest of the fort. It was in this building that the agent lived. And it was often an interesting as well as painful sight to witness the tall red men, with their painted faces, gaily plumed with feathers and trinkets; their skins, in some instances, barely covering their loins, in others a blanket wrapped about them, sitting in groups here and there, or standing at some point recounting their adventures or misfortunes; or, having drunk 'fire-water,' freely, were venting their savage ferocity upon each other in hard words or death blows with the tomahawk or scalping knife; the squaws wandering about with their papposes to their backs, or sitting about with their Indian husbands, awaiting their turn to receive their annuity, or in some way obtain a little favor, if only a pipe or loaf of wheat bread, at the hands of some pale face or friend. Such was life in the vicinity of the council house and fort here during portions of many years subsequent to the treaty of Greenville."—*Brice's History of Fort Wayne*, p 200.

After the surrender of Hull at Detroit, Tecumseh devised a scheme (ante, p 133,) for the siege of Fort Wayne and Fort Harrison. This demonstration was made in September, 1812. The garrison at Fort Wayne was under the command of Captain Rhea, whose habits of intemperance disqualified him for the place; and during a period of two weeks the safety of the fort, principally owing to the incompetency of the commander, was in jeopardy. An express had been sent to General Harrison requesting re-enforcements. One day a white man and four Indians arrived at the fort on horseback, "in full yell." It was the Indian yell of triumph. The white man, who was foremost, proved to be Major William Oliver, and accompanied by four friendly Shawanee Indians, the brave Logan among the number. The garrison had been for more

than a fortnight in a state of suspense; not knowing whether the express to General Harrison had gotten through or not, and every day under the apprehension that the British force would arrive. All were on tip-toe to hear the news; William Oliver and his little party had arrived in defiance of five hundred Indians—had broken their ranks and reached the fort in safety. He reported that about two thousand volunteers had assembled in Kentucky for the relief of General Hull at Detroit, and had marched to Cincinnati. There they were informed that Hull had surrendered, and deemed it unnecessary to march any further in that direction. Harrison having received the dispatch from the agent (Major B. F. Stickney,) at Ft. Wayne, had determined to march to its relief. Ohio was raising volunteers. Eight hundred were then assembled at St. Mary's, Ohio, sixty miles south of Fort Wayne, and intended to march to the relief of the fort in three or four days. At Cincinnati great fears were entertained that the fort had been captured, and its inmates massacred. When the question arose, as to how the condition of Fort Wayne was to be ascertained, the stoutest hearts in the army quailed.

Oliver was then a young man of about twenty-three years of age; possessed the true spirit, and was at the time sutler to Fort Wayne. Previous to any knowledge of the hostile intentions of the Indians, Oliver had gone to Cincinnati on business. He called on Governor Harrison, and made a tender of his services, individually, to obtain the necessary information. Harrison thought the danger too great and endeavored to dissuade him from making the attempt; but he had determined to accomplish it, or lose his life in the effort. When Governor Harrison shook hands with him, he observed that he "should not see him again." A man by the name of Worthington, an Indian Commissioner of the time, embarked with Oliver in this adventurous undertaking, placing themselves at the head of about eighty whites, forty of whom, so perilous seemed the task before them, after a march of about three days, returned home.

Having pursued their course, with care, until within some twenty-four miles of the fort, a council was called to consider the expediency of a further advance, when it was concluded best for all to remain behind except Oliver, Logan and the other Indian attendants. On the following morning, with their horses, they continued their way, "with the common wariness of Indians and without any remarkable occurrence, until they came within some four miles of the fort.

Oliver had determined to enter the fort in broad daylight." They now began an examination of the ground with great precaution, determining to ascertain, if possible, what movement had taken place, and the exact locality of the Indians. The keen eye of Logan now discovered that the enemy was concealed along the road, with a view to cut off any re-enforcements that might attempt to reach the garrison.

Leaving the main road, they now moved cautiously across to the Maumee river, whither, leaving their horses in a thicket, they advanced on foot towards the fort, in order to get a view of it, and to ascertain, if possible, whether it still held out against the besiegers. Being fully satisfied on this point, they again repaired to the thicket where they had left their horses, remounted, and soon struck the main road again. The moment of greatest peril and determination had now come. The fort was to be gained at the expense of life itself; and putting whip to their horses, Oliver and his faithful Shawanee companions started in full speed for the fort. What was most remarkable, the moment of the attempt proved to be the only safe one that had for some days presented itself, as though a kind providence had opened the way for the safe arrival of the party to cheer the inmates of the beleaguered garrison. First reaching the gate of the esplanade, and finding it inaccessible, they descended the river bank, and were soon admitted by the northern gate.

Oliver's story was soon told. When the volunteers of Ohio, assembled at St. Mary's, learned the extent of the Indian force about Fort Wayne, they deemed it imprudent to advance with so small a force, and concluded to await the arrival of the Kentuckians, thus subjecting the garrison to a still longer state of suspense. The anxiety was intense: and it was through extreme good fortune, and mere accident, that the fort was enabled to hold out, under its incapable management. Oliver, though a private citizen, was now the most efficient man in the fort. Having prepared a letter announcing to General Harrison his safe arrival at the fort, and its perilous situation, Oliver immediately started his Indian companions back with the letter, while he determined to take his chances with the inmates of the fort. Seeking an opportune moment, Logan and his companions left the fort safely, but were soon observed and pursued. Their exultant shouts soon revealed to the inmates of the garrison

that they had outstripped their pursuers, and passed the lines unharmed.

The Indians now again began a furious attack upon the fort, but the little garrison bravely met the assault, and were, in a few days more, enabled to hail the approach of the army.

On the morning of the 6th of September, the army began its march for Fort Wayne, encamping that evening in the woods some twelve miles from Piqua. Early on the morning of the 7th the army resumed its march. This day, says one of their number, (John D. White, of Lawrenceburg, Indiana,) "we made fifteen miles, and encamped on a branch, three and a half miles this side of St. Mary's river. During the 8th we only marched to St. Mary's, where we lay till next day. On this evening we were joined by two hundred mounted volunteers, under Colonel Richard M. Johnson, who had volunteered for thirty days, on hearing that Fort Wayne was besieged. Wednesday, the 9th, we marched eighteen miles, to what is called Shane's crossing of St. Mary's. Here we overtook a regiment of eight hundred men from Ohio, under Colonels Adams and Hawkins, who had started on to the relief of Fort Wayne. On arriving at this point, Logan and four other Shawanees, offered their services to General Harrison as spies, and were accepted. Previous to our arrival, Logan had gone on in disguise, and passing through the camp of the besieging party, had ascertained their number to be about fifteen hundred. Logan also went to the fort, and encouraged the soldiers to hold on as relief was at hand. Colonels Adams and Hawkins having joined our army, we now had a force of about three thousand five hundred. Friday morning we were under marching orders after an early breakfast. It had rained, and the guns were damp; we were ordered to discharge them, and reload, as we were then getting into the vicinity of the enemy, and knew not how soon we might be attacked. A strong detachment of spies under Captain James Suggett, of Scott county, marched considerably ahead of the army. Indications of the enemy having advanced from their position at Fort Wayne, for the purpose of watching the movements of our army, were manifest, and Captain Suggett came upon the trail of a large party, which he immediately pursued. After following the trail for some distance, he was fired on by an Indian, who had secreted himself in a clump of bushes so near to Suggett that the powder burnt his clothes, but the ball missed him. The Indian jumped from his covert and attempted to escape, but

Andrew Johnson, of Scott, shot him. On the return of Captain Suggett's party, orders were issued for the men to turn out and make a breastwork around the encampment, which order was promptly obeyed, and before dark the same was fortified by a breastwork, made by cutting down trees and piling them on each other. A strong picket guard was detailed and posted at a considerable distance from the line. After tattoo, at 9 o'clock, we lay down; after which, the officer of the night came around to give us the watch-word, which was "fight on." (The watch-word is given to the sentinel as well as the army, in order that, in case of a night attack, and the sentinels having to run into camp, may be distinguished from the enemy by it.) Orders were given, that in case of two guns being fired in quick succession, the soldiers were to repair to the breastwork. From every indication we had strong reasons for believing that we would be attacked before day. We lay with our guns on our arms and our cartridge boxes under our heads. About ten o'clock, just as the soldiers were in the enjoyment of "tired nature's sweet restorer," they were aroused by the firing of two guns by the sentinels, and the drums beat the alarm. In a moment all were at the breastwork, ready to receive the enemy. The Indians were around us, and we were in momentary expectation of an onset. At last all was calm again, and we were permitted to rest. But just as we were in the sweet embraces of sleep, we were again aroused by the firing of a number of guns, and again we were as prompt in repairing to our posts. We now stood a considerable time, and all became quiet again. At length day dawned, and the guards were relieved. We ascertained afterwards, from Indians taken prisoners that they came from their encampment with the design of making a night attack on us, but on finding us so well prepared to receive them, they declined prosecuting their designs. Without being able to get around the entire encampment before daylight next morning, the Indians returned to their own lines with the word that "*Kentuck* was coming as numerous as the trees."

"September 10 we expected to reach Fort Wayne, but thought, in all probability, we should have to fight our way, for the Indians lay at what was called the Black Swamp, five miles this side of the fort, immediately on our road. We started after an early breakfast, and marched with much caution. From St. Mary's we had moved in two lines, one on the right and the other on the left of the road at a distance of about one hundred yards therefrom, while the wagons kept the road. A short distance in advance of their camp, at the

swamp, the spies returned with information that they were there, prepared to give us battle. A halt was made, and the line of battle formed. Colonel Hawkins, of the Ohio mounted volunteers, had left the lines, and gone some distance from the road. Being partly concealed by a clump of bushes, one of his men taking him for an Indian fired at him and shot him through. The ball entered between the shoulders, and came out at the breast—which, however, did not prove mortal. We again took up the line of march, and in a short time came in sight of the smoke of the camp of the enemy.’

At the first gray of the morning of the 10th of September, the distant halloos of the disappointed savages revealed to the anxious inmates of the fort the glorious news of the approach of the army. Great clouds of dust could be seen from the fort, rolling up in the distance, as the valiant soldiery, under General Harrison, moved forward to the rescue of the garrison; and soon after daybreak the army stood before the fort. The Indians had beat a retreat to the eastward and northward, and the air about the old fort resounded with the glad shouts of welcome to General Harrison and the brave boys of Ohio and Kentucky.—*Brice's History of Fort Wayne.*

The Indians had mainly fled. Some, however, were courageous enough to remain until a few moments before the army reached the fort, who were pursued by the Ohio horsemen, but without success. Previous to the commencement of the siege, there were several dwellings near the fort, forming a handsome little village; but it was now, on the arrival of the army, in ruins—having been burned down by the Indians, together with the United States factory. The occupants of the dwellings surrounding the fort, as the siege began, sought refuge within the garrison, where they remained in safety till the army arrived.

The fort, during the siege, was well supplied with provisions. There was a good well of water within the enclosure, traces of which are yet to be seen, just at the edge of the south side of the canal.

Of the fort at this period, which was the same built by the order of General Wayne, in 1794, Captain McAfee said: “It is delightfully situated, on an eminence on the south bank of the Miami of the Lake, immediately below the formation of that river by the junction of the St. Mary’s from the southwest with the St. Joseph’s from the north. It is well constructed of block houses and picketing, but could not resist a British force, as there are several eminences on the south side, from which it could be commanded by a six or nine pounder.”

During the siege, the garrison lost but three men. From subse-

quent information, it was believed that the Indian loss was about twenty-five. Eight were seen to fall. One Indian was killed at a distance of three hundred yards, while standing in the St. Mary's river. A soldier by the name of King, with a long, heavy rifle, fired, and the ball took effect in the back of the savage, between his shoulders, and he fell into the water.

The second day following the arrival of the army at Fort Wayne, General Harrison sent out two detachments, with the view of destroying the Indian villages in the region of country lying some miles around Fort Wayne, the first division being composed of the regiments under Colonels Lewis and Allen, and Captain Garrard's troop of horse, under General Payne, accompanied by General Harrison. The second division, under Colonel Wells, accompanied by a battalion of his own regiment under Major Davenport, (Scott's regiment,) the mounted battalion under Johnson, and the mounted Ohio men under Adams. These expeditions were all successful; and after the return of the divisions under Payne and Wells, General Harrison sent them to destroy Little Turtle Town, some twenty miles northwest of the fort, with orders not to molest the buildings formerly erected by the United States for the benefit of Little Turtle, whose friendship for the Americans had ever been firm after the treaty of Greenville. Colonel Simrall most faithfully performed the task assigned him, and on the evening of the 19th returned to the fort.

In addition to these movements, (says Mr. Brice,) General Harrison took the precaution to remove all the undergrowth in the locality surrounding the fort, extending towards the confluence of the St. Joseph and St. Mary, to where now stands Rudisill's mill, and westward as far as St. Mary, to the point where now stands the Fort Wayne College; thence southeast to about the point of the residence of the late Allen Hamilton, and to the east down the Maumee a short distance. And so well cleared was the ground, including a very large part of the entire limits of the present site of the city of Fort Wayne, that it was said by those who were here at that early day, and to a later period, a sentinel "on the bastions of the fort looking westward, could see a rabbit running across the grounds as far as so small an object was discernible to the naked eye." The seclusive points were thus cut off, and the Indians now had no longer any means of concealing their approach upon the fort. Some thirty or forty acres of what is now known as the Cole farm, extending to the junction of the rivers, and just opposite the Maumee, was

then known as the Public Meadow, which of course was then, as it had long before been, a considerable open space. The soldiers were thus readily enabled to observe the approach of any hostile movement against the fort, and to open the batteries, with formidable effect, upon any advance that might be made against the garrison, from any direction.

On the 5th of June, 1813, the regiment under Colonel Richard M. Johnson being then at Fort Meigs, took up its line of march for Fort Wayne. When the troops reached Shane's crossing on the St. Mary's, about forty miles from Fort Wayne, they were halted and drilled for some time, and here remained over night. Heavy rains having but recently fallen, the St. Mary's was found impassable; and on the following morning a rude bridge was formed over this stream by felling trees across it, upon which the army crossed with their baggage and guns, while their horses were gotten over by swimming them by the side of the fallen timber. The remainder of the route to Fort Wayne proved very difficult; "all the flats and marshes," says McAfee, "being covered with water, and the roads very miry." Reaching the fort on the 7th of June, it was found that the boats had all gained the common landing place, at the base of the hill, just below the garrison, in safety; but one, which had stranded on a sand bar a short distance above, and in sight of the fort; and while attempting to get the boat off, the boatmen were fired upon by some Indians lurking near, and two of the boatmen killed, while the third, in attempting to reach the shore was drowned.

Arriving a little in advance of the regiment, Colonel Johnson and staff, as soon as it was possible to get ready, mounted their horses and crossed to the boat. The Indians at once fired upon their advance, and then retreated. The spies having now suggested that the Indians were considerably stronger than the party under Colonel Johnson, a pursuit was deferred until the arrival of the regiment, when a chase was immediately commenced and continued for some ten miles; but rain beginning to fall heavily, the party was compelled to return to the fort, without having gained sight of the Indians. Further pursuit was made in the direction of the south-east shore of Lake Michigan; and after several days employed in this service, discovered the Indian villages everywhere deserted, the warriors being in the vicinity of Malden.

After a few days stay at Fort Wayne, the regiment under Johnson proceeded down the Maumee, with an escort of provisions, to

Fort Defiance. The provisions were placed in boats, with a number of men to man them, while the troops continued their way along the road opened by General Winchester, on the north side of the Maumee, encamping every night with the boats. Reaching Fort Defiance, Colonel Johnson, in pursuance of a suggestion made by General Harrison, was contemplating a movement against the enemy upon the river Raisin; but while arranging the plans of this movement, an express arrived from General Clay, commanding at Fort Meigs, with information that the British and Indians threatened to invest that place again, and with a request that Colonel Johnson would march his regiment there immediately for its relief. Orders to march were promptly given; and such was the zeal and activity of both officers and men, that in half an hour they were all ready to move, and commenced crossing the Maumee opposite the fort. The heads of the column were then drawn up in close order, and the Colonel, in a short and impressive address, instructed them in their duties. At ten o'clock on the same night the regiment arrived opposite Fort Meigs, "without molestation," says McAfee, "and encamped in the open plain between the river and the hill on which the British batteries had been erected." Colonel Johnson's subsequent movements and gallant services have been noticed in previous pages.

In his History of Fort Wayne, Mr. Brice says: "The old fort, as originally built by order of General Wayne, in 1794, had withstood the ravages of time, and the efforts of the Indians to destroy it remarkably well. From the period of General Hamtramck's occupation of it, after the departure of General Wayne, to its final evacuation, in 1819, it had been in charge of many commandants. After the resignation of Captain Rhea, in 1812, Captain Hugh Moore assumed command; who, in 1813, was superseded by Joseph Jenkinson. In the spring of 1814, Major Whistler became its commandant, who, in turn, was superseded by Major Josiah H. Vose, who continued in command until its final evacuation, 19th of April, 1819." In 1814, while under command of Major Whistler, the post was repaired and strengthened.

"In 1815," continues Mr. Brice, "a few houses began to appear some distance from the fort, but usually in range of the bastions, so that in case of attack they might easily be destroyed, or the enemy driven away. One of these was built about the center of what is now Barr street, near the corner of Columbia, which, some

years afterwards, being removed from its former locality, formed a part of the old Washington Hall building, on the south-west corner of Columbia and Barr streets, destroyed by fire in 1858.

"Among those who came to this point in 1815, were Mr. Bourie, grandfather of L. T. Bourie; Dr. Turner, Dr. Samuel Smith, from Lancaster, Ohio; and John P. Hedges returned here from Cincinnati, whither, and to Bowling Green, Kentucky, he had gone after the battle of the Thames. The following year (1816) Dr. Trevitt came.

Allen county was named at the suggestion of General Tipton, in honor of Colonel John Allen, of Kentucky, a distinguished lawyer, who met his death at the massacre of the River Raisin. The county presents the following area :

Square miles.....	651.35
No. of acres.....	413,607.08

"In 1816, Indiana having been admitted as a State, in compliance with an act of Congress, this part of the State, then a portion of Knox county, was represented by John Badolet, John Benefiel, John Johnson, William Polk and Benjamin Parke, all now deceased. The seat of government of Knox county was at Vincennes, which had for several years been the capital of the Indiana Territory; and all judicial matters relating to the vicinity of Fort Wayne were settled at Vincennes up to 1818, when this portion of the State, extending to Lake Michigan, was embraced in Randolph county, of which Winchester was the county seat up to the formation of Allen county, in 1823. Among those engaged in the Indian trade at this point, and at what is now South Bend in 1821, were Francis Comperet, with the Pottawotamies, at the latter place, and Alexis Coquillard, with the Miamis, at the former. William G. and George W. Ewing arrived here in 1822, and began to trade with the Indians. En route for the Mississippi, General Lewis Cass, and the Indian historian, H. R. Schooleratt, made a short stop at this point in June, 1822, reaching here in a canoe by way of the Maumee, from Detroit, whence their frail vessel was hauled across the Portage to Little River, from whence they proceeded on their journey to the Father of Waters."

In May, 1822, a land office was established in Fort Wayne, and Joseph Holman, of Wayne county, was appointed Register, and Captain Samuel C. Vance, Receiver. On the 22d of October, 1823, a public sale of the lands in the district commenced, the minimum price being fixed at \$1.25 per acre. At this sale, Messrs. McCorkle, of Piqua, Ohio, and Barr, of Baltimore, Maryland, became the purchasers of that portion of the city marked on the maps "Old Plat of Fort Wayne." The purchasers reserved suitable lots for church,

school and burial purposes, to be donated when required for those several uses. The late Judge Hanna subsequently became the purchaser of the interest of Barr and McCorkle. John W. Dawson, Esq., in his *Fort Wayne Times* in 1858, said: "In the old school house, many of those, then young, but now past middle life who yet live here, many dead, and others absent, had their early training for usefulness; and many there experienced that joy only once known in a life-time; while, perhaps, nearly every teacher, who there disciplined the youthful mind, has gone to his final account, and soon here to be entirely forgotten. This old school house was built of brick, in 1825, and was then quite large enough for all needed purposes. It was only one story in height, and served, for many years, not only as a school house, but as a place of religious worship, town meetings, Masonic installations, political speeches, &c. J. P. Hedges was among the first teachers in this old pioneer school house. Henry Cooper, Esq., is claimed as the first school teacher of the place." Under the authority of an act of the Indiana Legislature of 1823, the county of Allen was organized, and in 1824 the seat of justice established at Fort Wayne. The following is a list of the first officers elected: Anthony L. Davis, Clerk; Allen Hamilton, Sheriff; Samuel Hanna and Benjamin Cushman, Associate Judges; Joseph Holman, Treasurer; H. B. McKeen, Assessor; W. T. Daviss, Overseer of the Poor; R. Hars, Inspector of Elections; Israel Taylor, Joseph Troutner and Moses Scott, Fence Viewers.

The following forms the list of commissioned Justices of the Peace of Allen county, for 1872:

Wayne Township and City, James E. Graham; *Abbots*, H. Bittenger, William Stewart, Samuel C. Freeman, and Daniel Ryan; *Abolt*, Simon B. Stouder; *Lake*, Henry Keeler; *Eel River*, William B. Shoaf; *Peery*, Henry Wilkison and Wm. J. Mayo; *Cedar Creek*, I. W. Beard; *St. Joseph*, John Brown; *Milau*, Daniel M. Frisby; *Springfield*, Francis Cosgrove and Nathan B. Hale; *Scipio*, H. W. Hide; *Maumee*, Robert B. Shirley; *Jackson*, Frederick Mead and John McMillen; *Jefferson*, Francis Roy and John Nail; *Monroe*, William Dickinson and A. A. Baker; *Madison*, Silas Work and Thomas McIntosh; *Marion*, Harvey K. Turner and Hiram Coleman; *Pleasant*, M. Mineheart; *Lafayette*, Henry S. Kelsey and John A. Bowser; *Adams*, Samuel H. Eveland, and John Dougal; *Washington*, Ephraim Ireby.

COUNTY OFFICERS.—Clerk, Wm. S. Edsall; Auditor, Henry J. Rudisill; Treasurer, John Ring; Sheriff, Chas. A. Zollinger; Recorder, John M. Koeh; County Commissioners, John Begue, John C. Davis and Jacob Hillegas; Prosecuting Attorney, Edward O'Rourke, (Joseph S. France, Prosecuting Attorney elect;) Surveyor, W. H. Goshorn; Coroner, John P. Waters; School Examiner, James H. Smart; Court House Janitor, A. M. Webb.

The first and last city officers of Fort Wayne are given below—beginning with the organization of the municipal government, in 1840, and closing with the current year :

1840—Mayor, Geo. W. Wood; Recorder, F. P. Randall; Attorney, F. P. Randall; Treasurer, Geo. F. Wright; High Constable, Samuel S. Morss; Collector, Samuel S. Morss; Assessor, Robert E. Fleming; Market Master, James Post; Street Commissioner, Joseph H. McMaken; Chief Engineer, Samuel Edsall; Lumber Measurer, John B. Cocanour. Aldermen, Wm. Rockhill, Thomas Hamilton, Madison Sweetser, Samuel Edsall, Wm. S. Edsall, Wm. L. Moon.

OFFICERS OF THE FORT WAYNE CITY GOVERNMENT FOR 1872.—Mayor, Franklin P. Randall; Clerk, Sam. P. Freeman; Treasurer, John A. Droegemeyer; Civil Engineer, Charles S. Breckenridge; Chief Engineer of Fire Department, Thomas Mannix; Market Master, Wm. Schneider; Street Commissioner, B. L. P. Willard; Marshal, Chas. Uplegger; Chief of Police, M. Singleton; Councilmen, O. P. Morgan, Charles McCulloch, John W. Bull, H. H. Putnam, T. Hogan, Henry Stoll, Louis Dessaner, A. H. Carrier, James Lillie, O. E. Bradway, C. Becker, Wm. Tegtmeyer, George Jacoby, H. Schnelker, G. H. Wilson, S. T. Hanna, C. Tremmel and J. Shoepf.

The original City Charter was written by Hon. F. P. Randall, and passed by act of the General Assembly of the State of Indiana, incorporating the city of Fort Wayne, approved February 22, 1840, and provided for the election, by the people, of a President (or Mayor,) and six members of the Board of Trustees, (or Common Council,) and the election of General Officers by said Board, or Council.

The progress in material wealth of Allen county and Fort Wayne may be approximately measured by the following statement, gathered from the books of Henry Rudisill, Esq., County Auditor:

1840—Taxable valuation of real property in Allen county.....	\$ 821,662
Taxable valuation of personal property in Allen county.....	234,932
Taxable valuation of real property in Fort Wayne.....	367,336
Taxable valuation of personal property in Fort Wayne.....	134,932
1850—Taxable valuation of real property in Allen county.....	1,860,103
Taxable valuation of personal property.....	595,336
Taxable valuation of real property in Fort Wayne.....	604,439
Taxable valuation of personal property in Fort Wayne.....	381,476
1860—Taxable valuation of real property in Allen county.....	4,952,385
Taxable valuation of personal property.....	1,950,695
Taxable valuation of real property in Fort Wayne.....	1,449,300
Taxable valuation of personal property.....	814,870
1872—Taxable valuation of real property in Allen county.....	10,210,824
Taxable valuation of personal property.....	3,657,352
Taxable valuation of real property in Fort Wayne.....	4,191,715
Taxable valuation of personal property.....	2,358,845

The growth of Allen county during a period of forty years is exhibited in the following census returns :

1840.....	996
1840.....	5,942
1850.....	16,719
1860.....	29,328
1870.....	43,494

And of the city and several townships in the county, during three decennial periods, in the following table :

TOWNSHIPS AND CITIES.	1870	1860	1850
Aboite.....	906	876	539
Adams.....	2388	1773	1012
New Haven.....	912	.....	.....
Cedar Creek.....	1713	1228	814
Eel River.....	1217	1003	655
Fort Wayne.....	19460	10319	4282
Jackson.....	202	93	.....
Jefferson.....	1445	1061	568
Lafayette.....	1471	1320	524
Lake.....	1309	951	578
Madison.....	1278	919	561
Marion.....	1319	1358	1095
Maumee.....	394	164	93
Milan.....	1183	786	361
Monroe.....	1479	610	414
Monroeville.....	630	.....	.....
Perry.....	1280	1180	842
Pleasant.....	1280	1207	658
Scipio.....	420	346	173
Springfield.....	1749	1505	702
St. Joseph.....	1373	1065	748
Washington.....	1628	1487	1305

CHURCHES.—There are twenty-two, namely : Three Presbyterian ; three Catholic ; four Lutheran ; four Methodist ; two Protestant Episcopal ; one Baptist ; one Congregational ; one Bethel (Evangelical Association ;) one Jewish Synagogue, and two German Reformed.

NEWSPAPERS.—Four, namely : The Fort Wayne *Sentinel*, (daily and weekly,) Dumm & Fleming, editors and proprietors ; the Fort Wayne *Gazette*, (daily and weekly,) McNiece & Alexander, editors and proprietors ; *Indiana Staats Zeitung*, (tri-weekly and weekly,) John D. Sarninghausen, editor and proprietor ; Fort Wayne *Republican*, (weekly,) W. R. Steel, editor and proprietor ; Fort Wayne *Journal*, (weekly,) Thomas S. Taylor, editor and proprietor ; and the *Volksfreund*, (weekly,) the Volksfreund Publishing Company, proprietors.

PUBLIC SCHOOL DEPARTMENT.—Board of Education : Oliver P. Morgan, President ; John S. Irwin, Treasurer ; Pliny Hoagland, Secretary ; James H. Smart, Superintendent. In addition to the High and Training Schools, which occupy one building, there are nine others, namely : The Jefferson, Clay, Washington, Hoagland, Hanna, Harmer, Bloomingdale and East and West German Schools. These schools are all under very efficient management, and are conducted satisfactorily to the public. About 2,500 pupils were enrolled the current year.

There is also the Fort Wayne College, and three private schools, the latter in a flourishing condition, and under the auspices of the Catholic Church.

BENEVOLENT INSTITUTIONS.—There are eight Masonic organizations : Fort Wayne Commandery No. 4 ; Fort Wayne Council, No. 4 ; Fort Wayne Chapter, R. A. M. ; Wayne Lodge No. 25, F. & A. M., Summit City Lodge, No. 170 ; Home Lodge, No. 342 ; Sol. D. Bayless Lodge, No. 359, and Ancient and Accepted Scottish Rite.

The Independent Order of Odd Fellows are represented in four Lodges : Fort Wayne Lodge No. 14 ; Harmony, No. 19 ; Concordia, No. 228, and Summit City Encampment, No. 16.

The Israelites have four societies which are well sustained, nemely : The Independent Order Benai Berith ; Jewish Poor Fund Society ; Ladies' Hebrew Benevolent Society, and Hebrew Literary Association.

The Independent Order of Red Men sustain two Lodges; the Good Templars one, and the Typographical Union one.

The French citizens have a flourishing organization known as the Laf  yette Benevolent Society.

The Catholics have several charitable and literary institutions, among the most beneficent of which is a Charitable Hospital established in the large building formerly used as a hotel, and known as the Rockhill House.

The young Men's Christian Association, and the Allen County Bible Society have each a large membership.

The foregoing is all that could conveniently be obtained in regard to the religious, literary and benevolent establishments of Fort Wayne, without exhibiting a discrimination that would have subjected the writer to censure—some having furnished full data while others, engrossed in business, neglected to afford the information requested.

A copy of the Fort Wayne *Sentinel*, by Tigar & Noel, (the first paper established in the Maumee Valley,) dated August 30, 1834, is furnished by Mayor Randall. A glance at the advertisements, and other matter in this number, indicate some of the general features of the business as it then existed, and a digest is here furnished:

S. & H. Hanna & Co. advertise that they are engaged in the commission business, and that they will receive in storage and sell all kinds of produce, "and attend to the storage and forwarding business generally."

Then appears a prospectus for the *Ohio Farmer and Western Horticulturist*, published twice a month, "on fine paper and new type," by S. Medary, Batavia, Clermont County, Ohio—concluding with the admonition "that all letters to the editor must be post paid."

Samuel Edsall "respectfully informs the inhabitants of Fort Wayne and the public in general," that he is engaged in the carpenter and joiner business.

John B. Richardville notifies all concerned that he is administrator of the estate of Joseph Richardville, late of Miami county, deceased.

David Coles offers for sale "that valuable property on the Maumee River, three-fourths of a mile from Fort Wayne, consisting of a mill establishment and mill site, a portion of which is bottom,

and the balance first rate upland. There is an excellent and convenient spring of water on it."

Thomas Johnson and Lucien B. Ferry insert their law cards.

W. G. & G. W. Ewing "having prepared a commodious warehouse, will receive and sell all kinds of produce, and attend to the storage and forwarding business generally." They furthermore promise the highest price in cash and merchandise for furs and peltries.

The St. Joseph Iron Works, which appear to have been under the management of A. M. Hurd, advertise business in their line.

Comparet & Coquillard notify "all persons indebted to the firm by book account to call and make settlement; and those who are indebted by note of hand, are requested to call and pay the same."

Ebbert & Co. "inform their friends and the public in general that they have commenced the cabinet and chair making business"—their shop being "on Columbia street, one door east of Joseph Morgan's store, and nearly opposite the printing office."

Ebbert & Rhinehart announce that "they continue to carry on the carpenter and joiner business in all their various branches," "and hope by a strict attention to business," &c., &c.

John B. Dubois "returns his thanks to his numerous friends for the liberal encouragement bestowed," &c., and "informs them and the public in general that he will continue the tailoring business at his old stand adjoining the Exchange Coffee House."

An apprentice, between 14 and 16 years of age was wanted by Mr. Tigar in the *Sentinel* office.

"Good strong beer, for sale at the Fort Wayne Brewery, by the barrel or gallon, *cheap*." Signed, Comparet & Coquillard.

The co-partnership of Work & Cron, (Henry Work and Isaiah Cron,) was dissolved July 16, 1834.

Comparet & Coquillard advertise for hops and deer skins.

T. Pritchard offers the highest price in cash for old brass and copper.

"Many voters" request the announcement of the following names as suitable persons to fill the offices in the village: Corporation Trustees, John B. Bourie, L. G. Thomson, James Barnett, John B. Dubois and L. B. Wilson; and for Library Trustees, J. A. Aughinbaugh, L. V. B. Noel, Thomas Johnson, Wm. H. Wallace, H. Rudisill, Milo Runsey and Marshall L. Wines.

The publishers state, editorially, that they "have been disappointed

in receiving their supply of paper; therefore, no paper will be issued from their office next week."

The following statement of the number of votes given at the Presidential election in 1834, and at the elections in 1831 and 1832, is offered by the editor as gratifying proof of the rapid increase of population in this part of the State :

COUNTIES.	1831	1832	1834
Allen.....	358	224	208
Lagrange.....	151	87	unorganized.
Elkhart.....	361	189	182
St. Joseph.....	446	244	123
Laporte.....	482	165	unorganized.
Total.....	1801	909	513

Ten dollars reward is offered by Joseph Gronauer for the recovery of a horse that left his premises.

Horatio N. Curtis, Thos. P. Quick, William Gordon, Robert W. Clemmer, George Platter, Samuel Hughes, Robert Murphey, Henry Hughes, Andrew Clemmer, R. V. Spurrier, Wm. Banks and James Phillips, date an advertisement from Cranesville, Williams county, Ohio, and appear to have a controversy with a firm at Fort Wayne who had sold each of them Fanning Mills.

Fresh groceries at the William Tell Coffee House, No. 7 Commercial Row, are advertised.

D. Burr, Commissioner of Contracts, cautions the public against the purchase of draft No. 78, drawn on the Commissioner of the Wabash and Erie Canal, and directed to James B. Johnson, Fund Commissioner of Canal Board, and made payable to Daniel McGillycuddy.

D. Burr, Samuel Lewis and James B. Johnson, Commissioners of the Wabash and Erie Canal, serve a notice upon George Conner, to the effect that they have "requested S. Noel, Magistrate, to issue his warrant to the Sheriff to summon a jury to meet on the east part of the south-east quarter of section No. 3, Township 30 north, of range 12 east, at 10 o'clock A. M., 30th September, to ascertain the damages, if any you may have sustained by the construction of the Wabash and Erie Canal."

Anthony L. Davis has placed his notes in the hands of S. Noel, Esq., for immediate collection.

Thomas Johnson, Clerk *pro tem.*, notified the qualified voters of the town of Fort Wayne "that there will be an election at the house of Colonel Suttentfield on Monday, the 1st of September next for the purpose of electing five trustees of the corporation of said town." Dated August 11, 1834.

D. Pickering announces that an election will be held for the purpose of electing "five delegates for the Allen county library for the ensuing year."

Matthew Griggs advertises reliable property for sale, consisting of "lots Nos. 117 and 118 on the original plat of the town of Fort Wayne. On lot No. 118 there are comfortable buildings which rent for one hundred and forty-four dollars per annum. Lot No. 118 is on the corner of Barr and Berry streets—150 feet on Barr and 60 feet on Berry. For terms enquire of the subscriber, three-fourths of a mile south of Fort Wayne, or of D. H. Colerick, in Fort Wayne."

S. & H. Hanna & Co. advertise "new goods, flour, pork, butter, lard, brandy, rum, wine, molasses, tea, coffee, mackerel, shad, Ames' shovels, Collins & Co.'s axes, table knives and forks, log chains, cut spikes, tow, linen, counterpanes, needles, pins," &c.

Samuel and James Hunter inform the public that the persons who vend wind mills made at John's Mills under the direction of Mr. Bowser, sometimes represent to the people that the mills are the work of our establishment at this place. "This is not true," &c.

One hundred laborers are wanted by Isaac Whicher to whom the highest wages in cash will be given for labor on sections 57 and 117 of the Wabash and Erie Canal.

Isaac Spencer announces that he has received a new stock of summer and fall goods.

Rumsey & Stophlet advertise that they have removed their shop to the new building No. 14, Commercial Row, Columbia street.

Lucien P. Ferry gives notice that he has taken out letters of administration on the estate of Louis Godfroy, deceased, formerly of Huntington county, Indiana.

V. Armitage offers ten dollars reward to the person who will return his stray horse to Col. Suttentfield's stable.

F. D. Lasalle & Co., make a call upon those indebted to them for payment.

Henry Work offers the highest price for hides and skins, and states that he manufactures boots and shoes at his tannery.

T. Pritchard advertises the William Tell Coffee House and Reading Room, No. 7, Commercial Row, Columbia street.

Rhoda and Wm. C. Cushman gives notice that the books, notes, bonds, and every other evidence of liability to the estate of Dr. Benjamin Cushman have been placed in the hands of D. H. Colerick for immediate suit and collection.

Jacob Cox announces to the public that he has opened a saddler's shop in Commercial Row, No. 3, and notifies the citizens that they can be furnished with fire buckets, if immediate application be made; and adds the significant suggestion that "the ordinance is about to expire."

One hundred dollars is offered in an advertisement signed "Wm. T. Barry, Postmaster General, by H. Rudisill, P. M., for the arrest and delivery to the United States Marshal at Indianapolis, or secured in any jail within 150 miles of Fort Wayne, of Wm. McCoy, charged with robbing the United States mail, and who broke jail at Fort Wayne, on Friday, the 14th of May, 1834. Said McCoy is 17 years of age," &c.

Henderson & Kincaid suggest that they will have a small sum of money to lend, providing those indebted to them will call and settle their accounts soon; if not, they will inevitably have to borrow.

NOTES ON THE BUSINESS OF FORT WAYNE IN 1872.

It is a subject of regret that a more satisfactory view of the business of Fort Wayne, as it now exists, could not have been presented in these pages. In December, 1871, a Board of Trade, one of the chief purposes of which was to make an annual exhibit and publication of the business of the city, was organized; its officers and committees were judiciously selected, and its membership embraced, so far as enrolled, the best business men of the city; but the first year not having terminated, it is too late to receive for use in this work the benefit of the valuable statistics which the forthcoming first annual report will doubtless present. The writer devoted much time and effort to the work of gathering the necessary statistics; but finally, through the pressure of personal demands upon the time of railway managers, manufacturers, bankers, merchants, &c., to whom application was made, many of them were unable to communicate the facts so desirable to present a view of their several industries. The best presentment, however, from the

imperfect light attainable, is here given, prefaced by a list of the officers of the Fort Wayne Board of Trade:

President, A. P. Edgerton; *1st Vice President*, J. H. Bass; *2d Vice President*, R. G. McNiece; *Secretary*, F. S. Shurick; *Treasurer*, Chas. McCulloch; *Directors*, S. Cary Evans, S. B. Bond, A. C. Trentman, A. P. Edgerton, J. H. Bass, A. Waring, S. Thanhouser R. G. McNiece, John Orff, Chas. McCulloch and F. S. Shurick.

The following list of members of the Board will constitute something of a business landmark for future times:

<i>Name of Members.</i>	<i>Business.</i>
Alexander D. S.....	Gazette Co.
Anderson T. P.....	Piano dealers.
Aveline House.....	Hotel.
Bash Sol.....	Bash & Co., dealers in furs, wool, hides, &c.
Bass John H.....	Fort Wayne Machine Works.
Bayless Sol. D.....	Attorney-at-law.
Beaver A. C.....	Beaver, Miller & Co., planing mill.
Becker Jacob.....	Oppenheimer & Becker, com. merchants.
Bell R. C.....	Attorney-at-law.
Bond C. D.....	President Ft Wayne National Bank.
Bond J. D.....	Cashier Ft. Wayne National Bank.
Boeger Rudolph.....	Miller & Boeger, flour, feed, &c.
Bond S. B.....	President Allen Hamilton & Co.'s bank.
Bowser J. C.....	Bowser & Co., machinists.
Beach Frederick.....	Morgan & Beach, hardware.
Biddle L. M.....	Druggist.
Becker Chris.....	Shitermeister, Becker & Bond, steam lime marble works
Bond Henry W.....	Shetermeister, Becker & Bond, steam lime marble works.
Bull John W.....	Proprietor Mayer House.
Boltz F. F.....	Groceries.
Braudriff A. D.....	Braudriff & Roberts, hardware.
Brackenridge J.....	Judge Criminal Court.
Carter Wm.....	Stove dealer.
Clark Jos. M.....	Merchant tailor.
Clark Jno. H.....	Clark & Rhinesmith, pine lumber dealers
Cochrane John.....	Cochrane, Humphrey & Co., builders.
Case W. H.....	Humphrey & Case, linseed oil.
Colerick David H.....	Attorney-at-law.
Coombs Jno. M.....	Iron dealer.
Carry E.....	Root & Co., dry goods.
Dumm R. D.....	Dumm & Flemming, daily <i>Sentinel</i> .
Dreir Bros.....	Druggists.
Davezac Peter.....	Grain dealer.
Eckert Fred.....	Butcher.
Edgerton A. P.....	President Gas Co.
Edgerton H. H.....	Secretary Gas Co.
Edsall W. S.....	County Clerk.
Evans S. Cary.....	President Merchants' National Bank.
Evans A. S.....	Evans & Co., wholesale dry goods.
Edgerton J. K.....	Attorney-at-law.
Ewing Geo. W.....	Ewing, Smith & Co., tobacconists.

<i>Names of Members.</i>	<i>Business.</i>
First National Bank.....	J. D. Nuttman, President.
Fort Wayne National Bank.....	C. D. Bond, President.
Fleming Wm.....	Dunn & F., daily <i>Sentinel</i> .
Foellinger J. M.....	Groceries, &c.
Ft. W. Mach. & Car Wheel W'ks.....	J. H. Bass, Proprietor.
Ft. Wayne Savings Bank.....	Jno. Hough, Treasurer.
Foster Brothers.....	Dry Goods.
Frank M.....	Frank & Thauhouser, dry goods.
Goshorn J. S.....	Civil engineer, contractor, &c.
Gorbaur C. E.....	Supt. P. Ft. W. & C. Ry.
Hamilton, Allen & Co.....	Bankers.
Hamilton Montgomery.....	Huestis & H., wholesale grocers.
Hamilton A. H.....	
Humphrey & Case.....	Linseed oil.
Hanna S. T.....	Real estate, &c.
Hanna H. T.....	Real estate, &c.
Hoffman Bros.....	Walnut lumber dealers and manufacturers.
Haskell Wash.....	Produce & commission merchant.
Hattersley.....	Brass works, &c.
Harper Bros.....	Hatters.
Hill C. L.....	Piano dealer.
Hill Jno. E. Jr.....	Flouring mill.
Hogland Pliny.....	Vice President Ft. Wayne National Bank.
Hough John.....	Real estate, insurance, &c.
Huestis A. C.....	Huestis & H., wholesale grocers.
Humphrey Geo.....	Cochrane H. & Co., builders.
Hurd O. D.....	Sash, door and blind manufacturer.
Irwin Jno. S.....	Cashier Merchant's National Bank.
Iddings Hiram.....	U. S. pension agent.
Jones Wm. H.....	Attorney.
Kamm J. J.....	Postmaster.
Keil Bros.....	Books, stationery, wall paper, &c.
Lamley Moses.....	Lamley & Roschthol, cigar manufacturers.
Lingenfeller Bros.....	Trunk & valise manufacturers.
Lowry Robt.....	Judge Circuit Court.
McCulloch F. H.....	McC. & Richey, hardware, &c.
McCulloch Charles.....	Cashier Allen Hamilton & Co.
McDougall Jno.....	Carpet dealer.
McKay Neil.....	McKay & Goshorn, contractors.
McKinnie Henry.....	Eating hotel.
McNiece R. G.....	Daily <i>Gazette</i> .
Markley Aaron.....	Markley, Scradler & Co., boots and shoes.
Mayer Andrew.....	Mayer & Groffe, jewelers.
Meyer Bros. & Co.....	Druggists.
Miller Jno. M.....	Furniture manufacturer.
Moon Geo. R.....	U. S. Collector's office.
Morgan O. P.....	Morgan & Beach, hardware.
Murray K.....	Murray & B., machinists.
Myers W. H.....	Physician and surgeon.
Moderwell H.....	Shirt manufacturer.
Neiseiter C. B.....	Harness, saddles, &c.
Neiseiter Conrad.....	Trunks, valises, &c.
Nidlinger Jacob.....	Clothing.
Oakley & Son.....	Hardware.
Olds & Sons.....	Spokes, hubs, &c.
Orff John.....	Flouring mills.
Orff C.....	Orff C. & Co., dry goods.

<i>Names of Members.</i>	<i>Business.</i>
Paul Wm. & Son.....	Groceries and provisions.
Pfeiffer J. C. & Co.....	Flouring mill.
Randall F. P.....	Mayor.
Read & Son.....	Livery and sale stable.
Read Moses.....	Flour, feed and produce.
Reid A. D.....	Reid, Waring & Nelson, Ft. W. Plow Works.
Root L. B. & Co.....	Dry Goods.
Rurode E. C.....	Root & Co., dry goods.
Rudisill H. J.....	County Auditor.
Sarnighausen Jno.....	<i>Staats Zeitung.</i>
Shoaff Sam'l H.....	Saddles, harness, &c.
Shurick J. S.....	Stave manufacturer.
Siemon Bros.....	Stationery, books, &c.
Sinclair Samuel E.....	Attorney.
Slack Thos. A.....	Agent Empire Line Co.
Schurick F. S.....	Agent Associated Press.
Smart J. H.....	Superintendent public schools.
Smick S. S.....	Agricultural implements, &c.
Steel W. R.....	Editor <i>Republican.</i>
Stockbridge N. P.....	Stationery, books, &c.
Sturgis House.....	C. B. Cumpston, proprietor.
Sutermeister A.....	Sutermeister, B. & B., marble works.
Schuckman Jno.....	Wilson S. & M., hardware.
Trentman B.....	Trentman & Son, wholesale grocers.
Trentman A. C.....	Trentman & Son, wholesale grocers.
Trentman H. J.....	Crockery, china, &c.
Tresselt Christian.....	Tresselt, Hoagland & Co., Flouring mill.
Thanhouser Samuel.....	Frank & Thanhouser, dry goods.
Vollmer Daniel.....	Druggist.
Vodermark & Sons.....	Boots & shoes.
Wagner H. G.....;	Druggist.
Wallin C. E.....	Photographer.
Ward H. N.....	Crockery, china, glassware, &c.
Western Union Tel'gh Co.....	C. H. Currier, Manager.
White J. B.....	Fruit house.
Williams J. L.....	Civil engineer and contractor.
Williams Henry M.....	Hoagland, Tresselt & Co., flouring mill.
Williams Edward P.....	Meyer Bros & Co., druggists.
Wilson Geo. H.....	Wilson Schuckman & M., hardware, tin, &c.
Wolke Frank H.....	Wolke & Trentman, confectioners and cracker manufacturers.
Worthington W. W.....	Superintendent Ft. W., M. & C. Railway.

Agricultural Machinery, &c.—Seven establishments are engaged in the handling of agricultural machinery, whose annual sales exceed \$180,000. These goods, however, are chiefly manufactured abroad.

Bakeries.—Ten are reported. The value of the raw material consumed and aggregate profits, would make a good exhibit, if they could be ascertained.

Bank and Bankers.—Statistics of this important element that exercises so great power on the business of a community, could not be ascertained. There are five institutions, however, and all substantial. The Fort Wayne National Bank is one of the oldest and

most solid institutions in Indiana—having existed prior to its organization under the National Banking act during many years, under a State Charter, and organized and managed, chiefly, by Hon. Hugh McCulloch, late Secretary of the United States Treasury, and now principal of a leading banking house in London. Then there is the Merchant's National, the Bank of Hamilton, Allen & Co., the Fort Wayne Savings Bank and the First National Bank.

Band Saw Mill.—[See "Black Walnut Lumber and Sawed Chair Stuff." Also, "Saw Mills."]

Boarding Houses.—Thirty-six.

Boiler Makers.—Three, employing in the aggregate a capital and manual force that renders it one of the most important industries of Fort Wayne. Statistics of one of these appears under the head of "Stationary Steam Engines, Boilers," &c., the establishment of J. C. Bowser & Co.

Book Binders.—Two, Dumm & Fleming and Davis & Bro.

Books and Stationery.—Four well-stocked establishments.

Boots and Shoes.—Thirty-five; the stocks being mostly imported.

Black Walnut Lumber and Sawed Chair Stuff.—Hoffman Bros. employ in this industry sixty hands, and produce an annual value amounting to \$125,000.

Car Wheels.—The establishment of John H. Bass gives employment to eight hundred hands in the manufacture of car wheels, boilers, &c.

Carpets, Oil Cloths, &c.—Two houses are engaged exclusively in this trade.

Carriages and Wagons.—Six establishments manufacturing extensively.

Chair Stuff.—One by J. R. Hoffman & Bros.

Children's Carriages.—Three firms engaged in this manufacture.

Cigars and Tobacco.—Twelve establishments, the larger number of which manufacture cigars.

Clothing.—It is estimated that twelve clothing establishments make annual sales amounting to \$250,000, and that about twenty per cent. of this amount is manufactured in Fort Wayne.

Drugs, Medicines, &c.—Fifteen stores, one of which, (Meyer, Bros. & Co.,) wholesale to a large amount, and the store of H. G. Wagner is one of the most attractive business houses in the city.

Dry Goods.—Nine establishments, one of which sells only at wholesale.

Other Stores.—Six flour and feed, one variety, nine liquor and wines, twelve sewing machine agencies, two periodical depots, twelve millinery, twelve notions, four looking glasses, five harness, saddlery, &c., four hair work, jewelry, &c., six hats and caps, one hoop skirts and corsets, four fur dealers, ten furniture, fourteen gentlemen's furnishing goods, five fruit dealers, five fancy goods, eight stove and hardware, four china, glass and queensware, one dental goods, and one tin and glassware.

Groceries.—Three wholesale and sixty-eight retail houses. The sales during the current year of one of these houses is estimated at \$800,000.

Two establishments trade in guns, pistols, &c., seven in hides, pelts and furs, four in horse collars, one in knitting machines, one in lap window shades, six in leather, findings, &c., five in lime, plaster and cement.

Gas Works.—The Fort Wayne gas works use thirteen miles of street main, and supply six hundred and six customers. There is probably no establishment, either in Europe or America, which contains in its management so large a degree of science and intelligent business skill as that which, chiefly under Mr. H. H. Edgerton, secretary of the company, controls the Fort Wayne gas works.

Hotels.—There are twelve well-conducted hotels, namely: The Mayer, Aveline, American, Harmon, European, Exchange, Fox, Hedekin, Old Fort, Phillips, Robinson and Union.

Iron, Steel and Heavy Hardware.—The estimated sales of these lines of goods, made by two firms, exceed annually \$750,000, a considerable proportion of which is at wholesale.

Photographers.—The city contains five photograph galleries. One of these, under the management of J. A. Shoaff, produces works of art equal to those issued from the best establishments in the United States. The proprietor has devoted his life to his profession, and is owner of Shoaff's Automatic Solar Camera, and other improvements which enable him to produce with marked accuracy miniature or life-size likenesses. The photographs from which were engraved the likenesses of Messrs. A. P. Edgerton, Pliny Hoagland, J. L. Williams and Wm. S. Edsall, were executed by Mr. Shoaff.

Plows.—The Fort Wayne Steel Plow Company, have invested a capital of \$65,000, and give employment to thirty-five hands. The company have the capacity of making 10,000 plows annually, equivalent to a gross product of \$100,000 in value.

Saw Mills.—Four saw mills produce nearly six millions feet of lumber annually.

The owners of two that manufacture the larger proportion of this amount, are Hoffman Bros., who make use of an invention, a patent for which was secured by one of them, and the proprietorship of which exists in the firm, that is of sufficient public value to render a special mention justifiable. The invention is one of the most important that has been made, relating to the lumber product, during the present century. It is known as Hoffman's Patent Band Saw Mill, and the following are some of its features: It is a new application of the principle of the Band Saw, heretofore in use only for scroll sawing, to a purpose that makes it successful in converting into lumber the largest logs that are gathered from the forest. An elaborate description of it cannot here be given, but the following points are justly claimed for it:

1st. *Saving of Lumber.* Ordinary saws cut five-sixteenths of an inch saw-kerf, while many in actual practice cut three-eighths. This Band saw cuts ONE-TWELFTH. In sawing 1,000 feet of inch boards, a saw cutting five-sixteenths of an inch will turn 312 feet of lumber, into sawdust. This saw, cutting one-twelfth of an inch kerf, makes 83 feet into sawdust. This shows a saving of 229 feet of lumber on each thousand feet of inch boards sawed. In sawing thinner lumber the saving is greater. In valuable timber the saving in sawdust alone pays the first cost of the mill in six months.

2d. *Saving of Power.* Twelve-horse power is all that is required to cut 5,000 feet of hard wood lumber, or 8,000 feet of soft, per day.

3d. *Making Better Lumber.* With this saw can be made boards of any required width, limited only by the size of the log. They leave no offset.

4th. *Freedom from Danger.*—Every year scores, if not hundreds, of men are killed or maimed by circular saws. These saws are perfectly safe.

Stationary Steam Engines, Tubular and Fluid Boilers, Tanks and Saw Mills.—The house of J. C. Bowser & Co., use raw material to the amount of \$75,000, manufacture annually a value of \$200,000, and employ an average force of seventy-five hands.

This firm, the members of which consist of Messrs. Jacob C. Bowser, Joseph R. Prentiss and Daniel M. Falls, are each, in his sphere, thoroughly practical and energetic business men; and as evidences of the remarkable success of their enterprise, it may be stated that their work is shipped chiefly to New York, Pennsylvania, Massachusetts, and other States east; thus, by reason of the character of their goods,

coming into successful competition with establishments founded when the Maumee Valley was comparatively a wilderness. The person who, even twenty years ago, would have suggested that an establishment for the manufacture of the heaviest iron machinery would one day spring up at what was then the small town of Fort Wayne, and ship their work to the Atlantic States, would have been considered but a small remove from insanity. Yet the fact exists, and to business men of their stamp is the city of Fort Wayne largely indebted for its unexampled prosperity.

Watches, Clocks, Jewelry, Solid and Plated Silver Ware, &c.—Five jewelry establishments make sales amounting annually to \$200,000. The house of Messrs. Geo. J. E. Mayer and F. Voirol, opposite the Fort Wayne and First National Banks, Main street, is among the most reliable and extensive in Indiana, and justly noted for the pure quality of their goods.

The city also contains eight lumber yards, five livery stables, fourteen meat markets, five saddlery and harness stores and shops, eleven barber shops, and ten confectionery establishments.

Among the manufacturing establishments not heretofore enumerated, are the following: One flax mill; one linseed oil mill; four marble manufactories; three mattress manufactories; one mustard manufactory; one paper mill; one paper box factory; one organ factory; one pottery; the Fort Wayne agricultural works, manufacturing reapers and mowers; six breweries; two brass foundries; four broom factories; four candy factories; ten bakeries; four cooper shops; one basket maker; thirteen blacksmith shops; two establishments manufacturing trunks, valises, etc., and giving employment to thirty-six hands; two chair factories; fourteen dressmakers, one hat and cap establishment, employing eleven hands; four planing and flooring mills, one of which employs eighty-five men, and turns out an annual product, including building material, amounting to \$80,000; one spice mill; one woolen mill; one spoke and hub factory; two manufactories of staves and heading; three tanneries; one umbrella maker; five upholsterers; three vinegar factories; and two establishments that manufacture window blinds and shades.

Standing upon the cupola of the Court House, and looking over the city, and counting the chimney or "smoke stacks," one discovers that there are twenty-nine manufacturing establishments in Fort Wayne operated by steam.



Yours Truly
Wm. S. Edsall

Transportation—Railroads.—Primarily, and when the North West was only inhabited by Indian tribes and scattered settlements of French and English traders, clustered around military posts, the town was the *entrepot* for a trade of considerable magnitude between Lake Erie and the country west and south, and also was the gate-way of the early commerce that floated down to it on the St. Mary's, in flat-boats and pirogues. These primitive and expensive means of transport were succeeded by the canal, opened in 1843, and this by the railroad system. It would be a matter of public interest to trace the origin and progress of the several railroad lines, which have exercised an influence so powerful in securing the rapid concentration of population and wealth at Fort Wayne. A diligent and patient effort to obtain the necessary statistics was made, but failed chiefly by reason of the refusal of the local manager of the first established and most important road (the Pittsburg, Fort Wayne & Chicago,) to furnish the necessary statistics, although a clerical force was tendered free of charge to the company. The application made to W. F. Ray, Master Mechanic of the Toledo, Wabash & Western Railway Company, was more successful, and the substance of his communication is appended :

The value of the shops at Fort Wayne, at present, is about \$275,000, but these will be increased in extent and value soon.

The number of men employed is about 300; what proportion of them have families residing in Fort Wayne, I cannot say, but should judge as many as two-thirds, and half that number, or as many as one hundred, own their houses where they live, and many own lots, intending to build on them.

In addition to the two great lines mentioned, the following named roads have Fort Wayne as one of their terminating points : Grand Rapids & Indiana; Michigan Lake Shore; Fort Wayne, Jackson & Saginaw; Fort Wayne, Muncie & Cincinnati; Cincinnati, Richmond & Fort Wayne. The seven lines now in operation, and others projected, are probably destined to place Fort Wayne the first in the list of Indiana's cities.

Reenring to the era of the first settlement of the Maumee Valley by the Anglo Saxon race, there will be found much of value and interest in the reminiscences which follow :

NOTES REGARDING THE EDSALL FAMILY.

An early pioneer of Fort Wayne, and identified with measures that secured its first public improvements, including canal, mud turnpike and plank road enterprises, as well as those involving im-

portant commercial schemes, and who is yet living, is William S. Edsall, the present county clerk of Allen county, and the fourth son of Peter and Catharine Edsall, who emigrated from Orange county, New York, in the Year 1812. The family then consisted of the parents and four children. They reached Pittsburg by wagons, at which point they embarked aboard a flat boat, to which the family and goods were transferred, and descended the Ohio river to Cincinnati. Here they landed, and the crew, securing the craft to a large tree on the bank of the river, encamped near the shore. During the night, and in a heavy wind and rain storm, the tree was uprooted, and, falling upon the boat, forced it to the river bottom, carrying with it nearly every vestige of their outfit, including even the bible, containing the family record. From thence they proceeded up to where Miamisburg, Montgomery county, Ohio, now stands, and rented a small piece of ground, and with the limited means left, bought the necessary farming utensils and seeds for putting in a crop. They remained upon this rented land two years, and then removed to Darke county, near Greenville, where they resided pending the negotiations of the treaty, concluded at Greenville, July 22, 1814; at which place, by keeping a shanty boarding house, they recuperated sufficiently to get up respectable trains, and removed to St. Mary's, Ohio, (now Auglaize county,) and during the treaty-making, resulting in several treaties, [hitherto cited in this volume] made at that town with sundry tribes of Indians in the months of September and October, 1818, the family a second time resorted to the boarding house business, and were sufficiently rewarded to enable them, in 1819, to purchase an eighty acre tract of land on the south side of Shane's prairie, three miles south of Shane's Crossing; and here the husband and father died, in 1822. When the Edsalls located on the prairie, the families they found there were the Dennisons, Chivingtons, Roebucks, William B. Hedges and Anthony Shane. In the meantime, since leaving New York, five children had been added to the household. The widowed mother, desiring to execute the oft-expressed wish of her husband to secure an education for her children—that being the sole aim of the life of herself and husband, of whom she was now bereft—removed, in 1824, to Fort Wayne.

Reaching this place at the date mentioned, with a family of children now increased to nine—six sons and three daughters—she proposed to her three eldest sons, namely: Samuel, John and Simon, that they go out from her, and make free choice of their several trades, and stipulate for education as part consideration for their service—this form of apprenticeship then being in conformity with the law and custom of the country. The youngest of the three named. Simon, devotedly attached to his mother, declined to leave her, on the ground that his choice was that of farming, and furthermore that his energies would be required at home to aid in sustaining his mother and the younger members of the family in their rugged ways

of life—his junior brother, William S., being then only thirteen years of age, and supposed to be too young to contribute anything beyond the amount necessary to support himself.

In accordance with this arrangement, mutually agreed upon by the mother and children, Samuel, the eldest, made choice of the carpenter and joiner trade, and was apprenticed to Colonel Hugh Hanna; and John, the second, was apprenticed to John McAllister, tailor.

The business life of William S. commenced under the circumstances hereinafter mentioned :

In 1826, a corps of United States Topographical Engineers, under command of Col. James Shriver, was detailed to survey a route for the Wabash and Erie Canal. In May or June of that year the survey was commenced at Fort Wayne, and but little progress had been made, when the whole party was prostrated by sickness, and Colonel Shriver soon afterwards died in the old Fort. He was succeeded by his assistant, Colonel Asa Moore, under whose direction the survey was prosecuted during the years 1826 and 1827, down the Wabash to the mouth of Tippecanoe, and continued along the Maumee in 1827-28, until Col. Moore also fell a victim to disease, dying in his tent at the head of the Maumee rapids, on the 4th of October, 1828. Mr. Edsall was an attache of this engineer corps, and suffered from the prevalent diseases of the country.

FORT WAYNE IN 1822.

During the residence of the Edsall family on Shane's prairie, the senior and his three eldest sons, viz: Samuel, John and Simon, in 1819 and 1820, made trips to Fort Wayne in the summers of those years, and cut and cured hay for the subsistence of the stock of the traders at that point. The hay was obtained from the extensive prairie west of the Fort. The wants of the traders required large quantities of hay to subsist the stock of their Indian customers, who would congregate at the place during the winter months for purposes of trade. As exhibiting the general features of the prairie at that period, it is stated that the principal portion of the grass was cut in places where the water covered the surface from six to fifteen inches, and the saturated herb was then placed on litters, and transferred to the higher ground for the purpose of curing. A portion of that same ground is now, though wet, tolerably adapted to purposes of tillage, and is susceptible of reclamation by drainage into the sources of the Wabash, and will ultimately become the most fertile portion of Allen county.

These summer trips of Mr. Edsall and his sons to Fort Wayne were satisfactorily remunerative, furnishing a market for the surplus farm products, which they would carry to the Fort Wayne market on the outward trips, and the hay enterprise, realizing sufficient to afford considerable recompense. These visits impressed Mr. and

Mrs. Edsall so favorably regarding Fort Wayne that they concluded it was destined to become an important point, favorable to the great purpose they had in view of educating their children; and a removal had been contemplated before the death of Mr. Peter Edsall, which occurred, as before stated, in 1822. After his death the three sons pursued the custom of their father, in spending the hay-making season at Fort Wayne.

In the summer of 1823, the elder brother being at Fort Wayne, Jacob Gundy, a neighbor, was passing their house, on Shane's prairie, with a load of bacon for the Fort Wayne market, and it was agreed that Wm. S. should accompany him and ascertain the condition of his brothers. The distance was forty miles, and the trip to the Fort occupied ten days—there being no regular road, except the old trail of Gen. Wayne, and fallen timber frequently interposing obstacles in following it, and rendering it necessary to cut new passages. Between Shane's prairie and the Fort, there was only one house, and that on the Twenty-Four Mile Creek, occupied by George Ayres, a British deserter. Capt. Riley, however, was residing at Willshire, on the opposite bank of the river.

Reaching Fort Wayne, the junior Edsall found occupying the block houses within the fort, Gen. John Tipton, Indian Agent Jos. Holman, Receiver, and Samuel C. Vance, Register of the United States Land Office; two taverns, kept respectively by Colonel Alexander Ewing and Colonel William Suttentfield—the former situated on the south side of Columbia street, corner of Barr, and the latter on the opposite, or diagonal, corner of the same streets; and to the proprietors of these two taverns Mr. Gundy sold his freight of bacon. The merchandise business was principally in the hands of the licensed Indian traders, namely: Compere & Coquillard, agents of the American Fur Company; Colonel Alexander Ewing, and his sons, Wm. G. and George W.; George Hunt, Chief Richardville, James Barnett, Samuel Hanna and Thomas Forsyth; a retail gingerbread, candy and beer establishment, kept by the father of the late Xenas Henderson, (the latter being a lad at the time.) The latter establishment occupied the site on Columbia street, where now stands the hardware store of B. W. Oakley & Son. Among those, then residents of the place, and connected with the Indian trade, were Francis Aveline, alias St. Jule, father of the late Francis S. Aveline, who built the Hotel in the city now known by the family name; James Peltier, father of Louis Peltier, now a resident of Fort Wayne; John Baptiste Bruno, Richard Chobert, Francis and Charles Minnie, John Baptiste Bourie, father of the late John B. Bourie, Joseph Barron, John P. Hedges, John B. Bequett, (an Indian trinket manufacturer,) John Baptiste Durett and Antoine Gamblin.

Among the farmers of the neighborhood were Captain Hackley, (son-in-law of the distinguished Captain Wells,) who cultivated very imperfectly a few acres, which now constitute the northern margin of the city, and whose house stood upon the ground near

the foot of Calhoun street, on the north bank of the St. Mary's.

Among the names above mentioned, one of the most far-sighted and philanthropic, was that of James Barnett. Discovering, clearly, even in the rude condition of the country in which he lived, that Fort Wayne was destined to become a city of importance, he gave freely of his time and energies to every scheme that was devised to give the place a start in the race of business life; and no appeal for the exercise of Christian charity was ever made to him without meeting with a generous response.

He passed through Fort Wayne a few years after the close of the last war with Great Britain, driving a lot of hogs for the use of the garrison at Fort Dearborn. He subsequently, as before mentioned, established himself in business at Fort Wayne, and actively engaged in every well-devised enterprise designed to promote the public prosperity.

The writer is informed by the subject of this sketch, that at the time this survey was made, there were only six white families resident of the whole district between Fort Wayne and the mouth of the Tippecanoe river—a distance of 134 miles. These were Champion Helvey, at the confluence of the Salamonie with the Wabash; Major Harsh, (brother-in law of Col. McCorkle, one of the original proprietors of Fort Wayne,) who occupied a tenement on the old treaty ground where Wabash now stands; Benjamin Chamberlain, residing at the mouth of Eel river, opposite Logansport; Major Daniel Bell, then on the ground upon which is now Logansport; Mrs. Hicks, at the mouth of Rock creek, twelve miles below Logansport, and an old Mr. Baum, at the mouth of Deer creek, now the town of Delphi.

The widow Edsall occupied a cabin on the banks of the St. Mary's, near where the county jail is now located, and which was near the usually traveled route of the Indians trading at the rival establishments of Wm. G. & George W. Ewing, Barnett & Hanna, Francis Comparet and Alexis Coquillard. In the seasons when the Indians came to trade, they would generally encamp on the opposite, or north side of the St. Mary's, and cross over and spend a portion or the whole of the day on the Fort Wayne side. Canoes were in demand to ferry the Indians, and also frequently the traders, and young Edsall discovered an opportunity of making some money for the use of the household by the establishment of a ferry. Among others, the Ewings, on their visits to the Indian camps, were frequently his customers; and Wm. G. Ewing, after some acquaintance, thus formed, proposed to the boy that he engage with himself and brother, and become instructed in the mysteries of trade and commerce. The proposition was highly acceptable to the lad, but he referred it to his mother, and an arrangement was concluded, and in October, 1827, at the age of sixteen years, a contract was made, by which he entered their service, and continued until 1832, spending the last two years with George W. Ewing, at Logansport. In the spring of the last named

year, having attained his majority, the Ewings, desirous of continuing business relations with Mr. Edsall, proposed to him either a partnership or an outfit of a stock of goods, they to share the profits of the business, in case he chose the latter. Accordingly he elected to have charge of a stock of goods, and selected Huntington as the location. His customers were principally Indians and canal contractors. Near the close of the year 1832, he received the appointment of postmaster at Huntington, and in the spring of 1833, was elected clerk and recorder of the county, to which was then attached for judicial purposes, the counties of Wabash and Whitley, and in 1836 resigned all these offices, closed his business, and returned to Fort Wayne, and entered into co-partnership in the mercantile business with his brother, the late Major Samuel Edsall. This firm continued until 1839, when the Ewings offered Wm. S. Edsall a third interest in their widely extended business, which offer he accepted. The newly-formed partnership of Ewing, Edsall & Co., and its connections, extended over a large area of country—the policy being to not only hold the fur trade with their old Indian customers, who had removed west of the Mississippi, but to establish relations with other fur dealers, throughout the country. This, and other firms, with which they were in close alliance, were in competition with the American Fur Company, and the strife between them for the trade became so great that furs advanced to a price that inflicted considerable losses upon the rival companies. During this co-partnership, in the spring of 1839, Mr. Edsall made a horseback visit connected with the business of the firm from Fort Wayne to Chicago, Joliet, Ottawa, Rock Island and Dubuque, thence to Galena and Madison, the present capital of Wisconsin. At this period, after leaving Ottawa, he would frequently ride thirty miles without finding a human habitation; waste places then, that are now covered with populous towns and cultivated fields.

The firm of Ewing, Edsall & Co. dissolved its business in 1841. The partnership, by reason of the competition already referred to, had been unsuccessful. After the dissolution of the firm, and Mr. Edsall having retired with blighted prospects and exhausted resources, applied for and received the appointment, in 1843, of Register of the United States Land Office in Fort Wayne, and held this place until 1848. In 1846, however, he had again formed a partnership with his brother, Major Edsall, in the mercantile and milling business, which they conducted until 1849.

At this period the Edsalls, realizing the necessity and great advantages to the trade of Fort Wayne of a road which would open communication with the settlements north and south, originated a project for the construction of a plank road from Fort Wayne to Bluffton. In this work they had the hearty co-operation of all the business men of the city, who were generous in their aid by stock subscriptions. Although the road, from its inception to its completion, occupied about two years, it proved an enterprise of

greater value to the business interests of Fort Wayne than any public improvement, except the Wabash and Erie canal, that had hitherto been undertaken.

On the 3d of July, 1853, the brothers Edsall entered into a contract with the Lake Erie, Wabash & S. Louis R. R. Company, for the grading, masonry and furnishing the ties for forty seven miles of the road, from the Ohio State line to the Wabash river, two miles west of Huntington; and immediately commenced the erection of shanties, the collection of a laboring force, and other preparations for the execution of their contract. Having completed their preliminary arrangements, they were informed by the Company that, owing to the monetary crisis then existing, they would not be enabled to make payments before the following spring. Undismayed by this intelligence, which resulted in the suspension of the work by some of the other contractors, the Edsalls availed themselves of their credit, and made successful appeals to the public spirit of the merchants of Fort Wayne to afford supplies to sustain the laborers upon the work, and they proceeded with undiminished vigor and regularly met the claims of their creditors. But in the following season the cholera scourge appeared in fearful form, extending along the whole line, and sweeping off in multitudes overseers and workmen. Added to this, labor and provisions suddenly appreciated; and flour, which the Edsalls the previous year had shipped to Atlantic markets, realizing, when sold, from \$4.75 to \$5.00 per barrel, was now worth, delivered along the line, \$9.00 per barrel, and labor, which, when they commenced their work, could be readily had at 75 cents per day, now commanded \$1.25. Notwithstanding all these discouragements, they struggled on, and completed their contract in the spring of 1856, having a large unliquidated claim against the company, but owing no laborer a dollar.

Stating here what might have been previously mentioned, that Wm. S. Edsall was a contractor on the Wabash and Erie canal, and, also recapitulating what has been mentioned, that himself and brother originated the scheme for bridging what was then an impassable swamp between Fort Wayne and Bluffton; their joint efforts and sacrifices to secure a second railroad to Fort Wayne; it will be discovered that the city and county are considerably indebted to the enterprise and public spirit of these gentlemen for the commercial importance the city has now attained.

Concluding this sketch, it may here be stated that Major Edsall closed his useful life in February, 1865, and that the subject of this sketch, although never having enjoyed but a single day of school privileges, has been enabled, in the battle of life, to successfully compete with the merchant princes of the land, and yet as a citizen of Fort Wayne. In 1868, returning to his old home from Chicago, where he had passed the preceding three years in active business life, the Democratic Convention of Allen county, in June, 1870, conferred upon him the nomination for county Clerk. The only oppo-

sition ticket, organized by a "Reform Party," also placed him in nomination; and thus, without any compromise of manhood or principle, he received the unanimous vote of the people of Allen county for the office he now fills to the satisfaction of the people and advantage to the public interests.

DR. JOHN EVANS.

The family of this gentleman was widely known to the old citizens of the upper Maumee Valley. He had studied his profession under the instruction of the doctors Spencer, of Kentucky, and Rush, of Philadelphia; and commenced practice at Washington, Fayette County, Ohio, about the year 1814; and also conducted, in separate rooms of the same building, the mercantile business and an apothecary store. On the 27th of May, 1818, he married Miss Elizabeth Taylor, of Bainbridge, Ross County, Ohio.

The Evans family were among the early settlers of Kentucky. Samuel Evans (father of Dr. John,) removed to Ohio from Bourbon County, Kentucky, when the latter was about 17 years old. William Taylor (father of Elizabeth, who married Dr. Evans,) was the first settler between the Ohio river and Chillicothe. He moved from Pennsylvania to Kentucky when his daughter Elizabeth was about three months old, and from Kentucky to near Bainbridge, Ross Co., Ohio, when she was six or seven years of age.

Dr. Evans and family (now consisting of his wife and two daughters,) removed from Washington, Fayette County, to Defiance, in February, 1823. They started in a large double sleigh, but the snow failing, they were compelled, on the second day, to abandon their sleigh, and resort to wagons. The family reached Judge Nathan Shirley's, on the Auglaize river, one mile above Defiance, on the last day of February. Their first location was at Camp No. 3, five miles below Defiance, on the north side of the Maumee, in a double log cabin; and here, Samuel Carey Evans, their first son, was born, April 10th, 1823. During the summer, the doctor built a frame house at Defiance, into which he removed his family in the month of November of that year. He made the first brick and the first lime that was manufactured in Defiance, a part of which was used in the construction of his own house; and the proceeds of the sale of the surplus lime and brick netted an amount that paid the entire cost of his house.

In this same year, Foreman Evans, his brother, also removed to Defiance.

The late Judge Pierce Evans (cousin of Dr. John,) removed to the head of the rapids of the Maumee, and resided there during the year 1822 and in 1823, and then removed to the farm below Defiance, now occupied by his son, Rinaldo Evans.

When Dr. Evans reached Defiance, there were no physicians on the river nearer than Fort Wayne above, and Maumee City below, and his professional visits often extended to the first named place,

to St. Mary's, on the St. Mary's, and to the head of the Maumee rapids. There being no well-made roads, no bridges over the streams, and facilities for ferriage at points remote from each other, it is difficult to convey to the mind of the medical practitioner of this day an adequate view of the formidable, and often dangerous, obstacles that Dr. Evans was compelled to encounter in the discharge of his professional duties. The first relief from this exhausting toil was afforded by the arrival, at Defiance, of Dr. Jonas Colby, in 1832.

In 1824 he purchased a stock of goods of Hunt & Forsyth, of Maumee City, which were brought up on pirogues. This was the first store of considerable importance that contained goods adapted to the wants of the white settlers, although staple Indian goods (except whiskey) were included in his general stock.

When the family removed to Defiance, there were no regular Church services; and, until the Court House was erected, no suitable house for worship. The Methodists, however, held services at short intervals, sometimes in private houses, and, when the weather was favorable, in the adjacent groves. The first Presbyterian clergyman was Rev. Mr. Stone, (father of Mrs. Wm. A. Brown, now living at Defiance).

During his residence in Defiance, Dr. Evans possessed more fully the confidence of the Indians than the majority of those who had had dealings with them. He acquired this confidence by professional ministrations, by fairness in trade, and refusing their applications for intoxicating drinks. When the Indian men and women would visit town, and the former obtain liquor of mercenary traders, and become drunken and crazed, and their brutal nature aroused, the latter would gather up the tomahawks and knives of their lords, and deposit them about the premises of their friend, Dr. Evans. On one occasion, the chief, Oquanoxa, of Oquanoxa's town, on the Auglaize (now Charloe, Paulding County), brought one of his daughters to the doctor to be treated for some malady which had baffled the skill of the Indian "medicine man." She was received into the doctor's household, and in due time restored to health. As an equivalent for this service, the chief made the doctor a present of an Indian pony.

In 1838, with a view of affording his children opportunities for obtaining better educational facilities, he temporarily removed to Troy, Ohio, and continued there until the fall of 1840, when he removed to Fort Wayne, and engaged actively in commercial pursuits, in partnership with his son-in-law, John E. Hill. During his residence in Troy, he had continued business at Defiance—and now, from the two stores, they supplied the contractors who were constructing the Paulding County Reservoir with goods to prosecute their work. In 1840 he removed the Defiance stock to Fort Wayne, and concentrated his business at that point.

In the summer of 1842, business called Dr. Evans to Defiance, and while there he was seized with an illness that would have induced

an ordinary person to remain and receive medical treatment; but his indomitable will had determined him to make an effort to reach his family, at Fort Wayne. Leaving Defiance on horseback, he had traveled only about a mile, and reached the house of Thomas Warren, when the intensity of his sufferings arrested his progress, and he remained at the house of Warren two or three days. Meantime, believing himself, doubtless, that his case was critical, he despatched a messenger to Fort Wayne, to notify his family of his condition. On the message being communicated to the family, his son, Samuel Carey Evans, immediately started to meet his father; and, reaching his bedside, discovered the alarming symptoms of the case, and at once dispatched a second messenger to Fort Wayne to summon Dr. S. G. Thompson, and also to notify his mother and other members of the family, of his father's condition. The intelligence being communicated, Dr. Thompson and Miss Merica Evans, second daughter of the doctor, at once sat out on horseback, and, notwithstanding the bad condition of the roads, reached Mrs. Hilton's (to whose house, in order to secure more comfortable quarters, Dr. Evans had been removed,) within eight hours after leaving Fort Wayne. Dr. Evans, by this time becoming fully conscious that he could only survive a few hours, dictated the following as his last will and testament (Dr. Thompson acting as amanuensis), and which embodied a distribution of his estate, adjusted upon such nice principles of justice and affection, that no word of complaint, or of discord, was ever uttered by the parties affected by it:

"I, John Evans, being weak in body, but sound in mind and memory, knowing the uncertainty of life, and the certainty of death, do make and publish this, my last will and testament, hereby revoking all former wills. *First*—I commit my soul to God, who gave it, and my body to the earth, to be buried at Fort Wayne, in such manner as my family may direct. And I hereby appoint my daughter, Merica, and my sons, Carey and Rush, together with Allen Hamilton, Hugh McCulloch and Pierce Evans, as my Executors; and it is my desire that the three last named Executors shall permit my sons, Carey and Rush, to continue the mercantile business until all my just debts are paid; after which, it is my desire that my beloved wife shall have one-third of all my personal and real estate during her life; and desire that my daughter, Eliza Hill, shall receive nothing more until my other children have received one thousand dollars each. After which, I wish the balance of my property equally distributed among my children. And I further desire that my children shall provide for Aley Cumberland [a faithful colored servant of the family.] so long as she may live; and it is my special request that my friends, the three last named Executors, will not make any public sale of property, but permit my sons to sell at private sale to the best advantage. Signed, sealed and delivered, this 10th day of August, A. D., 1842. "JOHN EVANS.

"S. G. THOMPSON, }
 "A. G. EVANS, } Witnesses."

Having performed this last earthly duty, his remaining moments were consecrated to the service of his Maker, and in endearing expressions of affection for the two members of his family who were present, and in messages to those who were unavoidably absent. On the following day (11th of August,) his death occurred.

And thus, at the age of forty-eight years, the honorable career of Dr. John Evans was brought to a close in the very prime of his manhood. No death that occurred in the valley during that year, produced a more general or profound regret. The physician whose skill had prolonged the lives of multitudes, was unable to heal himself.

An obituary of the *Fort Wayne Times*, dated September 17, 1842, appears below:

"On the evening of the 11th ult., near Defiance, Ohio, Dr. John Evans, of this city, breathed his last, in the 49th year of his age. The removal of this highly respectable and enterprising citizen from the sphere of his earthly labors has excited the deepest sympathy, and the sincerest regrets among a numerous circle of friends and acquaintances; and has cast a deep shade over the hopes and happiness of a disconsolate wife and bereaved family. He is now no more—all that was mortal rests within the portals of the tomb; but his memory will ever live in the hearts of all who knew him. His weight of character, his great moral worth, and exemplary deportment in each and every relation of life, will be remembered, his virtues admired, and his memory cherished, as long as the qualities that adorn human nature shall be held in proper estimation.

"At a very early period in the settlement of north-western Ohio, Dr. Evans located at Defiance. The extended practice and the extraordinary degree of favor which he there obtained, are sufficient evidence of his eminent merit. It may be said with truth, in the beautiful language of the poet:

"None knew him but to love him,
"None named him but to praise."

"After having passed the meridian of life in the practice of a laborious profession, he removed his family for a short period to Troy, Ohio, and thence to this city, with a view of establishing his sons in the mercantile business, and reposing, during the remainder of his days, in the midst of his beloved family, and in the enjoyment of an honorably-acquired competence. He went to Defiance about the commencement of the month (August) for the purpose of transacting some business. While there he felt unwell, and fearing an attack of disease, he started for home; but before proceeding far his progress was arrested by a most severe attack of bilious pneumonia, which terminated his earthly existence on the seventh day following. During his short but painful illness he was composed and resigned—he expressed a desire to live only on account of his family. He aroused from the stupor of approaching dissolution to assure them of his entire willingness to meet his Maker. As his life

had been honorable and useful, his death was peaceful and happy.”

Mrs. Evans, widow of Dr. John Evans, is yet living, in a remarkably sound condition of health and mind, alternately making her home with her surviving son and daughters (Samuel Carey Evans and Mrs. John A. Hill, and Mrs. Henry J. Rudisill). She has survived her affectionate husband, and one-half her children.

Samuel Carey, son of Dr. John Evans, may be justly classed among the pioneers of the Maumee Valley. His father left him stocks of goods at Fort Wayne—one owned by John Evans & Co., (Edmond Lindenberger being the junior partner.) located on the corner of Calhoun and Columbia streets; and the other store in the name of Evans & Hill, Columbia street, on the premises now occupied by Morgan & Beach, hardware dealers.

Samuel C. and William Rush Evans settled the estate of their father, commencing their work at the date of his death, in August, 1842, and making a final settlement in the summer of 1845. In the fall of the last-named year, the two brothers, with Pliny Hoagland, engaged in business at Fort Wayne, on the corner of Calhoun and Main streets, under the firm name of S. C. Evans & Co., and continued one year, when Mr. Hoagland retired from the partnership; but the firm name remained until the fall of 1847, when a sale was made to T. K. Brackenridge & Co., the partners closing with about sufficient assets to meet liabilities; and S. Carey Evans going to New York to engage in trade, and the two brothers, at about the same date, organized a firm at Defiance, under the name of W. R. Evans & Co., which prosecuted business about two years without realizing any profit. In April, 1853, the firm of R. Evans & Co. was instituted—consisting of Rinaldo Evans, and S. Carey Evans—and engaged in mercantile business on the corner above mentioned, and continued until the first of August, 1855. This firm was successful—transacting a cash business, and promptly meeting every engagement; and at the settlement of the partners, \$4,159, in goods and other assets, were divided between them.

The firm of S. C. Evans & Co. (the junior partner being John M. Foellinger,) commenced business in August, 1855, at the stand named above, and continued until September 1, 1860; when the firm of S. Carey Evans & Co. was re-organized and removed to Kendalville (the firm now being S. Carey Evans and W. Rush Evans). The junior member died here in April, 1862, and the business thereafter was conducted by S. Carey Evans until September 1, 1865, when he closed his mercantile business at Kendalville, and, in January, 1866, returned to Fort Wayne, and, on that date, assumed the Presidency of the Merchants' National Bank, to which position he had been elected, and which place he yet holds. Few important enterprises, of value to Fort Wayne, during his residence in the city, are not connected with his name, by the material aid and other encouragement he has afforded. This is particularly true of the



Yours &
Henry Cowen

Fort Wayne, Jackson & Saginaw Railroad; which important enterprise, it is generally conceded, was secured to the city through his energy and judicious management as a contractor for the whole portion of the work within the State of Indiana. Mr. Evans is a good type of the business men of Fort Wayne, and inherits the business sagacity of his father.

HENRY RUDISILL.

Early identified with the business interests of North-Eastern Indiana, and of Fort Wayne, was the subject of this sketch, who was born in Lancaster, Pennsylvania, in the year 1801. His father (says Mr. Brice, in his history of Fort Wayne,) subsequently removed to Franklin County, Pennsylvania; and, at the age of 14, Henry was placed in a mercantile establishment in Shippensburg, in that State, to be thoroughly educated in all the different branches of that business. Three years afterwards he removed to Chillicothe, Ohio (then on the borders of western civilization), as an employee of Messrs. Barr & Campbell, who were then largely engaged in the mercantile business, at that and other points, east and west.

He remained with this firm until 1824, when he removed to Lancaster, Ohio, where he engaged in business on his own account, and was subsequently married to Miss Elizabeth Johns, who still survives him. In 1829 he moved to Fort Wayne, and, as the agent of Messrs. Barr & McCorkle, the original proprietors of the town, had charge of their real estate interests until 1837; and while acting in that capacity, cleared and cultivated a large portion of what is now known as the "old flat," and "Hanna's Addition" to Fort Wayne.

Mr. Rudisill was of an active and energetic temperament, and a true representative of the men who, under Providence, have made the western country what it now is, and, with unselfish aim, always took an active and important part in every movement that tended to advance the interests of the county and city in which he lived. As early as 1836, he, in connection with his father-in-law, Mr. Johns, commenced the improvement of the water power of the St. Joseph river, at the point where the St. Joseph's mills are now located, one mile north of Fort Wayne, and built there a saw-mill, and the first flouring mill capable of manufacturing merchantable flour in Northern Indiana. A few years later he put in operation the first machine for carding wool that was ever used in Allen county; and, some years subsequent, in company with Mr. L. Wolke, he started the first mill for making oil from flax-seed; and also established the first woolen factory in north-eastern Indiana. So, too, in church and educational matters, and in such public improvements as tended to develop the resources of the county, he was always ready and willing to aid, and contributed freely to their support, according to his ability.

Being of German descent, and for a number of years the only one in the city who could speak both languages, he soon became the counsellor, friend and helper of many who came from the old world to make this portion of the new their home; and there are many in the county to-day who can date their first steps in their course of prosperity to his assistance and advice.

Mr. Rudisill served as postmaster during the two terms of the administration of President Jackson; and a term of three years as Commissioner of Allen County.

Injured by a fall while superintending some work at one of his mills, his spine became affected, causing partial paralysis, and subsequent death, in February, 1858, leaving a widow, who now occupies the homestead embracing the margin of the acres which were cleared for military purposes by General Wayne, in 1794, and afterwards by General Harrison, in the war of 1812. His uprightness, kindness, and affability in his intercourse with his fellow citizens, early won for him a host of friends, who will ever cherish for him a kindly memory and regard. In his private social intercourse, he was no less happy in winning the affection and esteem of every one with whom he came in contact; and it is a consolation to his family and friends to know that his true piety and earnest Christian faith have prepared for him a rich reward in that better world to which he has gone.

MRS. LAURA SUTTENFIELD.

“But few of the pioneer mothers of Fort Wayne,” says Brice, “survive among us to tell the adventures of the past; one of whom is Mrs. Laura Sutfenfield, now [in 1872] in her 78th year. Mrs. L. was born in Boston, Mass., in 1795, and came to Fort Wayne in 1814, by way of the St. Mary’s river, then much navigated by flat boats. It was soon after the arrival of herself and husband, that the old fort was removed, and a new one erected on its site, in the building of which her husband, Colonel William Sutfenfield, took an active part. From the time of her first arrival, her family made the fort their home, and resided in it for several years. Ever attentive and amiable in her disposition, she early won the esteem, not only of those within the garrison, but of strangers visiting the post, then so famous in the northwest. Her memory of early events, even at her advanced age, is remarkably clear. Her husband, Colonel Sutfenfield, now dead many years, was a patriotic, kind-hearted man. For some time after his removal to this point, he was a non-commissioned officer of the fort. At an early period of the struggles in the west, he was engaged in the recruiting service, and for many months after his arrival here, was mainly employed in bringing provisions from Piqua, and other points, on pack-horses, and usually had three or four men to accompany and aid him in his per-

ilous and burdensome duties back and forth to the settlements. The first house (a substantial log edifice,) that was built in what is now the 'old flat,' was erected by him at the northwest corner of Barr and Columbia streets, just opposite of T. B. H. Jekin, in which his family resided for many years. His recollections of General John E. Hunt, Colonel John Tipton, Major B. F. Stickney, and Colonel John Johnson, are very clear.

COLONEL GEORGE W. EWING.

No family connected with the early business of the new States and Territories, and the prominent cities, west of the Alleghenies, was more conspicuous than that of the Ewings, or occupied a larger space in the public mind. In their day and generation, they achieved distinction in the halls of legislation in courts of justice, and in leading marts of trade in America and Europe.

In the *Fort Wayne Gazette*, of June 6, 1866, appears an obituary notice of the survivor of these eminent brothers, George W. Ewing; which was prepared by Byron D. Miner, Esq., who was then principal and managing executor of the estate, and which is re-published below:

"We are again called upon to record the demise of an old and valued citizen, one of the most enterprising and energetic pioneers of the northwest. Colonel George W. Ewing, the subject of this obituary, departed this life at the residence of Dr. Charles E. Sturgis, in Fort Wayne, on the 29th of May, 1866, in the 63d year of his age.

"As the Ewing family, of whom he was the surviving male member, have been identified with the early settlement of this country, it is proper at this time that a historical record should be perpetuated of them; and a few extracts from a history of the family, written by the deceased, will not be out of place.

"His father, Colonel Alexander Ewing, was of Irish parentage and born in Pennsylvania in 1763. At the age of 16 years actuated by the spirit of patriotism which filled the heart of every true American, he repaired to Philadelphia, where he enlisted in the Continental army, and served during the Revolutionary struggle.

"In 1787, he was engaged in a trading expedition in what was then called the far Northwest, and erected a trading post on Buffalo creek, where now stands the city of Buffalo. A few years later, having been very prosperous in that business, he purchased lands on the Genesee flats near a small village called Big Tree and in the neighborhood of Genesee, Livingston county. In 1822, he removed to the River Raisin, in the State of Michigan, and settled where now stands the City of Monroe.

"In 1807, he moved to the State of Ohio, and settled in the town of Washington, now called Piqua, remaining there and at Troy un-

til 1822, when he made his final removal to this vicinity, where, on the 27th day of January, 1827, he departed this life, and was buried at a spot selected by himself, near the northwest corner of Pearl and Cass streets, in this city.

"The mother, Charlotte Griffith, was of Welch parentage, a lady of great excellence and moral worth. She survived her husband until the 13th day of March, 1843, when she departed this life at Peru, Indiana. It has been written of her that she had died as she had lived, in peace and with good will to all, and a firm believer in the Christian religion. Her life had been a virtuous and well-spent one, and she died without reproach, respected and esteemed by all who knew her. The issue of this marriage was: Sophie C., relict of Smallwood Noel, Esq.; Charles W., formerly President Judge of the 8th Judicial Circuit of the State of Indiana, born at the village of Big Tree, above referred to; William G., formerly Judge of the Probate Court of Allen County, Indiana; Alexander H., a successful merchant of Cincinnati, Ohio, and George W., the subject of this memoir, who was born at Monroe, Michigan. Lavinia, deceased, married to the Hon. George B. Walker, of Logansport, was born at Piqua, Ohio. Louisa, widow of the late Dr. Charles E. Sturgis, of this city, was born at Troy, Ohio.

"In the year 1827, the two brothers formed the well and widely-known firm of W. G. & G. W. Ewing. By their articles of co-partnership, all their estate, of every name and nature, became and continued to be the common property of the firm, until the 11th day of July, 1854, when the co-partnership ceased by the death of William. During all that time the brothers reposed in each other the utmost confidence, and no settlement of account ever took place between them. They had many side partnerships and branches—Fort Wayne being the headquarters of all. William S. Edsall was a member of the firm of Ewing, Edsall & Co., and he was succeeded by Richard Chute, and the firm name was then changed to Ewing, Chute & Co.

"At Logansport, Hon. George B. Walker was a partner. There, the celebrated firms of Ewing, Walker & Co., and Ewings & Walker, had their business house, and at LaGro, Indiana, the firm was Ewings & Barlow. At Westport, Missouri, a very extensive business was transacted under the firm name of W. G. & G. W. Ewing; and many branches were located in Michigan, Iowa, Kansas, Minnesota and Wisconsin. In fact, their business extended over a considerable portion of both Continents—their names being, in this country, familiar in every considerable town and hamlet between the Alleghenies and the Rocky Mountains. Their employees were numerous, and, with few exceptions, proved faithful and trust worthy.

"At the death of William G. Ewing, George W. Ewing devoted his whole energies in the work of winding up the immense business of the old partnerships; and, with the assistance of his former confidential agents, Messrs. Miner & Lytle, succeeded, on the 10th of

October, 1865, in making a full, final, and complete settlement to the satisfaction of the administrators (Hon. Hugh McCulloch and Dr. Charles E. Sturgis), and the legatees of his brother's estate; which settlement was confirmed at the March term, 1866, of the Common Pleas Court of Allen County, Indiana, and the business relating to the estate of William G. Ewing closed finally.

“Colonel George W. Ewing, the subject of this obituary, commenced his business career by establishing a trading post among the Shawanee Indians, at the place where now stands the village of Wapakonnetta, in Anglaize county, Ohio. We next find him at the Miami treaty of 1826, where he laid the foundation of his future prosperity, and at nearly all the subsequent treaties with the Indians in Ohio, Indiana, Michigan and Illinois, he attended and took a prominent position. In 1828, he married Miss Harriett Bourie, and in 1830, with other citizens of Fort Wayne, removed to the junction of the Wabash and Eel rivers, and there founded the prosperous and growing city of Logansport.

“In the year 1839, he removed with his family to Peru, Indiana, where he continued to reside until October, 1846, when he moved to St. Louis, where, on January 24, 1847, his wife departed this life. He continued to reside at St. Louis until the death of his brother and business partner, William G., when it became necessary that he return to Fort Wayne, and take charge of the headquarters of the late firm.

“On the 27th of December, 1865, he was stricken down by an attack of bilious pneumonia, from which he partially recovered, when heart disease intervened, and he lingered along until the date before mentioned, having suffered intense agony of body and mind for five months, when death put an end to his existence.

“So far as he could do so, he arranged his worldly affairs to his satisfaction, and after many long and earnest consultations with the Rt. Rev. Bishop Luers, he was baptised, and partook of the Holy Sacrament, and put his trust in the Dispenser of all good. From that time he appeared to lose his usual sternness of manner, to become entirely resigned and composed, and finally seemed to fall asleep, and quietly passed away.

“At his particular request, made on his death-bed, he was buried in conformity with the rites of the Catholic Church—his body being deposited in his own lot at the Lindenwood Cemetery, near Fort Wayne.

“Thus has passed away another of the early settlers of this county. There are but few remaining, and it is saddening to contemplate that, in a few years more, those noble men and women will all have gone to their final resting place.”

B. D. Miner, Esq., who furnished the foregoing sketch, commenced his residence at Fort Wayne in 1835, and his business relations with the Messrs. Ewing began in 1838, and terminated with the death of Colonel George W. Ewing, in 1866. The intimate busi-

ness and social relations that had existed between the two, may be inferred from the subjoined provision contained in the will of Mr. Ewing:

"In view of the long and intimate relations existing between myself and my worthy friend, Byron D. Miner, I will and bequeath to him the sum of twenty-five hundred dollars (\$2,500,) in unimproved real estate in Allen County, Indiana, to be selected by himself and his co-executor hereinafter named, or such other persons as may execute this my last will and testament. And in view of his long and intimate connection with my general business, it is my will and desire that he shall be my active executor, and give his personal attention to settling up and protecting my estate, and carrying out the provisions, meaning, and intention of this my last will and testament; and in consideration thereof I will and direct that he shall receive from my estate, in addition to what the Court shall allow him for his services as my executor, the sum of five hundred dollars (\$500) per annum for the term of ten years, should he continue so long my active executor."

Another provision appointed Mr. Miner and William A. Ewing, Esq., executors of the will. The first named having resigned in 1869, his co-executor has now sole charge of the trust and execution of the will of Col. Ewing.

The monument in Lindenwood Cemetery, although the finest that adorns that beautiful city of the dead, was scarcely necessary to perpetuate Colonel Ewing's memory with the present generation of Fort Wayne, who will never forget one whose genius, enterprise and liberality contributed so much to place the business of the city upon the solid foundations it now occupies.

It may be proper here to add that Mr. Miner, above referred to, has, during many years, been a public spirited citizen of Fort Wayne, representing the County of Allen, in 1868 and 1869, in the Indiana House of Representatives, and also holding other responsible official and judiciary positions.

John P. Hedges is now one of three of the oldest inhabitants residing in the vicinity of Fort Wayne. In 1812 he was a clerk of John H. Piatt, Commissary General for furnishing supplies for the Northwestern Army, and in that capacity visited the place in pursuance of an order of General Hill, to examine and report the rations in the Fort. His residence, however, in Fort Wayne, commenced directly after the conclusion of the treaty of Greenville, in 1814. At this treaty his father, Samuel P. Hedges, and himself, issued rations to the Indians, under the orders of the Commissioners and Indian Agents. At this date there were no white families residing near the Fort. Several single persons, however, namely: George and John E. Hunt, Peter Oliver, and Perry B. Kircheval, were at the place—the two first named with a store of goods, and

the last named a clerk in the employ of Major Stickney, Indian Agent. The old French traders had removed during the early part of the war to Detroit. In 1815, Louis Bourne and family, Charles and James Peltier and their families, returned to the fort. Colonel William Suttentfield belonged to the first Regiment United States Infantry, under Colonel Hunt, and was a corporal in the company of Major Whistler, commandant of the fort. The only survivors among those who were residents here in 1815, are Mrs. Suttentfield, Mrs. Griswold (formerly Mrs. Peltier), and Mr. Hodges.

Among the pioneers not hitherto mentioned, are the following:

John G. Mayer, born in Betzenstein, Bavaria, April 5, 1810—arrived in New York in 1839, and in Fort Wayne in 1845, and who will be remembered as the popular postmaster during the administrations of Pierce and Buchanan; Madison Sweetser, who removed to Fort Wayne in 1832, and has been among the most prominent of its business men; General Hyacinth Lasselle, who it is claimed, was the first white person born at the place in 1778; Allen Hamilton, who established himself in business in Fort Wayne in 1823, and whose name and successful business career are yet clear in the recollections of all the old citizens; Henry Tilbury, who settled three miles east of Fort Wayne, on the Ridge road, in Adams township, in 1828; Mrs. Emeline Griswold, who was born at Detroit in 1792, and removed to Fort Wayne in 1807, with her grand parents, Baptiste Maloch and wife; J. and B. Trentman, Jacob and J. M. Foelanger, A. Meyer, George Meyer, H. Norman, John Ort, H. Schwegman, Dr. C. Schmitz, Henry Baker, Jacob Fry, B. Phillips, C. Morrell, C. Nill, Louis Wolkie, S. Lau, A. Pintz, Rev. Dr. Shiler, George Miller, E. Vodemark, C. Piepenbrink, D. Wehmer, Charles and L. Baker, Charles Muhler, Peter Keiser and many others.

PLINY HOAGLAND.

There are few now in active life who have been more prominently associated with canal, railroad, city improvement, and the school and other important interests of North Western Ohio, and North Eastern Indiana, than Mr. Hoagland.

Commencing professional life as an engineer on the Sandy and Beaver canal, in the spring of 1845, he engaged, three years later (1848), in the same employment on the Ohio portion of the Wabash and Erie Canal.

He continued in this service until the completion of the work in 1843, when he was placed in charge not only of the canal, but of the Western Reserve and Maumee road, which position he retained until he removed to Fort Wayne. During this service of seven

years, and embracing a period when the malarious diseases of the country were often very malignant, he was unremitting in the discharge of his official trust, regularly visiting and inspecting every portion of the works confided to his charge.

In the fall of 1845, he removed to Fort Wayne, where he yet resides, and where, as before stated, he has taken a leading, though undemonstrative and unostentatious part, in all the schemes that have proved beneficial to the interests of the city and country.—When the Ohio and Pennsylvania road had been partly constructed between Pittsburg and Mansfield, that company were hesitating regarding the route they would adopt when they formed their connection with the Cleveland, Columbus and Cincinnati road at Crestline:—whether they would form a Chicago or Cincinnati alliance; and during the time they were thus deliberating, Mr. Hoagland happened to be at Wooster, where he met J. R. Strahan, William Jacobs, and others interested, to whom he urged the Chicago route as the one that would result most beneficially to the interests of the corporation. He immediately wrote to Judge McCulloch, stating the condition of matters, and suggesting the adoption of prompt measures by the citizens interested in the prosperity of Fort Wayne to rally in behalf of the Chicago route. His foresight and efforts were finally appreciated, and the road moved westward from Crestline, until it finally, after hard struggles and sacrifices, reached Chicago.

The concurrent legislation of Indiana, in 1851, rendered necessary to perfect the arrangements authorized by the Ohio enactments of the previous year, was obtained chiefly through the efforts of Mr. Hoagland; and the corporation, then known as the Ohio and Indiana Railroad, connecting Crestline and Fort Wayne, was organized; Mr. Hoagland, Judge Hanna and William Mitchell becoming contractors for constructing the whole road from Crestline to Fort Wayne, a distance of 131 miles, except furnishing the iron. The letting occurred on the 28th of January, 1852, and the contract was completed on the 1st of November, 1854. In a history of the enterprise and its early trials, published under authority of the Company, it is stated that “these contractors commenced and prosecuted their work with such commendable energy as to have it ready for passing trains over the whole road on the first of November, 1854.” From the inception of the Ohio and Indiana, now a part of the Pittsburg, Fort Wayne and Chicago Railway, until the present time, Mr. Hoagland has been, with the exception of a single year, a director; and also, since 1866, has held the position of director on the Board of the Grand Rapids Railroad Company.

In 1856, Mr. Hoagland was elected a member of the House of Representatives of the Indiana Legislature, and, in 1862, a member of the State Senate. Judge McCulloch, after his appointment to the office of Comptroller of the Currency, resigned his position as President of the Fort Wayne branch of the Bank of the State of Indiana; and Mr. Hoagland was elected his successor, and accepted



Very truly,
J. L. Millham's

the appointment, resigned his seat in the State Senate, and held the position until the organization of the Fort Wayne National Bank, under the National Banking Law, when he declined the offer of the Presidency of the Institution, but accepted the place of Vice-President—an office which he continues to hold.

During his service in the City Council, commencing in 1865, the system of sewerage, one of the best and most ample enjoyed by any city in the country, was commenced at his instance, and prosecuted to completion. Permanent street grades, and the Nicholson pavement, also, commenced during his term. These public improvements being secure, he declined a re-election. To his influence, as much as to that of any other person connected officially with the system, the public schools of Fort Wayne, including not only their management, but their buildings, everywhere regarded as models, have been placed in a condition by which they are recognized as holding a front rank among the educational establishments in the State.

In the several official trusts committed to him—and they have been various, and began when he attained his majority, and continue until the present date—the official places he has held have, in every instance, sought him. He may have asked the vote of an elector for a friend, but never for himself. He has much faith in old fashions, in the political and moral integrity of the olden time, and in old friends. Unfortunately for the country, the proportion of public men, now in service, of his stamp of character, is not as large as in other and better days.

JESSE L. WILLIAMS.

[The subjoined sketch of the public services of this gentleman, is gathered chiefly from the work of Charles B. Stuart, published in 1871, and entitled "Lives and Works of Civil and Military Engineers of America." The scope of the operations of Mr. Williams passed the bounds of local limits, and became national. In other pages, the public are indebted to much that invest this work with historical value, to an unpretending pamphlet of Mr. Williams, entitled, "A Historical Sketch of the First Presbyterian Church of Fort Wayne," having originally been delivered before the congregation of that church in the form of a lecture. In connection with his brother, the late Micajah T. Williams, of Cincinnati, and one of the original proprietors of Toledo, no two persons, as will be discovered elsewhere in this work, were more closely identified with the early public improvements undertaken by Ohio and Indiana.]

Jesse L. Williams, who, for a period of over forty years, has been connected with the rise and progress of public works in the States

of Ohio and Indiana, was born in Stokes County, in the State of North Carolina, on the 6th of May, 1807. His parents, Jesse Williams and Sarah T. Williams, of whom he is the youngest son, were members of the Society of Friends.

About the year 1814, his parents removed to Cincinnati, Ohio. For some time after the close of the war of 1812, uncertainty attended every business enterprise. This involved the father in pecuniary losses, which prevented him from securing for his young son the most favorable opportunities for securing a liberal education. In his early youth, the subject of this sketch was one of the pupils of the Lancasterian Seminary at Cincinnati, and afterwards at other places of residence in villages, or on the farm, he had only the small educational advantages offered in such locations, for the portions of time his other avocations would allow.

After he had chosen a profession, at the age of eighteen years, his mind, one of the most marked traits of which appears in its power of concentration on a single object, was zealously devoted to an investigation of those branches of knowledge which seemed to have the most direct relation to the profession of his choice. In the course of his studies, his varied duties in engineering, location and construction, enabled him to combine practice with theory. It seems, indeed, that, trained up amidst pioneer society, he is, in a great degree, like many others in the west, in every profession, self-made and self-educated. The few years which, under more favorable circumstances, he might have passed in college, were employed necessarily in tilling the soil. A vigorous constitution thus acquired, with habits of industry, temperance and untiring energy, were the compensatory advantages; and with these sustaining and giving ambition, he was doubtless encouraged in his early manhood to believe that success and honorable distinction in his profession, were not beyond his reach.

Although he has often been heard to regret the want of opportunities and leisure in early life for the acquisition of higher attainments in general learning, yet, as tested by the demands of a long, varied, and successful professional career, it would seem that the lack of early advantages has been mainly overcome. His acquirements, theoretical and practical, under the guidance of a sound and discriminating judgment, have been adequate to the faithful discharge of the difficult and complex duties of the various official stations in which he has been placed.

The year 1825 was marked by an achievement in practical science and statesmanship which, for the times, was bold and far-reaching in results. The completion of water communication between Lake Erie and tide-water, placed the State of New York in a greatly advanced position, attracting the attention of the Union. Other States caught the spirit of internal improvement. Ohio accepted it as her mission to extend the line of artificial water communication from the Lakes to the Ohio river.

It was under the inspiration of these works of internal improvement, great for their day, that the subject of this memoir, then on the farm in Indiana, was permitted, at the age of seventeen, to take a subordinate place among the corps of engineers which, early in the year 1821, had been detailed in charge of Samuel Forrer, Civil Engineer, to make the first survey of the Miami and Erie Canal from Cincinnati to the Maumee Bay. In this corps his position was that of rodman, and pay nine dollars per month. The line of the survey, for the distance of half its length, lay through an unbroken wilderness. On one continuous section of forty miles, no white man was found.

Mr. Williams continued to serve in the corps of engineers, under Mr. Forrer, in the final location and construction of the Miami and Erie Canal, and had charge, as assistant, of the heavy and difficult division next to Cincinnati. He was present at the formal breaking of ground in Ohio by DeWitt Clinton, and with other youthful engineers in the service of the State, it was his fortune to take the hand of that great man, and to receive from him kind and encouraging counsel, prompting to perseverance, and expressive of ardent hopes that the young engineers in his presence might attain honorable distinction in their chosen profession, which was at that time so intimately related to the growing enterprise of the country.

Owing to sickness of the principal engineer during the latter half of 1827, his active duties were temporarily extended over the whole work between Cincinnati and Dayton.

In the spring of 1828, the Chief Engineer of Ohio, David L. Bates, appointed Mr. Williams to take charge of the final location of the Canal from Licking Summit, near Newark, to Chillicothe, including the Columbus side-cut, and after the line was located and placed under contract the construction between Circleville and a point south of Chillicothe, was committed to his supervision. Among the works on this division which required in their construction great care and skill, were the dam and aqueduct across the river Scioto.

In the Autumn of 1830, the Canal Commissioners of Ohio appointed a Board of Engineers to examine and decide the very responsible question of supplying with water the summit level of the Miami and Erie Canal, whether by a system of artificial reservoirs, or by long feeders from distant streams. Mr. Williams, then twenty-three years old, was appointed one of this Board. Reservoirs were recommended for the main supply, one of which (the Mercer County Reservoir) is still in advantageous use, covering fifteen thousand acres, and is probably the largest artificial lake anywhere known.

Early in 1832, Mr. Williams was invited by the Board of Commissioners of the Wabash and Erie Canal, to take charge, as Chief Engineer, of the location and construction of that important work, then about to be commenced by the State of Indiana. The appointment was accepted.

The following letter from Governor Duncan McArthur, of Ohio, addressed to Governor W. Noble, of Indiana, was probably one of the causes that led to the choice of Mr. Williams :

CHILLICOTHE, February 25, 1832.

SIR: Having been informed, through Mr. Ridgway, of Columbus, that the Board of Canal Commissioners of Indiana wish to employ a skillful engineer to conduct the construction of your canal, I am induced to recommend to you Jesse L. Williams, Esq., who is now resident engineer on this part of our canal, as a gentleman well qualified for that important trust. He has had much experience in the business, having been constantly engaged in engineering since the commencement of the canals in Ohio. For integrity, judgment, and strict attention to business, he has not been surpassed by any engineer who has been employed on our canals. As his business is now drawing to a close in this State, I am informed that your Canal Board may procure the services of Mr. Williams for a reasonable compensation. I have the honor to be,

Very respectfully,

Your obedient servant,

DUNCAN McARTHUR.

His Excellency,

Governor W. NOBLE.

In 1834, Mr. Williams was appointed, with William Gooding as associate engineer, to survey the White Water Valley, for the purpose of determining the practicability of constructing a canal through that valley to Lawrenceburg on the Ohio. Their joint report was made to the Legislature, and published among the documents of the session of 1834-35. At this session, the Legislature passed an act authorizing the making of surveys and estimates for canals and railroads in almost every part of the State.

The several surveys of new canals in Indiana, ordered by the Legislature in 1835, were placed under his general supervision, in addition to his charge of construction on the Wabash and Erie Canal, and throughout that year his professional duties were exceedingly diversified and laborious. Still, they were regarded by him as intensely interesting. A single exploring party, engaged under his directions, in ascertaining in advance of the surveyers, and for their guidance, the relative heights of various summits, and of the water-courses for the supply of the canals, ran accurately a continuous line of levels six hundred miles in extent between early spring and the succeeding autumn. More than five hundred miles of definite location of canal lines were made by the different location parties, and estimates thereof were reported to the Legislature in December, 1838, by the respective Engineers under whose especial charge these surveys were made, with the general advice of Mr. Williams.

On the passage of a law authorizing a general system of internal

improvement, approved January 27, 1836, Mr. Williams was appointed Chief Engineer of all the canals of the State, including the Wabash and Erie Canal.

At this period, he had under his charge the several canal routes, amounting to about eight hundred miles, portions of which, on each work, were in progress of location and construction. In September, 1837, the Chief Engineer of railroads and turnpikes having resigned, these works (also under like progress,) were, by action of the State Board of Internal Improvement, placed under the charge of Mr. Williams as State Engineer; his supervision then embraced more than 1,300 miles of authorized public works. Afterwards, when the appointing power was changed, he was elected by the Legislature to the same position, and continued therein until 1841, when the prosecution of the public works, except the Wabash and Erie Canal, was entirely suspended.

Perplexing duties, and great labors and responsibilities were necessarily attached to the position which he so long occupied, as State Engineer of Indiana. The general principles of every survey and location; the plans of every important structure, and the letting of all contracts, came, in their order, under his supervision.

In the course of the summer and autumn of 1838, no less than 13 public lettings of contracts took place by order of the Board of Internal Improvements. These lettings, which were held in different parts of Indiana, at intervals of about two weeks, embraced portions of each work included in the general system of internal improvements which had been adopted by the State. With such facilities for travelling as belonged to that period, a punctual attendance at the numerous lettings, and the making of necessary preparations for those meetings of contractors, must have taxed the mental and physical energies of one man in no small measure. It was computed at the time by those who felt some interest in such matters, that the journeyings of the State Engineer, performed mainly on horseback, during the three months, amounted to at least three thousand miles. These facts illustrate, in some measure, the difficulties that were encountered and overcome by the pioneers in the earlier improvements of the western country.

After March, 1840, Mr. Williams, in addition to his duties and responsibilities as State Engineer, became, by appointment of the Legislature, ex-officio member of the Board of Internal Improvement, and acting Commissioner of the Indiana division of the Wabash and Erie Canal. In the discharge of the various duties of these stations, he acted for a period of about two years, having charge, also, of the selections, management and sales of the canal lands.

It may be of historic interest to state that the grant of alternate sections of land by Act of Congress of March 2, 1827, to aid in the building of the Wabash and Erie Canal, was the initiation of the Land Grant policy, which has since given a financial basis to so

many of the leading public works of the country. As State Engineer, the public works in every part of the State were under his general charge, from 1836 to 1842, and his special supervision of the Wabash and Erie Canal was continued during this period.

The prostration of State credit that followed the financial revulsion of 1840, checked the progress of works in the United States. From 1842 to 1847, the subject of this memoir was occupied in mercantile and manufacturing pursuits at Fort Wayne. Before leaving the capitol of the State of Indiana, he was offered the Presidency of the Madison and Indianapolis Railroad, then about to be completed; the offices of President and Chief Engineer being united in one.

After five years' suspension, an arrangement was matured for the completion, to the Ohio river, of the Wabash and Erie Canal, and through this, as a basis providing for the adjustment of the Internal Improvement debt of the State. In 1847, the entire canal, with its canals, passed into the hands of a Board of Trustees, representing both the State and the holders of her bonds. The law creating this trust, and providing for the adjustment of the State debt, and the completion of the canal, required the appointment of "a Chief Engineer of known and established character for experience and integrity." To this responsible position Mr. Williams was appointed, in June, 1847, at that date resuming the charge of this work, after five years' retirement. He yet occupies this position, with the sanction of the Trustees and that of the Governor, thus making [his] professional charge of the Wabash and Erie Canal extend over a period of thirty-four years, having, at the same time, official connection with important railroads during the last 17 years.

In February, 1854, he was appointed Chief Engineer of the Fort Wayne and Chicago Railroad, which position was held up to the time of the consolidation with the Ohio and Pennsylvania, and Ohio and Indiana Railroads, in 1856. From that date to 1871, fifteen years, he has been a director of the Pittsburg, Fort Wayne and Chicago Railroad.

In July, 1864, Mr. Williams was appointed by President Lincoln a director of the Union Pacific Railroad, on the part of the Government. The term being but one year under the law, he was re-appointed each succeeding year until the work was completed, in 1869, receiving commissions from three successive Presidents.

As a member of the Standing Committee on Location and Construction, the important engineering questions connected with the location and plan of this work across the mountain ranges of the Continent, came within his sphere of duty, and called into exercise the professional experience which forty years of public service enabled him to wield. The engineers of the Company, themselves no doubt competent, appear to have entertained a high respect for the judgment of Mr. Williams. This was also the case with the Secretary of the Interior, to whom he frequently reported, and who

adopted his suggestions, and presented them to Congress in his official report.

The official communications and letters of Mr. Williams, written during this service, are of deep interest as illustrating the character of the country traversed by the route, and the formidable natural obstacles which presented themselves, and occupy several pages of Mr. Stuart's volume. The documents referred to, also bear evidence that the recommendations of Mr. Williams were highly valued by the Government.

On the 19th of January, 1869, Mr. Williams was appointed Receiver of the Grand Rapids and Indiana Railroad, by the United States Court for the Western District of Michigan.

This work, three hundred and twenty-five miles long, is designed to connect the city of Fort Wayne, and the region farther south, with Little Traverse Bay and the Straits of Mackinaw. In the distribution of the lands granted by Congress to the State of Michigan, this work was endowed with a valuable land grant. The work was commenced many years ago. A failure to negotiate its bonds, the natural result, perhaps, of a premature beginning in a district of country so little settled at that time, had caused very serious financial embarrassments, and a suspension of the construction, with only twenty miles in running order. Other and rival interests were watching the haltings of this work in expectation of obtaining a transfer of the land grant for their benefit.

Under the law of Michigan, a failure to complete twenty additional miles by July 1, 1869, extending northward into the pineries, forfeited actually the land grant, valued at seven millions of dollars. The stake was large, the work to be done remote from settlements, and the time only some fifty days after the yielding of the frost.

The court, for the protection and benefit of all the interests involved, had ordered the Receiver to borrow money by pledge of the land, and build the road as required by law. Seldom has so large a responsibility been laid on any one; for no provision was made for a second effort to recover the land grant, if lost by a single day in the time of completion. Much interest was felt along the line, and with capitalists, who had already invested largely on the security of the land grant and the road.

The following telegram, sent eight days before the time fixed by the statute, announced the result of the effort:

“GRAND RAPIDS, June 22, 1869.

‘*To His Excellency, the Governor of Michigan:*

“The last rail of the twenty miles was laid last evening.

“J. L. WILLIAMS.”

By further orders of the Court, Mr. Williams, as Receiver, was authorized and directed to build, and put in good running order, the entire remainder of the line between Fort Wayne and the Muske-

gon river, a distance of 200 miles. In addition to the duties and responsibilities ordinarily belonging to a financial trust like this, he had also the professional charge, as Directing Engineer, of the work. These several duties were found so exacting as to leave no time for the proper performance of the Pacific Railroad duties; and in October, 1869, he resigned his position as Government Director of that road.

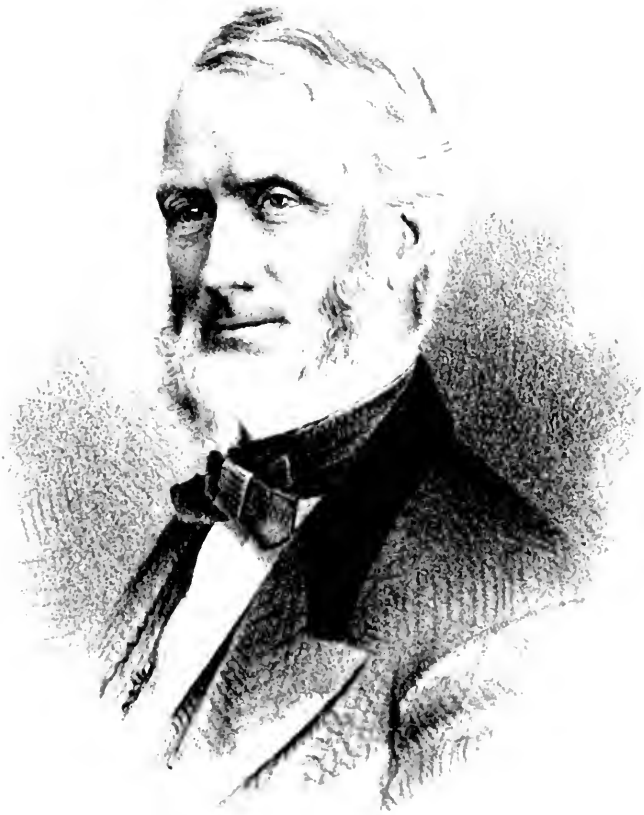
After being relieved from duty under the Government, he devoted his whole time and energies to the completion of the 200 miles of the Grand Rapids and Indiana Railroad north of Fort Wayne, and opened it for traffic early in October, 1870. One hundred and sixty miles of track was laid, besides closing up a large part of the grading, delivery of cross ties, etc., from the middle of April to the 13th of September, 1870, a rate of progress which has not perhaps been equalled on any other work, except on the Pacific roads.

The professional life of Mr. Williams has been, in a remarkable degree, full of useful activity. It is honorably and inseparably identified with many of the great public enterprises which have affected important changes in the condition of the country. Commencing at a time when the superior advantages for carrying on of inland trade and commerce by means of canals were attracting universal attention to their construction, he will probably close it long after this kind of improvement has become secondary in importance (except in peculiar localities,) to another of still higher perfection—the railroad. Indeed, it may be said that, in the region west of the Allegheny mountains, he has witnessed the *origin, the growth, the maturity, and the decline of the canal system.*

Turning his attention early to railroad construction, he has devoted the last twenty years of his professional labors, mainly in aiding forward to successful completion some of the most prominent railroads in the country.

ALFRED P. EDGERTON.

Mr. Edgerton was born at Plattsburg, Clinton county, New York, January 11, 1813. He first appeared before the public as the editor of a newspaper in 1833, and in the fall of that year removed to New York, where he engaged in commercial pursuits. In the spring of 1837, he removed to Ohio, to take charge, as agent, of the lands of Hicks & Co., and of the American Land Company; and established a Land Office at Hicksville, in what was then Williams county, now a part of Defiance county. At this office, about 107,000 acres of the lands of Hicks & Co., and of the American Land Company were sold by him. He became purchaser of the lands unsold, amounting to about 37,000 acres, in 1852. A larger number of people, now occupying cultivated and valuable farms in North-Western Ohio, derived their titles through Mr Edgerton than from any other source



V. P. Gertin

except directly through the Federal or State Governments, and no Land Agent has ever been more forbearing or liberal in arrangements with actual settlers, struggling to secure for themselves the ownership of the acres they cultivated.

In 1845, he was elected to the Senate of Ohio, from the territory which then embraced the present Counties of Williams, Defiance, Paulding, Van Wert, Mercer, Anglaize, Allen, Putnam, Henry, and part of Fulton. Up to this time, although accustomed to express, on proper occasions, decided political convictions, he had not been active in caucusses and conventions, and was only known to the people of the district as a sagacious and upright business man. The public questions of that period involved complicated matters relating to finance, the State banking system, metallic or paper money, the public debt, public credit, and kindred issues; and regarding these matters, the public mind was greatly stirred. Malfeasance on the part of the financial officers of the State, and an unlawful and useless sacrifice of the public stocks, by hypothecation to, and collusion with, banks and bankers, were among the charges upon which the dominant or Whig party had been arraigned by the Democrats. The recognized leader of the Whig party, was the late Alfred Kelley, who had been identified with the public improvement and financial policy of the State, in various official relations, since the origin of the public debt, and the commencement of the canal system. On the minority, or Democratic side, several Senators appeared as champions of the cause of the minority. Mr. Kelley had developed his financial policy—had introduced bills to sanction it by legislation—had unmistakably beaten his antagonists, and was master of the field. Mr. Edgerton had been an attentive and patient observer of passing events, but, except voting when questions came up, had taken no part in the debate. When the conflict, however, was approaching a close, he unexpectedly appeared in the arena, and, in clear and logical speeches, electrified the body by the accurate knowledge he evinced of details regarding the finances of the State, pointing out damaging discrepancies, which had been overlooked in previous discussions, in the accounts and reports of various departments of the State Government; and producing, altogether, an entirely new bill of indictment against the Whig party, in their management of the fiscal business of the State. The battle which, on the part of the Whigs, was supposed to have been fought and won, was, it now became manifest, just commenced; and Mr. Kelley soon found in Mr. Edgerton a foeman more worthy of his steel than he expected, or ever hoped to encounter, while the Democrats, from that time forward, recognized Mr. Edgerton as their leader.

In 1850, after the close of his brilliant career in the State Senate, Mr. Edgerton was elected to the House of Representatives of the Congress of the United States, and again elected in 1852. Why he failed as a candidate in 1856, is partly explained in the reminiscences of Mr. Mott, of Toledo, which appear in succeeding pages.

During the Thirty-Second Congress, he was virtually Chairman of the Committee on Claims, performing the chief burden of the labor of that committee, and during the Thirty-Third Congress was its Chairman.

His duties at the head of this important Committee were performed with diligence and fidelity. He gave searching examination to every claim entrusted to his Committee, and from his carefully-prepared reports and logical conclusions, protecting alike the Federal Treasury and extending even-handed justice to worthy claimants, no successful appeal was ever taken. This labor afforded him less time to engage in the current debates, yet, when occasion offered, he would enter this field, and his opinions never failed to command the respect of the House.

From 1853 to 1856, he was transfer or financial agent of the State of Ohio, in the city of New York, and kept his office at 64 Beaver street.

In 1857, he removed to Fort Wayne, Indiana, twenty-four miles from his residence at Hicksville, but retained his citizenship in Ohio until 1862.

In 1858, he was one of the Committee to investigate the defalcation in the Ohio State Treasury.

In 1859, in connection with Hugh McCulloch and Pliny Hoagland, he became lessee of the Indiana canals, from the Ohio State line to Terre Haute, and assumed the position of general manager, and continued this position until 1868.

In January, 1868, he was nominated as the Democratic candidate for Lieutenant Governor of Indiana, with Thomas A. Hendricks for Governor.

The Democratic ticket was defeated by nine hundred and sixty-one votes.

Outside of his positions in the Ohio Senate and in Congress, Mr. E. was Senatorial Delegate to the Baltimore Convention in 1848, from Ohio, and to the Chicago Convention, in 1864, from the State of Indiana. He has always been a Democrat; but since 1868 has not been in politics, preferring, as he has always done, a business, and not a political field of operations.

Mr. E. could never become a successful actor in the school of politicians, by which the unworthy, through mere craft and bargain, often win their way to power. Hence, he has often rejected the suggestions of friends to enter the arena as a candidate for official place, and has inflexibly maintained what has been of more value to him than all else, an element of character which he never placed upon the market—his own self-respect.

CHAPTER IX.

THE OHIO PORTION OF THE VALLEY.

Having concluded our notes regarding the Indiana portion of the Maumee Valley, we now return to Northwestern Ohio, and arrange the several Counties, as near as practicable, according to the dates of their respective organizations. The first were formed during the same year, April, 1820; and we commence with

WOOD COUNTY.

In important events that are incorporated in the history of the United States, Wood County has been the theatre of transactions of high interest, the most prominent of which has already been described in preceding pages. For a considerable period, Fort Meigs, now Perrysburg, was the business mart of the lower portion of the Maumee Valley, and Wood County was the mother of many Counties, its jurisdiction extending west to the Indiana, and north to the Michigan State line. The commission of Amos Spafford, "of Miami, in Erie District, State of Ohio," as deputy postmaster, bears date the 9th of June, 1810, and was signed Gideon Granger, Postmaster General. In the year 1816, the old post-office between the river Raisin and Lower Sandusky, and between the head of the Maumee Bay and Fort Dearborn (now Chicago), was at Fort Meigs—Almon Gibbs being postmaster. His compensation for that year, according to the official records of the Post Office Department, amounted to \$14.28. It may be proper here to mention that both sides of the river, and then embracing an area equal to more than the present surface of both Wood and Lucas Counties, was known as Fort Meigs, and that the post-office of that name was located on the northern, or Maumee City bank of the river.

Among the historical incidents omitted in a previous chapter, is the fact that, on the 7th of April, 1790, Brigadier-General Wilkinson despatched two messengers (Freeman and Gerard,) from Fort Washington to the Indians on the Maumee; but they were captured, and being taken for spies, were murdered near the rapids of the river, and the efforts of the government resulted in but little success, in so far as the direct desire for peace was concerned.

After the close of the war, several persons presented their claims for property taken and destroyed by Indians in the summer and fall of 1812, and in 1813, a list of whose names, and some of the property lost, are here appended :

James Carlin, "one dwelling house, or cabin, burned—estimated value, \$110.00; one blacksmith shop, \$55.00;" and then is included the loss of a colt, "two years old, taken by Wyandot Indians," and the valuation of \$30.00 affixed. Following these, in the schedule of losses, occurs a barn and two out-houses; another dwelling house; "a horse, taken from Oliver Armstrong," valued at \$60.00; "wheat of six acres in the barn burned; 4 tons of hay; clothing and bed-clothing, burned or stolen, making a total charge against the government of \$525.

Similar bills were filed by William Carter; by George Blalock; by James Slawson; by Amos Spafford; Samuel H. Ewing; Jesse Skinner, Daniel Hull, Thomas Dick, Samuel Ewing, William Peters, Ambrose Hicox and Richard Sifford. The aggregate of these claims exceeded four thousand dollars—a small amount compared with the late "war claims."

In support of these claims, "a meeting of the inhabitants, who resided at and near the Miami Rapids, prior to the late war (1812), met at the dwelling house of Amos Spafford, on the evening of November 8, 1815," and appointed a Committee to wait upon General William Henry Harrison, on his way to Detroit, and request of him such information and certificates as the said General may have in his possession respecting the corn that was found standing in possession of the inhabitants on his arrival at this place, in the winter of 1813; which corn was made use of by the army under his command. Said meeting appointed Amos Spafford and Captain Daniel Hull a Committee to wait upon General Harrison. The residents and claimants at this meeting were, Daniel Purdy, James Carlin, Jesse Skinner, William Peters, Baptiste Mommeny, Amos Spafford, Thomas Mellrath, David Hull, Samuel H. Ewing, Samuel Ewing, George Blalock, and William Carter—twelve in all.

On the 24th of November, 1815, Amos Spafford was appointed agent and attorney for William and Samuel Carter, Daniel Hull, William Peters, Samuel H. Ewing, Thomas Mellrath, Chloe Hicox, Samuel Ewing, William Skinner, James Carlin, Stacey Stoddard, Jacob Wilkinson, and John Redoad. Said Spafford was empowered to visit Washington, and apply to the Congress of the United States for indemnity for the loss of their property.

Amos Spafford was also collector for many years, and, in 1814, made to the Treasury Department "a statement of the fees and emoluments of the collector's office at the port of Miami, in the year 1814." In this statement he credits himself for amount of salary \$2.50; expenses for office rent, \$10, and fuel and stationery, \$15.75. To this statement is appended the form of an affidavit, duly signed, but followed by the explanation that "there being no

officer legally authorized to administer oaths nearer than sixty or seventy miles, I have not been able to attend to that part of the duty as the law requires."

Regarding the origin of the name given to Perrysburg, and the town opposite Fremont, the following letter from the Commissioner of the General Land Office, possesses interest:

“WASHINGTON CITY, April 12, 1816.

“DEAR FRIEND:

“As you will have a town on the Miami of Erie, it will be well to think of the name it is to bear. The act does not give a name. Who is to christen it? I wish you would think on the subject, and let me have your wishes. For my part, I will barely suggest to you that, if it would be named Perryville, or Perrytown—or in some other form, which may always remind us of the victory of Erie—it would be *good policy*. We ought to make the best profit we can of the blood of our countrymen, which has been shed for the confirmation of our Independence.

“If it were left to me to name the town at Lower Sandusky, I should name it in honor of the gallant youth, Col. Croghan,—and would say it should be *Croghanville*.

“I believe it is in your power to give the names.

“I am respectfully yours,

“JOSIAH MEIGS.

“A. SPAFFORD, Esq.”

The following letter, written more than fifty years ago, by a highly esteemed citizen, yet living, will convey some idea of the country and its prospects, as they then existed, and as they appeared to many of the most far-sighted men of that time:

“FORT MEIGS, 9th February, 1822.

“DEAR SIR:

“Feeling considerably interested in the measures proposed in Congress relative to this section of country, and not doubting your willingness to attend to any representations that might be communicated, I take the liberty of addressing a few lines to you on those subjects.

“I understand it is in contemplation to so alter the route of the great eastern mail to Detroit, that it shall not pass this place, but go by Port Lawrence, nine miles below, on the Maumee river. Also, to establish a land office at the river Raisin, in Michigan, for the sale of lands in this vicinity. Also, to remove the port of entry to Port Lawrence. And, also, I presume, from a motion of Mr. Sibley, to open a road under the provisions of the Brownstown treaty, *not* from Sandusky to *Port Meigs*, according to the terms of said treaty, but from Sandusky to *Port Lawrence*.

“I have been astonished at the fact that one delegate from Michi-

gan should be able to have the brain, not only of a majority of Congress, but even of a considerable part of the Ohio Representatives; but from the success attending his motions, I am obliged to admit the fact as true.

“Port Lawrence has no claims to notice by Congress, much less to be honored by the proposed sacrifices. The river Raisin has no claim, in any shape, superior to Fort Meigs; and in point of situation for a Land Office, or any other business, far inferior. It is within little more than thirty miles of the land office at Detroit.—Fort Meigs is not within one hundred miles of any office, except that at Detroit, and is seventy-five miles from that.

“Respecting Port Lawrence, there is not, nor has there been for years, nor is there likely to be, more than three English families, including all within three miles of the place; and whatever public business is done there, must be done by one man, who is already Indian agent and justice of the peace for Michigan. The distance proposed to be saved by altering the route of the mail, ought not to come in competition with the increased risk in crossing the Maumee river, which in that place is very wide, and open to the unbroken surges of Lake Erie. The same objection will lie with increased weight, against opening a military road to cross the river there. It might as well cross the mouth of the bay, or any other part of Lake Erie.

“If there was any business done at the place, or was likely to be, I should not so much object to the Customs Collector’s office being removed there; but at present I should esteem it ridiculous to entertain the idea.

“I did not suppose it entirely necessary to make all the above statements to you, sir; but it was difficult to say less, and say anything. You must pardon the apparent haste and carelessness with which this is written, as I have just returned from a week’s absence, and the mail is on the point of being closed.

“Yours, very respectfully,

HORATIO CONANT.

“HON. ETHAN A. BROWN,

“*Senator in Congress.*”

The first session of the Commissioners of Wood County was held in the upper story of Almon Gibbs’ store, on the 12th of April, 1820.—Samuel H. Ewing, Daniel Hubbell, and John Pray, Commissioners—Daniel Hubbell acting as clerk of the Board. At this session, William Pratt was appointed County Treasurer. At the session of May 3, 1820, Seneca Allen was appointed Clerk to the Commissioners, and David Hull entered into bond as Sheriff, Samuel Vance and Peter G. Oliver signing their names to his official bond. C. J. McCurdy, Esq., presented an order of the Court making him an allowance of twenty dollars as compensation for his ser-

vices as prosecuting attorney for Wood County. Thomas R. McKnight was allowed \$23 for services as Clerk of the Court at the May term, 1820; and for receiving returns of poll-books, and certifying election of County officers, an additional allowance of \$5.—Hunt & Forsyth were allowed a bill for stationery, amounting to \$16.12½, and Almon Gibbs, for use of Court House for one year, from May 3, 1820, the sum of \$10. Seneca Allen, Auditor, was allowed \$1 for publishing in the Columbus Gazette the rates of tax on land for road purposes. General John E. Hunt was allowed \$11.25 for services as lister of taxable property, and house appraiser. David Hull was appointed County Collector. This session of the Commissioners was held at Maumee. The names of Samuel Vance and Aurora Spafford appear as sureties on the official bond of William Pratt, County Treasurer; and the names of Thomas R. McKnight and Almon Gibbs as sureties on the official bond of Seneca Allen, who had been chosen Auditor of Wood County by joint ballot of the General Assembly of Ohio.

At a meeting of the Commissioners held on the 12th of August, 1820, a petition was presented from sundry citizens of Damascus, Henry County, praying to be attached to the township of Anglaize; which was read and granted. At the session held December 12th, 1820, Daniel Hubbell, John E. Hunt, and John Pray appeared as Commissioners. The Commissioners, at their session held at Maumee on the 4th of March, 1822, appointed Thomas W. Powell Auditor of the County for the then ensuing year. June 3, 1822, the Commissioners appointed Walter Colten Treasurer of the County.

A special session of the Board was held in Perrysburg, March 19, 1823, "convened for the purpose of attending to the erection and repairs of the public buildings of the county." At this session the Commissioners were John Pray, Samuel Spafford and Hiram P. Barlow. The Board examined the county jail, "which had been removed from the town of Maumee, and erected in the town of Perrysburg, agreeable to a certain contract entered into for that purpose with Daniel Hubbell."

The Board ordered that so much of the township of Anglaize as is contained in the unorganized county of Henry, be set off and organized into a township by the name of Damascus; that so much of the township of Waynesfield as is included in the unorganized county of Hancock, be set off and organized into a township by the name of Findlay, and that the election for township officers be held on the first day of July, A. D. 1823, at the house of Wilson Vance, in the said township. And it was further ordered that so much of the township of Waynesfield as is included in the organized County of Wood, and lying and being on the south of the south channel of the Maumee river, from the west line of the County to the line between the original surveyed township in Nos. one and four in the United States Reserve; thence the north channel to the State line, be set off and organized into a township by the name of Perrysburg;

and that the election for township officers be held on the 19th day of June, A. D. 1823, at the house of Samuel Spafford, in said township.

The Board of Commissioners at their June session, 1823, fixed the rate of taxation of stock as follows: on horses, mares, mules, and asses of three years old and upwards, the sum of thirty cents per head; on all neat cattle of three years old and upwards, the sum of ten cents per head, and on all other property made subject to county levies the sum of one half of one per cent. on the appraised value thereof.

James H. Slawson presented a petition to the Board asking the appointment of viewers to examine and lay out a County road commencing at the river in front of tract No. 28, of the United States Reserve of twelve miles square at the foot of the rapids of the Miami of Lake Erie in said County; thence on a direct line as the nature of the ground will admit, to the saw-mill of Levering & Stewart, on Swan Creek.

The Board at their session of March, 1824, made a settlement with Daniel Hubbell and Guy Nearing for erecting the Court House at Perrysburg.

The County was named from the brave and chivalrous Colonel Wood, a distinguished officer of engineers in the war of 1812.

The first Court was the May term, 1820. No civil cases appear on record—the State of Ohio appearing as plaintiff *vs.* Thomas Gainor, George Jones and Isaac Richardson, for resisting the sheriff, George Patterson, for assault and battery, etc. The County was then in the Third Judicial Circuit, and George Tod, father of the late Governor David Tod, was President Judge, and Horatio Conant, Samuel Vance and Peter G. Oliver were associate Judges. “The following named gentlemen, good and legal citizens of said County,” composed the grand jury: William H. Bostwick (foreman), Aaron Granger, John T. Baldwin, Parris M. Plum, Aurora Spafford, Jeremiah Johnston, William Pratt, Richard Gunn, Collister Haskins, Ephraim H. Leming, Josephus Tilor, Daniel Murray, John Hollister, Norman L. Freeman, and John J. Lovett (15).

PROGRESS IN TAXABLE WEALTH.—In 1826, the value of lands,		
including houses, returned as a basis for taxation, amounted to.		\$40,704 00
Value of town lots and buildings		23,230 00
Value of personal property.....		24,952 00
Total valuation.....		\$88,886 00
In 1830—value of lands.....		
“ “ town lots.....		\$38,158 00
“ “ personal property.....		27,222 00
		15,884 00
Total valuation.....		\$81,264 00

In 1840—value of lands.....	\$299,673 00
“ “ town lots.....	216,244 00
“ “ personal property.....	62,082 00
Total valuation.....	\$577,999 00
In 1850—value of lands.....	\$890,736 00
“ “ value of town lots.....	107,603 00
“ “ value of personal property.....	196,844 00
Total valuation.....	\$1,195,183 00
In 1860—value of lands.....	\$2,353,142 00
“ “ town lots.....	253,100 00
“ “ personal property.....	800,176 00
Total valuation.....	\$3,406,418 00
In 1870—value of lands.....	\$2,621,271 00
“ “ town lots.....	306,256 00
“ “ personal property.....	1,809,690 00
Total valuation.....	\$4,737,217 00
In 1872—value of lands.....	\$5,675,274 00
“ “ town lots.....	515,047 00
“ “ personal property.....	2,253,740 00
Total valuation.....	\$8,444,061 00

The following is a comparative statement of real and personal estate in the principal towns:

In 1860—value of real and personal estate in Perrysburg.....	\$171,863 00
In 1870—value of same.....	263,736 00
In 1872—value of same.....	859,732 00
In 1860—value of real and personal estate in Grand Rapids...	33,503 00
In 1870—value of same.....	83,210 00
In 1872—value of same.....	131,302 00
In 1860—value of real and personal estate in Bowling Green.....	61,896 00
In 1870—value of same.....	154,096 00
In 1872—value of same.....	261,292 00
In 1870—value of real and personal estate in Haskins.....	27,586 00
In 1872—value of same.....	71,131 00

POPULATION.—The following exhibits the progress of Wood County in population; though the reader will bear in mind that, when organized, the County embraced the larger portion of the Ohio area in the Maumee Valley:

In 1820.....	733
In 1830.....	1,102
In 1840.....	5,357
In 1850.....	9,157
In 1860.....	17,886
In 1870.....	24,596

The following census returns mark the progress of the townships and the towns:

TOWNS AND TOWNSHIPS.	1870	1860	1850
Bloom	1394	1198	658
Centre (a).....	1331	893	357
Bowling Green (a).....	906	.....	.....
Freedom.....	1689	971	454
Henry.....	685	454	321
Jackson.....	347	144	74
Lake.....	1120	551	152
Liberty.....	965	635	236
Middletown.....	1221	652	331
Haskins	243	.....	.....
Milton.....	1464	675	244
Montgomery.....	1636	1575	922
Perry.....	1323	1292	888
Perrysburg.....	4100	2834	1779
Perrysburg.....	1835	1491	1199
Plain (a).....	1719	1300	492
Portage.....	1069	833	403
Troy.....	1057	898	559
Washington.....	1321	899	504
Webster.....	922	671	237
Weston.....	1833	1359	546

(a) Of Bowling Green: 471 in Centre, and 435 in Plain.

And of Wood County, from 1820, when its jurisdiction embraced a larger portion of Northwestern Ohio, down to 1870, including the intermediate decennial periods:

In all the vast region mentioned, the County of Wood,

In 1820, had a population of.....	732
In 1830, " "	1,090
In 1840, " "	5,325
In 1850, " "	9,139
In 1860, " "	17,883
In 1870, " "	24,553

And the area between each period of the Federal census being continually diminishing—some of the daughters of old Wood county now excelling her in population and wealth.

PERRYSBURG IN 1833.—In the first number of the *Miami* of the Lake, Jessup W. Scott, editor, issued December 11, 1833, the marriage, at Lower Sandusky, on the 22d of November, 1833, by H. J. Harmon, Esq., of John C. Spink, of Perrysburg, to Miss Christiana Smith, of the former place, is announced.

The death of Chloe, only child of J. Spafford, of Perrysburg, aged two years, which occurred on the 6th of December, 1833, is also published.

The advertisers consist of S. Spink & Co., who announce new goods "cheaper than the cheapest."

William Marshall issues an attachment from the Justice' Court of Horatio Conant, Esq., a Justice of the Peace of Waynesfield township, Wood County, Ohio, against the goods, chattels, etc., of Michael Ireland, an absent debtor.

Hollister & Wendell have on hand Russia and Swede iron, English blistered steel, etc.

G. B. Abell & Co., advertise flour and meal.

Wm. Fowler & Co. advertise dry goods.

J. C. Spink and J. W. Scott insert their law cards.

The announcement is made that the Auditor's and Mayor's offices had been removed to the room up stairs, over Spink & Co.'s store, Louisiana avenue, between Front and Second streets.

R. A. Forsyth & Co. date an advertisement at "Mannec Village, December 11, 1833," in which they say that they have lately received from New York a full supply of dry goods, groceries, hardware, cutlery, and all other articles usually found at the best country stores, which they offer the public on favorable terms.

John Hollister & Co. offer at auction sale, at the city of Sandusky, on the 1st of January, 1834, the schooner *Guerriere*, of fifty tons.

John Hollister, R. A. Forsyth, and D. Wilkinson, advertise for 200 sound white oak knees, for which one dollar will be paid, delivered at David Wilkinson's.

BUSINESS AT PERRYSBURG IN 1838.—On the 18th of August, 1838, H. T. Smith issued the first number of *The Ohio Whig*.—a journal that succeeded J. H. McBride's *Miami of the Lake*.

In the *Whig* appears an advertisement of A. Smith, township clerk, who announces that sealed proposals will be received at G. Beech's store, for grubbing, ditching, and turnpiking 150 rods on the McCutcheonville or Columbus road, in the immediate vicinity of Perrysburg. Also, the grading of the hill on the road, near Key's residence.

Lorin R. Austin, Henry Darling, and Addison Smith, school examiners, have an official notice.

Leonard Blinn cautions the public against the purchase of a note of hand made payable to Daniel Fickle.

George Powers invites his debtors to call and settle.

J. Manning Hall advertises merchandise. D. W. Christian invites attention to his stock of cabinet ware, etc.; and Peck & Griswold enumerate sundry leading articles of merchandise. Joseph Creps and Henry Zigler offer at a bargain that tract of land and tavern stand, situated four miles east of Perrysburg, on the Sandusky turnpike, containing eighty acres. T. Rudesill says that he has just received, from the eastern cities, new goods, which he was then opening at the old stand of S. Spink, and recently occupied by

Hall & Rudesill. George Powers advertises dry goods, hardware and books.

Among the law cards are those of J. Purdy, (of Mansfield,) and W. V. Way, David Allen, Henry Bennett, John M. May, Samuel M. Young, J. C. Spink, and A. Coffinberry, Isaac Stetson, and Horace Sessions, of Defiance. N. Dustin is the only physician who advertised.

David Creps advertises leather. T. C. Woodruff wants 25,000 bushels of ashes. Walter Buell offers his services as a painter, glazier, etc. C. T. Woodruff was in the hardware trade. J. Hollister & Co. were daily receiving large supplies of produce, which they offered low for cash.

The steamboats Commodore O. H. Perry, Capt. David Wilkinson; Anthony Wayne, Capt. Amos Pratt; and Rochester, are advertised as making regular trips between Perrysburg and Buffalo; the Caroline, Captain C. Perry, between Perrysburg, Maumee, Toledo, Manhattan and Cleveland; and the Sun, C. K. Bennett, master, between Toledo, Maumee and Perrysburg.

Sidney C. Sloane, County Auditor, under the direction of the Commissioners of Wood County, offers at public sale several lots in Perrysburg.

Bowling Green, the seat of justice, contains Congregational, Methodist and Presbyterian churches; a well-conducted public school system; a newspaper office, from which the Wood County *Sentinel*, M. P. Brewer, editor, is issued; one Lodge of Masons, one private bank; three hotels; five dry goods, five grocery, two boot and shoe, two provision, three drug, and two hardware stores; one photograph gallery; two millinery establishments; two jewelers; one planing mill and sash factory; two wagon and carriage, and four blacksmith shops; one ashery; three livery stables; two meat markets, and two bakeries.

The town is situated very near the geographical, as well as the centre of population and wealth of Wood County. Its public buildings, including Court House and jail, are new and substantial structures, the former built by private enterprise, without charge upon the County Treasury, and they will compare favorably with the average of county buildings in Ohio.

BUSINESS AT PERRYSBURG IN 1872.—In the foregoing tables, it appears that the population and taxable wealth of Perrysburg have steadily increased. The town contains seven churches, viz: three Methodist Episcopal, one Presbyterian, one Catholic, one Baptist, and one Lutheran; a Masonic Lodge (one of the most flourishing in the State); Good Templars and Sons of Temperance Lodges; well-conducted public schools, in elegant and substantial buildings, and an excellent parochial school, under the management of the Catholics; one newspaper—the Perrysburg *Journal*—James Timmons, editor; one bank; two hotels; and of stores, seven dry goods; two

drug; two flour and feed; two hardware; one boot and shoe; sixteen grocery; one knitting machine depot, and one house selling agricultural machinery and implements.

Of manufacturing, there is one hub and spoke; two of boxes; two of staves and headings; one of bowls; one tannery; one grist mill; three saw mills; one shingle factory; two planing mills; two manufacturers of furniture; one of veneering; two of wagons, and two of wagons and carriages; one ashery; three blacksmith shops; two saddle and harness shops, two good meat markets, and one cigar factory.

The town also contains one grain elevator, and two warehouses. The Court House—the ancient judicial sanctuary of Wood County—was destroyed by fire in the summer of 1871; but a new and more elegant building is now being erected on the grounds of the former structure.

Captain David Wilkinson, born February, 1800, sailed up the Maumee river, on his first visit to the valley, in May, 1815, as a hand on board the schooner *Black Snake*, a vessel of about 25 tons burden, commanded by his uncle, Jacob Wilkinson, and owned by his father and said uncle. He was then a boy, aged about 15. The passengers were immigrants, who embarked at Cleveland, and their destination was for the valleys of the rivers Maumee and Raisin; and among those for the latter was the family of Mulhollen, who kept the noted tavern at Vienna some years later; also, a Mr. Hunter and family, Scott Robb, and a Mr. Hopkins, who settled on land a little above the present village of Perrysburg. The schooner landed her passengers and cargo from the bayou, at the upper end of town, there being then no wharf or other artificial facilities for commerce. It was a wild forest where Perrysburg now stands. David Hull and Thos. McElrath were there, trading with the Indians, and keeping taverns in log houses on the hill-side, between Fort Meigs and the river.—Halsey Leamming then lived in a log house near where Mrs. Ladd now resides,—Thomas Leamming, his brother, residing with him. Jesse Skinner and family lived on the flats near the river, on the tract immediately east of Eber Wilson's farm; Thomas Dicks, a bachelor Irishman, on the same tract; and Samuel Ewing on the Key tract, near the river.

Fort Meigs, at this time, was occupied by about 40 soldiers, under the command of a Lieutenant; Almon Gibbs being quartermaster. The government was then about abandoning the Fort, and Captain Wilkinson took to Detroit, on his return, four heavy pieces of cannon, and the remainder of the military stores.

The fishing business was then an important interest, and regularly carried on by the use of seines.

The vessel named made two trips that season into the river from Cleveland; and on the second trip came for a load of fish. Captain Jacob Wilkinson made two trips with his vessel in the following

year, 1816, and, about the first of September of that year, built a house between the Fort and the river, near David Hull's. This location was afterwards laid out into a town, and called "Orleans of the North."

About the 1st of June, 1817, William and John Hollister arrived with a stock of goods from Buffalo, and started a store at Orleans. Joshua Chappel, in April, 1817, and several families, came as passengers that year on the schooner *Black Snake*, then under command of Capt. David Wilkinson, which schooner continued its trips until the close of the navigable season of 1818, but was commanded that year by her part owner, Capt. Jacob Wilkinson.

In 1818 Capt. Daniel Hubbell bought a controlling interest in the schooner *Pilot*, built in Cleveland, and Capt. David Wilkinson took command of her, and run her the seasons of 1818-19, between the foot of the rapids and Buffalo. She took, as freight, from the towns at the foot of the rapids, furs, fish and corn; and brought back passengers, merchandise, salt and lumber. David W. Hawley came from Black Rock in 1817, and in the fall of that year built the first frame house in Perrysburg. This house was built on the side hill, between the saw-mill and Front street. Thomas R. McKnight moved to Perrysburg in 1821, from Wooster, Ohio, and built a log house and office on Front street. Between 1821 and 1825, a log house was put up on the corner of the lot where Peak's drug store now stands; one on the lot where Creps' store is, and one on the corner where the Presbyterian Church stands.

In 1825, Samuel Spafford built the "Spafford Exchange" hotel, now known as the "Norton Exchange." In the same year, Judge J. H. Jerome built the frame house now owned by Getz, and near the Houston store. In 1826, the Court House and jail were built. William and John Hollister built a frame store in 1826, on the ground now occupied by Dr. Peck's hardware store, and in the spring of 1827, removed their goods into it. Frank Hollister continued to trade in the old store at Orleans. They also built a warehouse and dock at the foot of Louisiana avenue, on the easterly side. Their's was the only store in Perrysburg, until the fall of 1833, when William Fowler established a store in the frame building near the old Court House. The next store was opened by Shibnah Spink (brother of John C.), in the spring of 1834. Joseph Creps moved into Perrysburg in the spring of 1833, and the same year built the brick tavern afterwards known as the Baird House.

In 1828 a two-story frame tavern was built on Front street, nearly opposite the Exchange, by Wm. Bigger. In 1834, or 1835, Kellogg & Wheeler built and opened a frame store building, on the corner of Front street and Louisiana avenue, on the ground now occupied by Hitchcock's store, which constituted the fourth store in Perrysburg in 1835. The next store was opened by Gilbert Beach and C. C. Bennett. In 1836, George Powers opened a store, and in 1837 James M. Hall and Tobias Rudisill appeared with a stock of goods.



Willard V. May

Dr. George W. Wood came in the spring of 1828,—the first physician who settled in Perrysburg. [The first lawyers appear in the reminiscences of Hon. Thos. W. Powell.]

Capt. David Wilkinson [who communicates these notes to Willard V. Way, Esq.,] continued his connection with different vessels in the Maumee river trade, until 1828, when he removed his family to Perrysburg. During this period, he had commanded, successively, the *Black Snake*, *Pilot*, *Nancy Jane*, *President*, *Superior*, *Guerriere*, and *Eagle*. The *Eagle* was a schooner of 60 tons, built at Port Lawrence [now Toledo,] in 1828, at a cost of \$3,000. Capt. Wilkinson commanded her until May, 1835; during which time she paid for herself five times over, clear of all expenses.

Leaving the *Eagle* at this date (May, 1835), Capt. Wilkinson was placed in command of the new steamer "*Commodore Perry*," in which position he continued until the spring of 1845, when he assumed command of the steamer "*Superior*," in which position he continued until the close of the lake navigation of 1852, which closed his long and honorable marine service upon the lakes.

Willard V. Way (to whom is due that the writer of this, and in this place, acknowledge obligations for much of historical value embodied in these pages,) was born at Springfield, Otsego county, New York, August 2, 1807, and came to Perrysburg to reside on the 13th April, 1834, having spent part of the previous year at Painesville, Ohio. He commenced his law studies with Hon. H. J. Redfield, in LeRoy, New York, and finished his reading with Messrs. Matthews & (Judge) Hitchcock, in Painesville, Ohio, and came from there to Perrysburg at the time above stated. Mr. Way married Miss Sophia Hodge, of Buffalo, New York, May 26, 1835. He has been successful in business life, and now, at the age of 65, is in good health, and among the most respected citizens of Perrysburg.

William Ewing, whose family have been hitherto mentioned, was the son of Samuel H. and Sally P. Ewing, and was born near where Clyde, Ohio, now stands, while the family were on the route removing from Monroe county, New York, to the Maumee river, in May, 1812. Of a family of eleven children, consisting of two boys and nine girls, Judge William Ewing, the subject of this notice, is one of three survivors. After the breaking out of the war of 1812, the family left for Bellefontaine, now Logan county, Ohio, and returned after the close of the war.

Aaron S. Dresser emigrated to Portage township, Wood County, southeast quarter of section twenty-five, in June, 1824. He entered his land at the Bucyrus office, in May, 1834. The names of those then in the township, who had preceded him, were Callister Haskins, Joseph Cox, Jacob Eberly, and a few others, probably. A road was partly cut out to Perrysburg, covered most of the year by water.

MERCER COUNTY.

Coeval with the formation of Wood County, and under the same legislative enactment, was that of Mercer; though, for judicial purposes, it remained with Darke until 1824. The county was named from General Hugh Mercer, a Virginia officer, who fell at Princeton, during the colonial rebellion, Jan. 3, 1777. In historic interest, the county, as originally formed, possesses matter of rare value. St. Clair's battle was fought on the line of this and Darke county, in 1791, and the trace of Wayne is yet discernible through the county, leading from Fort Recovery to Fort Adams. Simon Girty, at one time, lived on the right bank of the St. Mary's (now within Auglaize county), and between the river and canal. The ancient fort, St. Mary's, built by Wayne, occupied the west bank of the river.

In the official report of General Wayne, dated "Head-Quarters, Greenville, 7th July, 1794," the following is extracted :

"It would also appear that the British and savages expected to find the artillery that were lost on the 4th of November, 1791, and hid by the Indians in the beds of old fallen timber, or logs, which they turned over and laid the cannon in, and then turned the logs back into their former berth. It was in this artful manner that we found them deposited. The hostile Indians turned over a great number of logs, during the assault, in search of those cannon, and other plunder, which they had probably hid in this manner, after the action of the 4th November, 1791. I therefore have reason to believe that the British and Indians depended much upon this artillery to assist in the reduction of that post; fortunately, they served in its defence. The enclosed copies of the examination of the Potawotomy and Shawanee prisoners, will demonstrate this fact, that the British have used every possible exertion to collect the savages from the most distant nations, with the most solemn promises of advancing and co-operating with them against the legion, nor have the *Spaniards* been idle upon this occasion.

"It is therefore more than probable that the day is not far distant when we shall meet this *hydra* in the vicinity of the Grand Glaize and Roche de Bout, without being able to discriminate between the white and red savages. In the interim, I am in hourly expectation of receiving more full and certain intelligence of the number and intention of the enemy."

The earliest settlement of Mercer County was made at Fort Recovery, in 1818, the first family being that of Mr. Simison. In about 1822, Peter Studabaker came to the place, married a daughter of Mr. Simison, and resided at the place until 1834, when he removed to Indiana. The next settlers appeared in about 1828, and were composed of the families of David Anderson, Daniel Freeman, Geo. Arbaugh, William Money, James Cummings, and William and Jas. McDarnell. In 1833, the families of John G. Blake (first Justice of the Peace in Gibson township, which office he held twenty-one con-

secutive years), Alexander Grant, George Painter, and Henry Lipps, also settled in the neighborhood.

The remains of the officers who had been buried in their uniforms, were disinterred and buried in the cemetery in 1838.

It will be remembered that General Anthony Wayne, while in the occupancy of Fort Recovery, in 1794, offered a reward for the collection of the remains of the soldiers that had perished during the unfortunate campaign of St. Clair. Between 500 and 600 skulls were collected, in the vicinity, and interred in a grave within the walls of the stockade. During the summer of 1851, a freshet cut a new channel, and exposed some of the remains of this sepulture.—The fact becoming known to the citizens, they assembled and exhumed all the remains that could be found, and placed the most of them in thirteen black walnut coffins, and extended a general invitation to the surviving soldiers from this and other States, who had participated in the campaigns of Harmar, St. Clair, and Wayne, to join them in the funeral ceremonies of a final interment in the cemetery, on the 10th of September, 1851. In accordance with this invitation, people from Virginia, Kentucky and Ohio, numbering at least 5,000, assembled on the ground on the day named, and participated in the funeral ceremonies. The principal address on the occasion was made by Judge Bellamy Storer, of Cincinnati.

From the *Western Standard* (Cincinnati, Sept. 18, 1851.)

The 10th of September, 1851, will long be remembered by those who participated in paying the sad tribute to the memory of the slain of St. Clair's army, recently discovered at Fort Recovery. The morning was clear, bright, and warm, and, as the sun arose and cast his beams over the plain, made sacred by the blood of that brave band, every avenue leading to the village was crowded with human beings: so that, by ten o'clock, the concourse numbered from 4,000 to 5,000 souls.

It may be proper at this time to state, that, on the morning of the 7th of July last, a human skull was discovered, partly covered, in one of the streets of Fort Recovery, and adjacent to the ground upon which had been erected the fort bearing that name. Recent heavy rains had washed off the earth. The discovery induced a search, and the result was, that the skeletons of some sixty persons were exhumed, in a good state of preservation. The citizens of Recovery held a meeting the next day, and resolved to re-inter the bones, and appointed a committee to make suitable arrangements for the occasion.

The fore part of the day was occupied in placing the bones in the coffins—thirteen having been provided by the committee, representing each State in existence at the time the battle was fought. This was very appropriate, inasmuch as it is believed that every State in the Union was represented in that battle.

While the coffins were being filled, the people had an opportunity to examine the bones,—many of which bore marks of the bullet and

tomahawk. We handled a number that had been perforated by a bullet, and had also a gash—smoothly cut by the tomahawk; and, in different parts, marks made by a sharp instrument were discernible, said by old soldiers present to have been produced by the scalping knife. We saw a number of relics that were found on and near the battle-field, such as a sword, iron and lead balls, knives, ramrods, etc. The sword was about three feet long, and had a heavy brass guard around the hilt. The blade, on the edge and back, and the guard, bore evident marks of a desperate conflict, being literally cut in gaps and gashes.

The committee of arrangements appointed officers of the day, and a procession was formed under the direction of Gen. James Watson Riley, assisted by several aids. One hundred and four pall bearers, selected from the different counties represented, headed the procession in charge of the coffin, and were followed by the soldiers present, ladies and citizens, which formed a column a mile long, and marched to the stand erected on the south side of the village, in full view of the battle ground, where an oration was pronounced by Hon. Bellamy Storer, who was invited for the occasion.

The speaker's introductory referred to the scenes enacted on that very ground, on the 4th of November, 1791—contrasting the then horrible wilderness with the present civilized, cultivated and flourishing appearance of the country. He dwelt on the position of St. Clair's army at the time of the attack: the position of the enemy—their advantages, and the fatal results of the conflict,—paying a merited tribute to the brave, though unfortunate commander, and his more unfortunate men.

* * * * * The speaker made a beautiful allusion to the *thirteen* coffins. They did not contain the bones of the people of Massachusetts, or Kentucky, or Pennsylvania, or Maryland, or the Carolinas, or any other particular section, but were the representatives of the WHOLE UNION, engaged in a common conflict in defence of the rights of the AMERICAN COMPACT. Their names and locality are unknown. Heaven's register alone can record their deeds of valor and patriotism, and show where or to whom they belonged. They died a common and martyr death for the Union we live to enjoy, and which it is our duty to protect, and our highest honor to cling to and perpetuate. Under it, man *may* be independent of everything but his GOD. Not so in the old world. There confusion and commotion prevail; political and religious tyranny reign; and the American mission is to infuse the principles of Liberty into the masses of Europe, by living up to our privileges as Americans—every man being independent of everything but his GOD—preventing everything that has a tendency towards disunion, or the mitigation of a single stripe or star on our national flag. Universal education, and the advancement of science, are the sure foundations of our perpetuity.

* * * * * Our limited space will not admit a more full report of Judge Storer's speech. The Judge was followed by Gen. Bell, President of the day, in a short, patriotic speech.

Gen. Haines, from the committee on resolutions, reported a series urging Congress to appropriate money to erect a monument at Fort Recovery, and one at Greenville. Committees, composed of citizens of the different counties represented, were appointed to solicit contributions for the furtherance of that object. Messrs. Benjamin Linzee, J. W. Riley, H. F. Junnemann, and two others, whose names we did not learn, were appointed on the part of Mercer County.

The procession was then re-formed in the order it came to the stand, and moved to the burying ground on the south side of the village, and the coffins were deposited in one grave, divided off with boards, each division or vault containing two coffins.

The last act being performed, the people left the cemetery, each persuaded that he had performed a patriotic duty. It is true, we could not revive or benefit those dry bones; but their history is the foundation of our history. St. Clair's defeat was an entering wedge to the attainment of the blessings we now enjoy. Let us remember those patriots with grateful hearts, and by doing honor to their memory, "instil into the masses of the old world the principles of liberty."

The first session of the County Commissioners was held at St. Mary's, the original county seat, April 17, 1824. Commissioners, Lucas Van Ansdall, Ansel Blossom and Thomas Scott.

At the June term of the same year, John P. Hedges was appointed Treasurer *pro tem.*, and executed bonds, and appointed Samuel Hanson as deputy, who agreed to collect, for *five dollars*, "all the taxes of both Mercer and VanWert counties."

The total valuation of the lots in Willshire was returned for taxation this year at \$28.14; Shanesville, \$20.87—taxes, \$10.42; Dublin township, \$48.66; St. Mary's, \$76.70. The valuation of the lots in St. Mary's was uniformly one dollar, and the tax five mills on each lot. The burden of the taxation fell upon Shanesville, by reason, probably, of a bad system of valuation.

At the same term, John Manning was appointed Treasurer *pro tem.*, and was required to execute bond in the sum of *five hundred dollars*.

At the June session of 1825, Isaiah Dungan, Solomon Carr, and Ansel Blossom appeared as Commissioners. A settlement was made with John P. Hedges, Treasurer of Mercer county, for the period commencing at the June session, 1824, and ending June 6, 1825, and the Auditor was "directed to issue an order in favor of the said John P. Hedges for two dollars and ninety-one cents, being his legal per centage on seventy-two dollars and seventy-five cents, received and paid over by W. B. Hedges for John P. Hedges."

An order was issued to W. B. Hedges, Auditor, for paper, and one day's services, \$2. The Commissioners drew \$2.25 each for their services during the session.

An abstract of the list of taxable property, within the county of Mercer, and the attached county of Van Wert, for the year 1833, returned by A. R. Hunter, Assessor, showed eleven merchants having an aggregate capital invested in merchandise amounting to \$2,652.-75. One of these returned a capital of two dollars and seventy-five cents.

The first term of Mercer County Common Pleas was held at St. Mary's, in February, 1825, by Hon. Joseph H. Crane, President Judge, and by Associate Judges James Wolcott, Thomas Scott and Joseph Greer. The chancery case of Samuel Dungan *vs.* Edmund Gilbert was disposed of. The second term was held in April, 1827, and only one case was entered upon the docket, and that an administration one. Two years subsequent, in April, 1829, the third term was held in the county. At this term, Hon. George B. Holt appeared as President Judge, and Joseph Greer, John Manning, and William B. Hedges, as Associates. The disposal of two chancery cases cleared the docket. There is not to be found a State case upon the calendar until several years after the organization of the county—the very light docket exhibiting only business now coming before the probate court, and at some terms a chancery case or two.

Anthony Shane, Wm. B. Hedges, Colonel A. R. Hunter, John P. Hedges (now a resident of Fort Wayne), David Work, John D. Ralston, Joel F. Moore, Abraham Shindeldecker, Wm. Frysinger, Joseph Hinkle, Joseph Harp, Ruel Roeluck, and John Rhotz (who built the first flouring mill in the township, on the St. Mary's), were early residents of Dublin township. Most of the foregoing are now dead. Later, from 1835 to 1838, Calvin W. Alexander, Dr. John Barks (the first physician), Rev. Abraham F. Miller, Rev. Cornelius B. Whitley, Rev. Wm. Henry H. Santt (the three latter each blacksmiths and preachers, and yet living), Judge Hayes, Judge Greer, Moses Collins, John Chivington, and Eli Compton settled in the township, and are properly classed among the pioneers.

John Haneline, John George, Samuel Hunter, Amos Stansberry, Benj. Nickels, A. Bonafield, and William Carroll, were pioneers of Centre township.

In Washington township, in 1839, Wm. Sprigg, John Betz, Enos Hillory, John Wickerman, Mr. Adair, James Q. Grimes, were residents.

In Recovery township, in 1833, the following were residents:—John Simison, William James, John S. McDowell, Peter Studebaker, John Miller, David Freeman, David Anderson, Wm. Money, James Bufford, Jeremiah Brockes, Richard Scott, Alexander Scott, John S. McDowell, John G. Blake, and David Beardslee.

Justin and Wm. Hamilton, Richard Palmer, Jeremiah Coyle (who laid out the town of Mendon), Isaac Coyle, and George Willson, were among the earliest citizens of Union township.

The first grist mill built in Mercer county, was erected by David Anderson, on the Wabash river, in Recovery township, near the old fort, in 1830. William McDowell quarried and dressed the stone.

The first settler of Union township was Isaiah Duncan, who came into it about the year 1818, and settled near the present town of Mendon. Justin Hamilton came about 1820; and in 1822, Andrew Coyle, and Thomas Parrott, and their families. The oldest white person, now living, born in Union, is Andrew C., son of Thomas Parrott. About 1827, Peter Coyle and George Willson became citizens. In 1831, or 1832, Judge Justin Hamilton and Thomas Parrott laid out the town of Mendon. Among the pioneers of Union township, were also Abel Wright, James Wright, Edward Upton, Samuel Shepard. D. F. Parrott, now a resident of Celina, removed to the township with his father, George Parrott, in 1830. John Van Gundy erected the first mill.

A writer who published his communications in the Mercer County Standard, in April, 1871, states that "long before the location of the Mercer County Reservoir, some hardy adventurers bought and settled within the prairie, now forming the Reservoir, among whom were Thomas and Joseph Coate, Messrs. Mellinger, Large, Hugh Miller and others, all on the South side. On the north side were Messrs. Sunday, Crockett, Bradley, Judge Linzee, Hollingsworth, Nichols, Gipson, Hull, Kompf, Pratt and the Rev. Asa Stearns, all good men—noble specimens of the frontier.

"In 1830, Mitchell, an engineer, ran the first line around the Reservoir—Samuel Forrer, now living in Dayton, was the Commissioner. [See their report to the General Assembly, where they say the bank could be constructed for \$90,000.] Subsequently, in 1837, it was run again by Barney and Forrer, compassing a circumference of 18,000 acres. In the same year all the timber outside the prairie was let for deadening, which was done by the contractors of the several locations. When the west bank was let to Giddings, Stepson & Holsbecker, it was let from a point south of Celina a distance of 120 rods, at 37 cents per cubic yard, and was to be wharfed with good white oak plank, two inches thick; Henry L. Johnson, late sheriff of Mercer county, sawed the lumber.

"Justin Hamilton, the member of the legislature from the county, introduced a resolution in that body which was passed unanimously, 'That no water should be let into the Reservoir before the same should be cleared of timber and the parties paid for their land.' This resolution was in force when we cut the bank.

"There was then an appropriation of \$20,000 to pay us for our lands, but it was squandered by the officers and bank speculators.

"When the banks were finished and the water let in, it cut merged all but an acre for Mr. Sunday, with 34 acres of wheat; 15 acres for Mrs. Crockett; the whole of Thomas Coate's; 60 acres with several thousand rails for Judge Holt, of Dayton, who owned a farm two miles east of Celina; 19 acres for Judge Linzee; nearly 40 acres for

Abraham Pratt, with all the rails thereto belonging, and the whole of Mellinger's except a few acres around the house, besides great damages to others on the south side too numerous to enumerate here.

"This outrage on the part of the officers of the State was too much to be borne by the gritty bloods of Mercer county. Wars have been proclaimed on less pretenses. America declared her independence and refused to pay a small tax on her tea, which of itself was not oppressive, but it was oppressive in principle, and the people would not be taxed without the consent of their own Legislatures. Mercer County followed the example, and declared that she would not be imposed upon by the thieving birds of Ohio.

"On the 3d of May, 1843, a meeting was held in Celina, Samuel Ruckman, County Commissioner, acting as president. It was resolved that Benjamin Linzee, Esq., should go to Piqua, the head of the Board of Public Works, and lay our grievances and an address before them. Spencer and Ransom returned a sneering answer: 'Help yourselves if you can.' On the 12th of May, the meeting sent Linzee back with the declaration that if they did not pay us for our lands and let off the water, that we would cut the bank on the 15th. The reply came back: 'The Piqua Guards will be with you and rout you on that day.' The muttering thunder around the Reservoir was not only loud but deep—every person was excited. On the morning of the 15th, by 7 o'clock, more than one hundred people, with shovels, spades and wheelbarrows were on the spot, ready for work. The place selected was the strongest one on the bank, in the old beaver channel. Our object was not to damage the State; and the dirt was wheeled back on the bank on each side. It employed the men one day and a half before the cutting was completed: it was dug six feet below the level of the water, and a flimsy breast-work was made to hold the water back. When the tools were taken out and all ready, Samuel Ruckman said: 'Who will start the water?' 'I,' said John S. 'I,' said Henry L., and in a moment the meandering waters were hurling us down fifty yards below the bank. It was six weeks before the water subsided.

"As soon as this was known at headquarters, warrants were issued for the arrest of all who assisted in the work. Thirty-four of the leaders, comprising all the county officers, judges, sheriff, clerks, auditor, treasurer, his deputy, recorder and surveyor, merchants and farmers were arrested and bound over to the next term of court. A foolish idea, for the court assisted in the work. But the grand jury refused to find a bill of misdemeanor, and so the matter rested. It cost the State \$17,000 to repair the damages.

"I think it proper to record the names of those who resisted the oppressive movements of the State, in cutting the west bank of the Mercer County Reservoir: Judge Robert Linzee, J. S. Houston, Frank Linzee, clerk of the court; Joseph Carlin, sheriff; Fred. Schroder, auditor; L. D. McMahan, recorder; B. Linzee, deputy treas-

rer; S. Ruckman, commissioner; H. Trenary, B. Mowry, Porter Pratt, Ellis Miller, M. D. Smith, Allen, a tavern keeper, Eli Dennison, John Sunday and all his family, the Crockett boys, Britton and son, Abm. Miller and Dr. Beauchamp, from Montezuma; Matthew Frank, Gray, Ellis, Hugh Miller and a hundred others who came through curiosity or some other purpose, with Thomas and Joseph Coats."

The same correspondent thus refers to the late Judge Robert Linzee:

"He was from Athens, Ohio, where he had held thirty-two commissions from the Government. When Ohio was a territory, he was appointed a marshal by Jefferson. He subsequently served as sheriff, judge, and four terms in the legislature of Ohio. He was over 77 years of age at his death, and was buried in full communion with the Masonic order. Few men were endowed by nature with a nobler principle. A mind decisive, independent, intelligent and honest, and with colloquial powers equal to the most fluent. It is said by those who have seen Gen. Jackson, that his head and countenance were similar to that illustrious personage."

And he also makes the following reference to other pioneers:

"Andrew Crockett, formerly from Athens, Ohio, had been a member of the General Assembly; entered a large tract of land and settled near Celina, acted several terms as justice of the peace, and died at a ripe old age, highly respected by all who knew him. He was one of those fortunate individuals who was associated through life with an excellent companion whose benevolence and kindness of heart predominated with every lady-like virtue.

"But there is no man to whom the friends of Celina is indebted for their county seat more than to the late James Watson Riley, who was the son of the famous sea captain, James Riley, who shipwrecked on the shores of Africa. Young Riley came with his father to assist in sectionizing the counties of Northwestern Ohio and part of Indiana. He was a fast and accurate surveyor, a ready writer and calculator; his latitude and departure columns seldom needed correction; his eye as an engineer was singularly adapted to close work. He was the first Clerk of the Court of Mercer county, and early embarked with all his means in the civilization, settling and improving Northwest Ohio.

"There are two respectable gentlemen now residing in Celina, who were among the first settlers, that deserve on this occasion honorable notice—they are Henry L. Johnson and Dr. Miller. Johnson was employed to build and put in motion, the first steam mill, and has made Mercer county his residence ever since, with the exception of some three years. He served his second term as sheriff, which office he filled with signal ability. Dr. Miller was then a young man, and, I believe, the first schoolmaster, and when he had completed his studies, he chose the honorable profession of a physician, and has attained in it an enviable proficiency.

“The county seat was removed to Celina, and the first Court was held in 1840. Wm. L. Hefelestein presided, with Linzee, Hays and Parks, associates; Riley, clerk; Alex. Steadman, sheriff; E. M. Phelps, treasurer; L. D. McMahon, auditor; E. A. McMahon, (subsequently a Judge of the Fort Wayne, Indiana, Circuit, and now a resident of Rochester, Minnesota,) recorder; J. S. Houston, county surveyor, and Starbuck, State’s attorney.

“Two lawyers, Smith and Welch, and a German doctor by the name of Herrehell, were the first of their profession who settled in Celina. Joseph Carlin was the first sheriff elected by the people after the establishment of the county seat. He is yet living, and has retired to his farm, north of Celina. Tremary and Mowry, both excellent men, now dead, were the first blacksmiths. Johnson, now sheriff, was the first carpenter.

“The Mercer County *Advocate*, Whig in politics, was the first newspaper published in Celina. It was started August 4, 1848, by L. G. Smith and J. S. Millard. The *Western Standard*, Democratic in politics, was started the same year by a joint stock company, and has been continued ever since, although a little over a year ago it dropped the name of “Western,” and substituted “Mercer County” instead, while the *Advocate* lived but little over a year.

“While this country was yet claimed by the Indians, years before the purchase of 1817, some hardy pioneers made Fort Recovery their residing place; some for the purpose of trading, others for an easy mode of life congenial to their disposition. Among these, as most prominent, was Samuel McDowell, Peter Studabaker, Daniel Freeman, John Simison, and subsequently Stone, Money, Blake, Beardslee, etc., all of whom have left numerous and honorable descendants, prospering in the various avocations of life.

“Samuel McDowell enlisted in the service of the United States in 1791, and was of Gen. Butler’s regiment at the disastrous defeat of St. Clair. When the retreat was sounded, all that could rushed pell mell on the back track in shameful confusion. McDowell was among those who covered the retreat, and kept the enemy in check. A horse came dashing by, which he caught, and seeing a youth limping along, assisted him to mount, by which he soon gained the front, and thus saved his life. Many years afterwards, as McDowell was traveling, and had registered his name in the tavern in which he was to tarry for the night, a stranger, who by accident saw it, and that he was from Recovery, Ohio, entered into conversation with him, and soon found he was the generous soldier who assisted him to escape the savage massacre. The surprise was mutual. The stranger took him to his house and made him a present of a splendid suit of clothes, which he always wore on the anniversary of that day, and the 4th of July. McDowell lived to be over eighty years of age, and died near Recovery, a few years ago, highly respected.

“Studabaker, Simison, Freeman, John G. James, and McDowell, were good hunters and farmers, fine, jovial, generous, hospitable

specimens of a backwoods life, scorning base actions, and holding in the highest esteem a life of independence, truth and honor.

“Esquire Blake acted many years as a justice of the peace with fine ability, generous to a fault, and benevolent in all his associations. Dr. Fair, as a physician, was well thought of, and what would have been his proficiency, had he but lived, and acted in a larger field, cannot now be known.

“George Aabaugh settled near where Macedon now is, at an early day; cleared up a farm, raised a large and respectable family, many of whom still reside in that neighborhood. He died at a very advanced age, but a short time ago.

“Montezuma was laid out by William Beauchamp, who acted for many years as a physician. Although not educated, he was a good, useful citizen, and a very clever man, and did much good in his profession.

“Abram Miller entered a quarter section of land near the town, and afterwards was the first merchant and dealer in furs, and also the first postmaster. The first person whose axes resounded in the forest, were George Fair, Thomas and Joseph Coates, John Ellis Wyatt, and Black. Ab. Worthington and Hugh Miller were the most expert in driving the sprightly buck through the forest.

“About 35 years ago, five brothers by the name of Frank, settled in that neighborhood. Matthew and Dennis were the oldest. They were from Germantown, Ohio, and an excellent race of people.

“St. John is a highly cultivated and beautiful place. Lizen Snider for many years kept the tavern there. Stelzer was the proprietor of the town. Esquire Elking, Rineheart, Brown, and a host of others, whom it will be impossible to name, composed this first happy community, extending, as it does, with unvariable beauty far west of St. Henry, a village of considerable note and enterprise.—Henry Romer was the proprietor. In 1836, he laid off the town, then a wilderness. As when the queen bee settles, and is followed by all the swarm, so when Romer left his fatherland, hundreds of families nestled around him. Every tract of land was taken up and settled upon. Beckman, Brown, and Suwalda are among the honorable catalogue. Among the Americans was Grant, Franklin, Richardson, Huit, Roberts, and Langdon Bennett, Esq.

“The first settlement in the north part of the county was made at Shanesville, near what is called Shane’s Prairie. In the war of 1812, several friendly Indians had their lodges there. Among these were Shane, Godfroy, Crescent, Labidee, Rushville and others, who had Reservations assigned to them, at the sale of Northwestern Ohio. These Indians were excellent men, noble and generous by nature, and hospitable to all classes of people. Anthony Shane and Louis Godfroy, especially, had the lofty impress of their nation, and they did the United States good service during the war. Louis Godfroy was living, a few years ago, on his reservation in Indiana, and I have not heard of his death. Anthony Shane died some years ago.

Before his death, he gave to a little son of Ruel Roebuck, a tract of good land on the St. Mary's river, because he was the first white child born there. The balance of his land he sold to William B. Hedges.

"A man by the name of Madore established the first trading post, and had Hedges for his store assistant, who was then a young man. In those days, all the goods and provisions consumed at Ft. Wayne, Indiana, had to be taken across from Piqua, Ohio. Large quantities of flat boats were constructed at St. Mary's, the head of St. Mary's river, and during the winter months hundreds of barrels of salt, flour, whiskey, meat, and boxes of goods accumulated, to be transported down the river at the opening of navigation. This gave life and vivacity to every trading post on the river, and many hands were employed to carry on the work.

"Wm. B. Hedges, Jos. Hinkle, Madore, Graves, Grant, Robuck, A. R. Hunter, Bevington, VanGundy, and David Work, were the first settlers of Shanesville and vicinity. Wm. B. Hedges died but a few weeks ago, at quite an advanced age. He was County Commissioner, Surveyor, and for many years Justice of the Peace. David Work was a tanner, and for many years did a heavy and successful business. Hedges, Work, and Robuck were great lovers of fun. Fire hunting was a profitable sport, either for fish or deer. At night, the deer would gather in the river to stamp and splash water on themselves to keep off the mosquitoes and gnats, and when a light came along, they would stand gazing at it until the hunter approached close enough to shoot them down. Newcomers, of course, wanted fresh meat, and these adepts in the art of fire hunting by torchlight, would agree to show them for a certain sum, to be paid that night in whisky, how it was done. They would generally supply the tyros with an old worthless boat or canoe, where they could be seated, while their instructors would have a pirogue large enough to hold themselves and several deer. All ready—off they would start, flambeau in hand. They were most always successful, as game was plenty. When they wished to return home, they would kindly tell the newcomers that where they were the river had a large bayou and island, and for them to keep down the main stream, while they would make a little excursion, and would soon fall in with them below. On, on, the newcomers would go, hearing nothing of their comrades, and daylight generally found them some twenty miles from home, and the next day they had the fun of footing it back. This was called "initiating" the new settlers in the art of fire hunting.

"Dr. Pulltogle, as he was nicknamed, loved to be bell-weather on all public days and occasions, and to make the oration on the 4th of July. Col. Hedges disliked him, and on more than one occasion outwitted him. On a certain 4th of July, he was chosen orator—a stand for the speaker was erected, and seats constructed for the accommodation of the people. Hedges tied a string to a fresh coon

skin, and gave a boy a quarter to drag it across the speaker's stand, and around on the seats. The meeting was largely attended, and the Declaration of Independence read, when the speaker arose with all self-assurance to make a big display. Hedges then let loose 32 hounds, and they instinctively took the trail of the coon skin, and such screams and "getting up stairs you never did see!" The meeting was dissolved, and the wrath of the speaker had no bounds.

"In an early day, Shanc's Prairie was settled by hardy adventurers, among whom is old man Hanzer, nearly one hundred years old, and yet living. There are still living, of the first settlers, Hinkle, Hanzer, Harner, Webb, and Heath; and among the ladies, Mrs. Hamilton, Mrs. Green, and Mrs. Bevington; and, I believe, some of the Coils, who at least deserve an honorable biography.

"Among those who first entered and settled on land, was Deniston, Sutton, Chivington, Brewster, Greer, Hays, Robuck, Coil, Heath, Tullis, Opdyke, Hitchner, Woods, and Richard Palmer. The old fort constructed by Gen. Wayne, the ruins of which can yet be seen in section 24, is on the land owned by Palmer. It was called Fort Adams.

"Those who first settled on the Twelve Mile Creek were, Kiser, Hainline, Harner, Hamilton, Coil, Cook, Parrott, Wright, Murlin; and where Mendon is, and vicinity, Pennabaker, Coils, Smith, Ruperts—a big generation, the old man still living, at ninety years of age, and says he can drop a deer as nicely as ever, if they attempt to cross his path. Justin Hamilton was a good surveyor, a very intelligent and well-read man. He was twice a Representative, Associate Judge of the Court, and filled many minor offices with ability and credit. He lived to be near 70 years of age. The vacancy by death of such men is not easily filled.

"Wm. Hamilton, still living, has been justice of the peace nearly 30 years. He is a correct, intelligent man, in whom confidence can be placed. The Uptons, Wirts, Pattersons, Murlins, Shepards, Davises and Cook, are all good, reliable, honest, industrious, thriving farmers.

"Among the first settlers of Twelve Mile, was old man Kiser, a great hunter, and a man of extraordinary memory. He loved the forest, and if an Indian crossed his path, like Miller and Louis Wetzel, he was a dead shot. John Hainline was another of the early settlers, and was a great genius in guns, clocks, watches, and fine-edged tools. William Bonifield was the proprietor of Neptune, and kept a hotel there which was called the 'Half-way House.' His wife was an excellent woman, and well suited for a landlady, and her house a home for the traveler. She is still living. Benj. Nickel was also a first settler, and kept a good hotel. His wife was an excellent cook, had fine social qualities, and generous to all.

"There is no man who deserves a higher recommendation, or to be pointed out to the youth of this county for an example of perseverance, frugality, honesty, generosity, and every accomplished vir-

tue, than Stephen Howick, of Center township. In 1828, the Lords and landholders of England held a meeting, in which Arthur Wellsley (Lord Wellington.) was president. The great object of that meeting was to send off to America all the surplus youth, they paying the expenses of their transportation. This notice was published throughout the kingdom. Stephen Howick, then a youth, embraced the opportunity and came to America. The first money he earned (\$28.00), was near Lancaster, Ohio. He then married a first-rate lady of that vicinity, when he moved to St. Mary's, and spent one summer in a brick-yard with Mr. Blue. He then had money enough to buy forty acres of land in Center township, when he settled upon it, improved it, was industrious, saving and money-making. Now he owns not less than 500 acres of land, a large brick house to live in, and a brick barn and stable walled in by a brick fence, and a steam saw-mill."

Shanesville was laid out by Anthony Shane, Jun 23, 1820—being the oldest town in the County.

Fort Recovery was platted in 1836.

Mercer County has been well governed since its organization down to the present time. It is out of debt, and its obligations were never at a discount. Few counties in the State, and especially those for so long a period sparsely settled, can make a more satisfactory financial exhibit. The Court House, a fine structure, was built in 1867, at a cost, including furniture, of \$43,000.

MERCER COUNTY OFFICERS, 1871-72.—Probate Judge, R. G. Blake; Recorder, J. G. Perwessel; Auditor, T. G. Touvelle; Clerk, J. W. DeFord; Treasurer, G. W. Rundabaugh; Prosecuting Attorney, Keepers Alberry; Prosecuting Attorney elect, W. F. Miller; Sheriff, Thornton Spriggs; County Surveyor, Marcus Schuyler.

The valuations of property, for purposes of taxation, in the early history of the county, have been given in preceding pages.

The valuation of 1871 is exhibited below :

Lands.....	\$2,824,800 00
Towns and Villages.....	215,210 00
Chattel property.....	1,095,230 00
Total value.....	\$4,135,240 00

The population of the County, at different periods, was as follows :

In 1830.....	1,100
In 1840.....	8,277
In 1850.....	7,713
In 1860.....	14,104
In 1870.....	17,254

Anglaize County, erected in 1848, took off some of the most populous and wealthy territory of Mercer, which will explain the apparent diminution in population between the periods of 1840 and 1850.

The population of the several sub divisions of Mercer County, at different periods, were officially reported as follows :

TOWNS AND TOWNSHIPS.	1870	1860	1850
Black Creek.....	1087	913	490
Butler.....	1341	1044	229
Center.....	1255	1153	491
Neptune.....	96	.....	.....
Dublin.....	1599	1552	911
Mercer.....	73	.....	.....
Shane's Crossing.....	246	.....	.....
Franklin.....	831	651	357
Gibson.....	1100	946	485
Granville.....	1254	1035	564
Fort Henry.....	153	.....	.....
Hopewell.....	894	638	290
Jefferson.....	1557	1093	493
Celina.....	859	307	222
Liberty.....	779	508	182
Marion.....	1876	1848	1425
Chickasaw.....	386	.....	.....
Kopel.....	395	.....	.....
St. John's.....	195	.....	.....
Recovery.....	1118	826	596
Fort Recovery.....	89	.....	.....
Union.....	1475	1228	746
Mendon.....	161	.....	.....
Washington.....	1148	958	456

Celina, the seat of justice of Mercer county, is a pleasantly-located town, having good church and educational establishments, and a grist-mill constantly propelling, by steam, when water power fails, four run of stone, and a saw-mill connected; also, one water-mill, operating three run of stone, and a saw-mill connected with it; two steam planing-mills; two manufactories of cabinet ware; one of shingles; one of staves and headings; one flax-mill, and one brewery. A well-managed and responsible private bank is in operation, and the several lines of dry goods, hardware, drugs, groceries, etc., are fully represented.

ALLEN COUNTY.

This County was formed April 1, 1820, from Indian territory, and named in honor of a Colonel of that name in the war of 1812. It was temporarily attached to Mercer for judicial purposes, and hence it is deemed proper that its pioneer history follow that County.

The writer is chiefly indebted, for the narration following this, to an address made by T. E. Cunningham, Esq., before the Pioneer Association, at Lima, September 22, 1871 :

“Fifty years ago, the territory which now constitutes the County of Allen, was an almost unbroken wilderness; I say almost, for on the banks of the Auglaize river, in the neighborhood of where once stood the village of Hartford, a settlement was commenced by the whites, about the year 1817. To the young, these fifty years appear a long time; but there are men and women about me, who can look back over a period longer than that, and realize how swiftly these years have flown, freighted as they were with sorrows and hopes, keen disappointments, and truest joys. Births and deaths alternated with the days, and memory is crowded with shadowy forms who lived and died in the long ago!

“Allen county is a portion of that division of the State, commonly known as Northwestern Ohio. This section was the last opened for settlement by the whites. The Shawanee Indian Reservation embraced a large part of the county, and the migration of the Indians did not occur until the month of August, 1832, although they ceded their lands to the General Government some time before—The whites, however, had begun to come in before the cession took place, and the red man and the white for years occupied the country together, and illustrated the savage and civilized modes of life.

“A family named Russell, were the first whites who settled within the bounds of the county. On the Auglaize, in 1817, they opened the first farm, and there the first white child was born. That child, who afterward became the wife of Charles C. Marshall, of Delphos, was familiarly called by the neighbors “the Daughter of Allen County.” She died during the present summer, in the fifty-fourth year of her age.

“Samuel McClure, now living at the age of seventy-eight years, settled on Hog Creek, five miles northeast of where Lima now stands, in the month of November, 1825—forty-six years ago. He has remained on the farm he then built a cabin upon, ever since.—The nearest white neighbors he knew of, were two families named Leeper and Kidd, living one mile below where Roundhead now is, about twenty miles to the nearest known neighbor. On that farm, in the year 1826, was born Moses McClure, the first white child born on the waters of Hog Creek. Mr. McClure’s first neighbor was Joseph Ward, a brother of Gen. John Ward. He helped cut the road when McClure came, and afterwards brought his family, and put them into McClure’s cabin, while he built one for himself on the tract where he afterwards erected what was known as Ward’s Mill. The next family was that of Joseph Walton; they came in March, 1826.

“Shawaneetown, an Indian village, was situated eight miles below the McClure settlement, at the mouth of Hog Creek. A por-

tion of the village was on the old Ezekiel Hoover farm, and a portion on the Breese farm. Mr. McClure and his little neighborhood soon became acquainted, and upon good terms, with their red neighbors. He says Hai-aitch-tah, the war chief, had he been civilized, would have been a man of mark in any community. Quilna was the great business man of the tribe here.

“Soon after the McClure settlement was commenced, they heard, from the Indians at Shawanectown, that the United States Government had erected a mill at Wapaukonnetta. The settlers had no road to the mill, but Quilna assisted them to open one. He surveyed the line of their road, without compass, designating it by his own knowledge of the different points, and the Indian method of reaching them.

“There are many of the children of the early settlers to whom the name of Quilna is a household word. To his business qualities, were added great kindness of heart, and a thorough regard for the white people. No sacrifice of his personal ease was too much, it, by any effort, he could benefit his new neighbors. I think this community have been ungrateful. Some enduring memorial of him should long ago have been made. How much better, and more appropriate, it would have been to have given his name to the new township recently erected in our county, out of territory over which his tired feet have so often trodden, in the bestowal of kindness and benefactions upon the white strangers, who had come to displace his tribe, and efface the hillocks which marked the places where his forefathers slept. Why cannot we have Ottawa changed to Quilna yet?

“In the month of June, 1826, Morgan Lippencott, Joseph Wood, and Benjamin Dolph, while out hunting, found the McClure settlement. To his great surprise, Mr. McClure learned that he had been for months living within a few miles of another white settlement, located on Sugar Creek. He learned from the hunters there were five families, Christopher Wood, Morgan Lippencott, Samuel Jacobs, Joseph Wood, and Samuel Purdy. It is his belief that Christopher Wood settled on Sugar Creek as early as 1824, on what is known as the old Miller farm.

“In the spring of 1831, John Ridenour, now living at the age of eighty-nine years, with his family; Jacob Ridenour, then a young married man, and David Ridenour, bachelor, removed from Perry county, and settled one mile south of Lima, on the lands the families of that name have occupied ever since.

“The State of Ohio conveyed to the people of Allen county a quarter section of land, upon which to erect a county town. The title was vested in the Commissioners of the county, in trust for the purpose expressed. It was not a gift, however, as many suppose. Two hundred dollars was paid for it out of the County Treasury, while Thos. K. Jacobs was Treasurer.”

The following preamble and joint resolution were adopted by the General Assembly of Ohio, on the twenty-fourth day of January, 1832:

WHEREAS, In conformity with a Resolution of the General Assembly of the State of Ohio, passed February 12, 1829, a site was selected for the seat of justice for the County of Allen, and the section so selected, to wit: Section 31, Township 3, south of Range 7 east, was reserved, except the west half of the northeast quarter thereof, which had previously been sold; and,

WHEREAS, In pursuance of an act passed the third day of March, 1831, entitled "An Act for establishing the seat of justice for Allen County, and for other purposes," a town director was appointed by the Commissioners of said County, who proceeded, under the directions of said Commissioners, to lay out, by metes and bounds, one hundred and sixty acres within said section, and including the site selected as aforesaid, returns whereof have been made to the Register's office, in Piqua, and to the Governor of this State; and on which tract so surveyed and returned, the Commissioners of the said county have caused a town to be laid out in conformity to the provisions of the before-recited act; and, as it is now essential to the prosperity of the said town, and of the county of Allen, that the remainder of said Section be brought into market, now, therefore,

Resolved by the General Assembly of the State of Ohio, That the Register of the Land Office for the Piqua District, be, and he is hereby required, after giving at least six weeks previous notice thereof, published in the *Piqua Gazette*, *Democratic Enquirer*, *Troy Times*, *Bellefontaine Gazette*, to proceed to offer at public sale, to the highest bidder, at his office in the town of Piqua, all of said section not already disposed of, and in such tracts not exceeding eighty acres, as he shall deem most expedient; *provided*, that no part thereof shall be sold at a less price than one dollar and twenty-five cents per acre.

"In the summer of 1831, the town was surveyed by W. L. Henderson, of Findlay,—the same gentleman who was recently prominent in the survey and location of the Fremont and Indiana Railroad. Patrick G. Goode, at that time a distinguished citizen of the State, who afterwards became a member of Congress, President Judge of the Judicial Circuit, and a methodist minister, had the honor of naming it. He borrowed the name from the Capital of Peru, South America, and to his last day would not forgive the public for their resolute abandonment of the Spanish pronunciation of the name. It was pronounced Lima, where he took the name from, but our people insisted upon the long *i*, and Lima it has been to this day, and will continue to be, when the walls of a city shall stand

upon its foundations, and when the name of the good man who stood its sponsor shall have been forgotten.

“In the month of August, 1831, a public sale of lots took place, and during the following fall and winter, came John P. Mitchell, Absolom Brown, John F. Cole, Dr. William Cunningham, Abraham Bowers, John Brewster, David Tracy, John Mark, and John Bashore, with their families, except Brewster, who was a bachelor.—John F. Cole, who is now almost alone amongst the new generation of men who have come around him, settled a mile below town, on a portion of what is now the Faurot farm. Enos Terry, a brother-in-law of Mr. Cole, settled upon an adjoining tract, still nearer town.

“The children of these men and women, who made this venture in the wilderness,—some of them in the dead of winter,—can form no idea of the toil endured, the anxiety suffered, and the struggles which accompanied the frontier life of their fathers and mothers. Nor can we, at this day, with our crowding upon each other in the race of life, contemplate, without wonder, the sympathy they felt for each other, and the constant mutual aid extended. I have heard my own mother tell how John B. Mitchell once walked nine miles to a horse-mill, and brought home on his back a bushel of corn meal, and divided it amongst half a dozen families. This proves the goodness of human nature; and I believe the sons and daughters of these persons would do the like if they were surrounded with the same circumstances. I have heard John F. Cole describe his travels through the woods with his ox team, making about five or six miles a day, and at night turning out his oxen to find their own supper, while he, covered with mud, and frequently with no dry thread of clothing, crept into his wagon and slept the night away. They had no railroads then, you know; I can recollect back to the time when the country about Urbana was called ‘the settlement,’ whence supplies were drawn; and it required several strong yoke of oxen, and many days of travel, to make the trip to and from ‘the settlement.’

“In the month of August, 1832, the Shawanees took up their line of march for the far west; away so far, it was thought, that many generations would come and go before they would again be disturbed. But one generation had not passed, before the advancing tide of civilization swept against and over them, till, tired of the struggle, the majority of what remains of this once powerful and warlike tribe have quietly yielded to the surrounding influences, and are learning and practicing the arts of civilized life.

“Dr. William McHenry came to Lima in the spring of 1834.—There were then living in the village, John F. Mitchell, Col. James Cunningham, Dr. William Cunningham, Gen. John Ward, Dr. Samuel Black, Daniel D. Tompkins, Charles Baker, James Anderson, David Tracy, Hudson Watt, Miles Cowan, Crane Valentine, John Bashore, John Mark, Abraham Aldridge, Alexander Beatty, Wm. Scott, Thurston Mosier, David Reese, Daniel Musser, Sr., Martin

Musser, Daniel Musser, Jr., Elisha Jolly, Abraham S. Nicholas, Rev. George Sheldon, Elder William Chaffee, John Jackson, Hamilton Davison, Amos Clutter, Robert Terry, F. H. Binkley, and Abraham Bowers. Rev. John Alexander, and Rev. James Finley were ministers of the M. E. Church, upon the circuit at that time. Mr. Sheldon preached to the presbyterians, and Elder Chaffee to the Baptists. Within Dr. McHenry's recollection of the persons named, who were, with one or two exceptions, heads of families then, there remain in this vicinity but Mrs. Bowers, Daniel Musser, Jr., Mrs. Musser (then Mrs. Mitchell), Hudson Watt, and Mrs. Watt, Elisha Jolly and Mrs. Jolly, Mrs. Ward and Mrs. Patrick (then Mrs. Tracy), and Mrs. Bashore. John F. Cole and Mrs. Cole are still living, now and for many years residents of the town; but at that time they were upon their farm below town.

"Tompkins is in Oregon; Baker is in Marion; Watt, Jolly, and McHenry remain in Lima; Valentine is in Michigan. The whereabouts, if alive, of Mosier, Reese, Nicholas, Cowan, and Clutter, is unknown. *The remainder of the names on the list will be found cut in marble, 'in memoriam.'*

"The first white citizen of Lima, was Absalom Brown, whose daughter, Marion Mitchell Brown, named after the present Mrs. Musser, was the first white child born in the town. The second was Katharine Bashore, now Mrs. John P. Adams. The first marriage in the town was that of James Saxon and Miss Jones, a sister-in-law of John Mark. They were married by the Rev. Mr. Pryor, a missionary of the M. E. Church.

"As late as the fall of 1834, Daniel Musser killed two deer on the present plat of Lima—one about where King's warehouse stands, and the other about where the west Union School house is.

"I am indebted to Mr. John Cunningham for the result of the census of Lima, actual count, completed yesterday, September 21, 1871. The total number of families is 1013; the number of souls, 4,979, an increase of between three and four hundred since the census was taken in 1870.

"The county was permanently organized in June, 1831. James Daniels, John G. Wood, and Samuel Stewart, were the first Commissioners; then, in December of the same year, Morgan Lippencott, and John P. Mitchell succeeded Wood and Stewart. In 1833, Griffith John succeeded Lippencott. In 1835, James N. Coleman, and James A. Anderson came in. In 1834, Henry B. Thorn, John Brand, and M. Leatherman. In 1838, John Shooler; 1839, John M. Wilson; 1841, Shadrack Montgomery, and Charles H. Williams; 1842, C. C. Marshall; 1843, Matthew Dobbins; 1844, Nicholas Zanglein; 1845, Jacob B. Haller; 1846, Samuel Walker; 1849, Samuel Rockhill, William Akerman, and Burgess Dickey. This was a reorganization of the Board of Commissioners, after the erection of the new county of Auglaize, most of which had been taken from the territory of Allen. In 1853, Christian Steman came in. In 1854,

Moses Patterson; 1855, Horace Bixby; 1856, Joseph Griffith; 1857, Cadwallader Jacobs; 1858, Freeman Bell; 1859, A. E. Hadsell; 1863, Samuel Ice; 1864, Johnzy Keith; 1865, G. W. Goble; 1869, James McBeth; 1870, Bernard Esche, the last three now constituting the Board of Commissioners of the County."

The several Auditors of the county, from 1831 to 1870, inclusive, were Wm. G. Woods, from 1831 to 1833; Samuel Black, from 1833 to 1838; H. D. V. Williams, from 1838 to 1844; John W. Thomas, from 1844 to 1846; J. H. Richardson, from 1846 to 1850; David Dalzell, from 1850 to 1854; Wm. Dowling, from 1854 to 1856; B. Matheany, from 1856 to 1858; G. W. Overmyer, from 1858 to 1862; John P. Haller, from 1862 to 1866; Wm. Dowling, from 1866 to 1870; S. J. Brand, from 1870 to the present year, 1872.

The several Treasurers were Adam White, Dr. Wm. Cunningham, Charles Baker, James Cunningham, Thomas K. Jacobs, Alexander Beatty, William Armstrong, G. W. Fickel, Shelby Taylor, Miles Vance, Emanuel Fisher, W. R. Partello, and F. J. Lye.

The Recorders were Nathan Daniels, John Ward, John Alexander, John W. Thomas, E. S. Linn, John B. Walmsley, John G. Ridenour, Hugh Dobbins, J. B. Haller, and A. R. Krebs.

"The first Court of Common Pleas for Allen County, was held in a log cabin, the residence of James Daniels, near the crossing of Hog Creek, at the east end of Market street, in May, 1833. Hon. George B. Holt, of Dayton, was the President Judge, and Christopher Wood, James Crozier, and William Watt were Associates. Jno. Ward was clerk, and Henry Lippencott, Sheriff, Patrick G. Goode, of Montgomery County, was special prosecuting attorney, appointed by the Court.

"Judge Holt was, in 1838, succeeded by Judge W. L. Helfenstein; he, in turn, in 1839, by Emery D. Potter. Judge Potter went to Congress in 1842, and was succeeded on the bench by Myron H. Tilden; and he was succeeded, in 1845, by Patrick G. Goode, who remained upon the bench until he was superseded, under the new Constitution, in February, 1852, by Benjamin F. Metcalf. In 1854, Judge Metcalf was succeeded by William Lawrence, of Logan, but in 1859, he again returned to the bench, in a new-formed district, and remained in office until his death, which occurred in 1865.—Among the very many able men who have flourished in this section of Ohio, it is safe to say Judge Metcalf had no superior in intellectual qualities. He was succeeded by O. W. Rose, of Van Wert, who remained upon the bench but a few months, when James Mackenzie, our townsman, was elected in the fall of 1865. * *

"Suffer me here to digress from my narrative of the judiciary, to pay a passing tribute to the memory, of one who came into our midst about a quarter of a century ago. He was known to almost all of you. I allude to Mathias H. Nichols. To a brilliant imagination was united untiring industry, and in his early manhood he gave as much promise of distinction as any one who ever came

among us. He was a brilliant and successful lawyer, and went to Congress at the age of twenty-seven. He served six years, in a most exciting epoch, but he survived his Congressional career only about three years.

"The Associate Justices of our old court, were, in addition to the ones already named, Charles Levering, Joseph Hoover, John Jameson, John Elliot, George B. Shriner, Charles H. Adgate, and John P. Fay.

"The Clerks of the Court were John Ward, John Alexander, Richard Metheany, Joseph H. Richardson, James Cunningham, Shelby Taylor, John H. Meily, O. E. Griffith, and Robert Mehaffey, the present incumbent.

"The Sheriffs were Henry Lippencott, John Keller, Alexander Beatty, Charles H. Williams, Hiram Stott, Matthias Ridenour, William Tingle, Samuel Buckmaster, Samuel Collins, Isaac Bailey, and J. A. Colbath.

"The Prosecuting Attorneys were, Loren Kennedy, W. S. Rose, W. L. Ross, George W. Andrews, Lester Bliss, M. H. Nichols, C. N. Lamison, J. N. Gutridge, James Mackenzie, Isaiah Pillars, and Jno. F. Brotherton.

"The Probate Court, erected by the Constitution of 1851, has been presided over by W. S. Rose, Michael Leatherman, Thomas M. Robb, Charles M. Hughes, and L. M. Meily.

"Under the new Constitution, Allen County became entitled to a separate representative in the General Assembly. Lester Bliss was the first, and he was followed by Charles Crites, Charles Post, Chas. C. Marshall, Thomas K. Jacobs, John Monroe, R. E. Jones, and William Armstrong. Michael Leatherman, and Gen. Blackburn represented districts under the old Constitution. Col. James Cunningham and Charles C. Marshall each served one term in the Senate.

"The amount of the grand duplicate of 1833, was \$93,611. The amount of the grand duplicate for 1871, is \$9,583,830.

"In addition to Lima, thrifty towns have sprung up in various parts of the county. Section Ten (now Delphos) promised at one time to be the commercial centre of the counties of Allen, Putnam, and Van Wert. Spencerville, once known as Spencer, then Arcadia, Lafayette, Westminster, Bluffton (once known as Shannon), Allentown, Elida, Gomer, West Newton, Rockport, Maysville, Beaver Dam, and Cairo. Hartford and Amherst, like the cities of the plain, are known only in history.

* * * * *

"In the winter of 1834-35, the United States Land Office was removed from Wapakonetta to Lima, and with it came as receiver Gen. William Blackburn. I have seen a great many men of fine presence, but I do not recollect of ever having met a finer specimen of physical power and manly beauty than Blackburn was when I first saw him. He was then in the full flush of middle life; was

considerably more than six feet in height, and weighed over three hundred pounds. He was a military enthusiast, and the militia musters of those days gave his enthusiasm full vent. He was, I believe, the first Major General commanding the 12th Division Ohio Militia. Gen. John Ward was a Brigadier commanding one of his brigades. At Ward's death, he was succeeded by Gen. William Armstrong, who remained in command until the whole militia system became obsolete. In the early days of this county, general muster day was second only to the 4th of July, in the calendar of great days. After the 'troops' were dismissed, it was the 'common law' that all grievances and personal controversies arising during the year, and which had been postponed to general muster, were to be settled. Rings would be formed, the combatants stepped in, and the result was generally that both parties were terribly whipped.

"Looking back over half a century, behold what has been accomplished! The immense forests our fathers and mothers found, have melted away, and now in their stead are ripening fields of corn. The cabins they built are replaced with comfortable farm mansions. The corduroy roads, over which they plodded their way back to the older settlements, have been replaced by railroads; and the iron horse, in harness, pulls annually to the great markets a surplus of products, greater in value, by far, than the grand duplicate of 1832. We have much, very much, for which to thank our Heavenly Father; we have much, very much, to be proud of in our history; but the proudest of all, we should be, of our brave ancestry, who, amidst poverty, and sickness, and privations, laid broad and deep the foundation of our present prosperity."

The following is a list of the officers of Allen county, in 1872:

Probate Judge, L. M. Meily; Prosecuting Attorney, E. A. Ballard; County Clerk, Robert Mehaffey; Sheriff, James A. Colbath; Auditor, S. J. Brand; Treasurer, F. J. Lye, Jr.; Recorder, A. R. Krebs; Commissioners, James McBeth, Bernard Esch, and Wm. Akerman; Coroner, G. Feiss; Surveyor, D. D. Nicholas.

As Allen co. is justly entitled to the claim of having the best jail building in Northwestern Ohio, if not in the State, and regarded as a model structure for the purposes of a jail, a few words of description may not be out of place. The Fourth Annual Report of the Board of State Charities (1871), makes the following reference to it:

"The building, embracing sheriff's residence and office, in connection with the prison, is constructed after the general idea suggested by the Board of State Charities, in its report published for 1868. The Secretary is greatly indebted to T. J. Tolan, Esq., of Delphos, Ohio, who very kindly explained the plan, and who has, since then, furnished a complete copy of the specifications, etc."

From the comprehensive description in the letter of Mr. Tolan, above referred to, the following is extracted :

“I have given the principle of jail construction much attention, and by inspecting some of the best, as well as some of the worst, I had the material before me from which to profit. The great and leading points in the construction of a jail, are: drainage, light, ventilation, safety, cleanliness, and plenty of water,—all of which I have endeavored to combine in my plan.”

All the essential points enumerated above, the Secretary maintains, are embodied in the Allen county jail,—of which Mr. Tolan was the architect and superintendent.

The progress in population of Allen County can only be approximately ascertained by the following table of the census returns, as the act erecting Auglaize County changed its boundaries :

In 1820.....	578
In 1840.....	9,079
In 1850.....	13,109
In 1860.....	19,185
In 1870.....	23,623

The following table embraces the population of the several towns and townships for three decennial periods, excepting Delphos, which, as the enumeration made at different years, was included, sometimes in Allen, and at times in Van Wert county, is given separately :

TOWNS AND TOWNSHIPS.	1870	1860	1850
Amanda.....	1376	1178	607
Auglaize.....	1696	1169	1344
Bath*.....	1255	1315	1508
German*.....	1463	1359	1008
Allentown.....	90	.....	.....
Elida.....	533	.....	.....
Jackson.....	1801	1632	1175
Lafayette.....	337	.....	.....
Marion.....	2920	2106	1946
Monroe.....	1739	1514	924
Ottawa*.....	4662	2383	.....
Lima†.....	4500	2354	.....
Perry*.....	1235	1289	923
Richland.....	2139	1802	989
Bluffton.....	489	.....	.....
Shawanece*.....	1169	990	716
Spencer.....	1153	981	355
Spencerville.....	364	.....	.....
Sugar Creek.....	1016	932	756

*In 1857, Ottawa from Bath, German, Perry, and Shawanee.

†In 1850, the returns of Lima were included in Bath township.

The population of Delphos, in 1860, was included in the returns of Van Wert County, and then amounted to.....	374
In 1860 (also embraced in Van Wert returns).....	425
In 1870 (Van Wert county section of Delphos).....	640
In 1870 (Allen " " " ").....	1,027
	1,667

Lima, the county seat, it will be observed by the foregoing figures, has made fair progress in growth; and its advance in wealth has been proportionally greater than its progress in population. The city has the advantage of three important railway outlets—the Pittsburg, Fort Wayne and Chicago, the Dayton and Michigan, and the Louisville and Lake Erie.

Among the early Attorneys who practiced at the Lima bar, not hitherto mentioned, were Judge Crane, Benjamin Stanton, Jacob S. Conklin, Andrew Coffinberry, M. B. ("Bishop") Corwin, John A. Corwin, Horace Sessions, John Walkup, Mr. Poland, Edson Goit, and John H. Morrison. The resident Attorneys were, Loren Kennedy, H. D. V. Williams, Abelard Guthrie, Lester Bliss, William S. Rose, W. T. Curtis, H. Davidson, and M. B. Newman.

The old physicians, Dr. McHenry and Dr. Harper, are referred to in the address of Mr. Cunningham.

Charles Baker, merchant, removed to Lima in 1832, and erected the first frame building in the town.

Lima contains Presbyterian, Episcopal, Methodist, Baptist, German Reformed, Catholic, Lutheran, Disciple, and Congregational churches; two newspapers,—the Allen County *Democrat*, D. S. Fisher, editor, and the Allen County *Gazette*, C. Parmenter, editor; three banks,—the First National, Farmers' Savings and Lima Deposit; four hotels; ten dry goods, fourteen grocery, three clothing, two merchant tailor, four drug, two hardware, one book and stationery, one fruit and confectionery, three jewelry, and four boot and shoe stores; two foundries; two furniture manufactories; one hub and spoke do; one board paper mill; one establishment manufacturing agricultural machinery; two tanneries; one flax, straw, and sacking manufactory; two wood stirrup do; one handle do; one wooden moulding do; one stave do; six wagon and buggy do; two steam grist mills; one steam saw mill; one sash and door factory; two brick kilns; three grain warehouses; three lumber yards, and four livery and two sale stables.

In addition to the extensive manufactories above enumerated, the P., F. W. and C., and the D. and M. railway companies have extensive shops at Lima.

The city is lighted with gas. The two large public school edifices, and the satisfactory school management, are objects of general pride among the citizens of the place.

Delphos is the second town in rank, as regards population and wealth in Allen county. It already possesses the advantages of cheap canal transport, and of the facilities afforded by the Pittsburg, Fort Wayne and Chicago Railway, with a good prospect of securing, within a few months, competing railway lines.

The town, different portions of which were originally known as Section Ten, Howard, and East and West Breidick—East Breidick being first platted—was laid out directly after the opening of the Miami and Erie Canal, in 1845. Subsequently, and as a result of the budget of territorial compromises following the erection of Auglaize county, the eastern side of the canal came within the limits of Allen county, the western side remaining with Van Wert. The town, however, at this time, is under a common municipal government, composed of the following named officers: Mayor, C. C. Marshall; Recorder, S. D. Chambers; Marshal, S. Marshall; Treasurer, Max Woerner; Council, A. Shack, H. Bixbe, H. Lindeman, E. Fink, H. Weible, J. W. Feely, S. F. Himmelright, and C. H. Whittier.

When it is considered that the town was located in the midst of a dense and wild forest, and that the communication, east and west, was over roads upon which the timber had scarcely been cut out, and imperfectly ditched, its growth, from 1845 to 1854, may be considered remarkable. Difficult and expensive as were the road and highway means of transportation, the town had, until 1854, secured a trade reaching a distance of about twenty miles, northeast, east and southeast, and reaching a yet longer distance westward, crossing the State line into Indiana. The only rival encountered by Delphos, in the latter direction, was Fort Wayne. True, population was sparse, and the surplus farm productions light; but in the aggregate it was of vast importance to the new town, and assisted materially in its growth. Farmers' wagons returned with freights belonging principally to merchants established in less metropolitan towns. The event which occurred to arrest its growth, was the opening, in 1854, of the Ohio and Indiana Railroad, from Crestline to Fort Wayne. This secured markets to Lima and other towns on the east, and to Middlepoint, Van Wert, Convoy, and several new stations, on the west, and left Delphos to rely, during several years, for its whole business, upon a restricted neighborhood, so slow in its agricultural development, that it afforded only a limited trade. It is alleged, also, that some of the proprietors of the town failed to extend encouragement to various enterprises which would have enabled it to sooner recover from its business paralysis. This charge, however, was never applied to Messrs. Bredeick, Wrocklage, and their associates, who steadfastly pursued a liberal policy. It is only within a few years, and since encouragement to manufacturing, etc., was afforded, that regeneration, and a healthy business activity, have manifested themselves. All the citizens of the town have now a well-grounded faith in its future. The most prominent and successful merchants, bankers, artisans, and others, now residents, and

controlling, in large degree, its destiny, commenced their business life in Delphos, when it and themselves were struggling for existence. That their enterprise and foresight have been wisely directed, and well rewarded, ample evidence exists in the figures reported by the census-takers, and in the general thrift now everywhere manifest.

The great forests, once so hated, because they formed a stumbling block in the tedious struggles to reduce the soil to a condition for tillage, have been converted into a source of wealth. Within a radius of five miles of Delphos, thirty-five saw mills are now constantly employed in the manufacture of lumber, and a value, nearly equaling the product of these mills, is annually exported in the form of timber. Excepting in the manufacture of maple sugar, and for local building and fencing purposes, no use, until recent years, had been made of timber, and its destruction from the face of the earth was the especial object of the pioneer farmers, and in this at that time supposed good work, they had the sympathies of all others who were interested in the development of the country. The gathering of the ginseng crop once afforded employment to the families of the early settlers, but the supply was scanty, and it soon became exhausted. Some eighteen years ago, when the business of the town was suffering from stagnation, Dr. J. W. Hunt, an enterprising druggist, and now a citizen of Delphos, bethought himself that he might aid the pioneers of the wilderness, and add to his own trade, by offering to purchase the bark from the slippery elm trees, which were abundant in all the adjacent swamps. For this new article of commerce, he offered remunerative prices, and the supply soon appeared in quantities reaching hundreds of cords of cured bark; and he has since controlled the trade in Northwestern Ohio and adjacent regions. The resources found in the lumber and timber, and in this bark trade, trifling as the latter may appear, have contributed, and are yet contributing, almost as much to the prosperity of the town and country, as the average of the cultivated acres, including the products of the orchard.

The general resources of the town, added to those already mentioned, are here stated:

One newspaper and job office, from which is issued the *Delphos Herald*. D. H. Tolan, editor: four churches,—Presbyterian, Catholic, Methodist, and Lutheran. A largely attended public school—a very flourishing private school, under the management, so far as female pupils are involved, of the sisters of the Catholic Church, and as regards male pupils, under a compromise arrangement between the Board of Education and the Catholic interests, a Normal school, in prosperous condition. The Catholic and public school buildings are constructed after the best models, and no necessary expense was withheld to render them adapted to the purposes to which they were devoted. The Normal school is held in one of the public halls.

In manufactures may be mentioned the Delphos Union Stave

Company; the Ohio Wheel Company; the Delphos Foundry and Machine shops; the Star Handle Manufactory; one sash, door and blind factory; one Excelsior or wood moss establishment; a large flouring mill; four wagon and carriage shops; one tannery—among the most extensive in Northwestern Ohio; two woolen factories; two breweries; five blacksmith shops; one distillery; four millinery shops, and six establishments that manufacture boots and shoes.

The Delphos Stone and Stave Company, with a capital of \$35,000, is owned by Delphos capitalists, but the manufacturing executed in Paulding county.

A more full exhibit of the magnitude of some of the above named manufacturing establishments may be mentioned:

The Delphos Union Stave Company employs seventy-five hands, and produces \$150,000 annually of flour and sugar barrel staves, headings and hoops. This establishment, in the use of its raw material, has utilized a character of swamp timber (such as water elm, etc.) hitherto regarded by wild land owners and farmers as worse than worthless. A thorough test has established the fact that no timber is better adapted to the production of barrel staves, than this once repudiated swamp elm. The Union Stave Company, employing constantly a large force of hands, is one of the most important manufacturing enterprises of Delphos. The officers of the Company are, G. W. Hall, President; J. Orstendorf, Vice President; J. M. C. Marble, Treasurer, and J. W. Hunt, Secretary. To the sagacity and energy, primarily, of Messrs. Marble and Hunt, the Delphos people are indebted for the founding of this valuable enterprise; and they would not have been successful, had not Mr. Orstendorf, acting in conjunction with them, succeeded on a trip to Indiana, in securing the aid of a practical man, in the person of Mr. G. W. Hall, now President of the Company, then in business at New Haven, Allen county, Indiana. Mr. Hall, through the persuasion of Mr. Orstendorf, withdrew from his business and partnership at New Haven, and, in the spring of 1869, concentrated his useful energies and skill in the work of building up the great enterprise at the head of which he now stands.

The Ohio Wheel Company, whose headquarters have hitherto been at Toledo, ascertained that their interests would be promoted by a removal of their whole manufacturing facilities to Delphos, and an increase of their capital stock to \$200,000, the principal part of which has been subscribed and is owned by Delphos citizens. They commence with the employment of 150 hands, and it is estimated that their annual sales will reach, after fully in operation, half a million of dollars. Their shipments are made to points on both the Atlantic and Pacific coasts. The officers of the Company are, President, Henry Flickinger; Secretary and Treasurer, W. P. Garrett; Superintendent, Edward Flickinger, and Assistant Superintendent, M. A. Ferguson. There are few manufacturing establishments, even in Toledo, which excel the Ohio Wheel Company in the extent of

its business, and there are none of greater importance to Delphos. A contract for a brick building, four stories in height, 125x60 feet, has been let, and the structure nearly completed. The primary cause which resulted in the transfer of this important manufactory from Toledo to Delphos, existed in the fact that Messrs. Ferguson & Risk, who had been large lumber and carriage timber dealers, with headquarters at St. Mary's, in August, 1870, received such substantial encouragement from John M. C. Marble, T. Wrocklage & Co., and Phelan & Chambers, as induced them to remove to Delphos, and engage in the rough dressing of wagon and carriage stock. This Company was organized by the parties above-mentioned, and engaged in business on a capital of \$15,000. The Ohio Wheel Company at Toledo, desirous of securing the exclusive advantages of the facilities controlled by the Delphos Company, opened negotiations which resulted in the transfer of their business location as above stated.

Aside from the manufacturing establishments enumerated, the town contains a National Bank, under the directory of P. Phelan, R. Ruel, L. G. Ratbuck, F. J. Lye, jr., Joseph Boehmer, T. Wrocklage, and J. M. C. Marble; President, J. M. C. Marble; Cashier, Joseph Boehmer, and Teller, O. Yettinger. There is also a Savings Bank, under the management of a Board of Trustees, embracing the names of several of the most substantial men of Allen, Van Wert, and Putnam counties,—the following gentlemen constituting the Board: P. Phelan, Dr. Moses Lee, F. J. Lye, Jr., T. Wrocklage, R. Ruel, P. Walsh, Joseph Boehmer, F. H. Stallkamp, and John M. C. Marble.

The town also contains seven dry goods, and ten family grocery and provision stores; three fine hotels; six establishments manufacturing boots and shoes, and in the aggregate employing a large force; two hardware stores; three clothing stores, manufacturing goods; three drug stores, (including in their stocks, books, stationery and notions); two saddle and harness manufactories; five millinery establishments; one large flouring mill; two breweries; two woollen factories; five blacksmith shops; one hoop-skirt factory; one tannery, the largest in Northwestern Ohio; the Delphos foundry and machine shops, employing a capital of \$20,000,—President, A. B. Risk; Secretary, J. W. Hunt; Treasurer, H. J. Moening; one distillery, and one wood moss factory.

AUGLAIZE COUNTY.

Occupying close historical relations with the territory hitherto described, is the County of Auglaize, organized in the spring of 1818.

Wapakonnetta was the residence of the noted Shawnee Chief, Captain James Logan. This chief was a nephew of Tecumseh, a

sister of the latter being Logan's mother. When the troops of Winchester occupied Defiance, Logan, on the 22d of November, 1812, accompanied by Captain John and Bright-Horn, started a second time in the direction of the Rapids, resolved to bring in a prisoner or a scalp. Having proceeded down the north side of the Maumee, about ten miles, they met with a British officer, the eldest son of Colonel Elliott, and five Indians, among the latter an Ottawa Chief, and Winnemac, a Pottowatomic Chief. After a fruitless effort to impress upon the minds of Elliott and party that they were friends, on their way to communicate to the British important information, Logan gave them battle, the conflict opening by Logan's shooting down Winnemac. At the same fire, Elliott fell; by the second, the young Ottawa chief lost his life; and another of the enemy was mortally wounded about the conclusion of the combat; at which time Logan himself, as he was stooping down, received a ball just below the breast-bone; it ranged downwards, and lodged under the skin on his back. In the meantime, Bright-Horn was also wounded, by a ball which passed through his thigh. As soon as Logan was shot, he ordered a retreat; himself and Bright-Horn, wounded as they were, jumped on the horses of the enemy and rode to Winchester's camp, a distance of twenty miles, in five hours. Captain John, after taking the scalp of the Ottawa Chief, also retreated in safety, and arrived at camp next morning.

Logan's wound proved mortal. He lived two days in agony, which he bore with uncommon fortitude, and died with the utmost composure and resignation. "More firmness and consummate bravery has seldom appeared on the military theatre," said Winchester, in his letter to the commanding General. "He was buried with all the honors due to his rank, and with sorrow as sincerely and generally displayed as I ever witnessed," said Major Hardin, in a letter to Governor Shelby. His physiognomy was formed on the best model, and exhibited the strongest marks of courage, intelligence, good humor, and sincerity.

On his death-bed, Logan requested his friend, Major Hardin, son of the Colonel, to see that the money due for his services was faithfully paid to his family. He also requested that his family be immediately removed to Kentucky, and his children educated and brought up in the manner of the white people. He observed that he had killed a great chief; that the hostile Indians knew where his family lived, and that when he was gone, a few brave fellows might creep up and destroy them.

Major Hardin, having promised to do everything in his power to have the wishes of his friend fulfilled, immediately obtained permission from the General to proceed, with Logan's little corps of Indians, to the village of Wapaukonnetta, where his family resided.—When they came near the village, the scalp of the Ottawa chief was tied to a pole, to be carried in triumph to the Council-house; and Captain John, when they came in sight of the town, ordered the

guns of the party to be fired in quick succession, on account of the death of Logan. A council of the chiefs was presently held, in which, after consulting two or three days, they decided against sending the family of their departed hero to Kentucky. They appeared, however, to be fully sensible of the loss they had sustained, and were sincerely grieved for his death.

Early in June, 1813, the mounted regiment of Colonel Richard M. Johnson, having reached Fort Meigs, that officer proceeded alone up the Auglaize to the Indian village of Wapaukonnetta, to procure some Shawanee Indians to act as guides and spies; and after a few days returned with thirteen Indians, among whom was the half-breed, Anthony Shane, whose father was a Frenchman, and in whom the largest confidence was placed by those who knew him in the Northwestern army. Shane had been an active opponent of Wayne, in 1794, but after the treaty of Greenville, had been a most faithful friend to the United States.

Colonel Johnson says that the place was "named after an Indian Chief long since dead, but who survived years after my intercourse commenced with the Shawanees. The chief was somewhat *club-footed*, and the word has reference, I think, to that circumstance, although its full import I never could discover. For many years prior to 1829, I had my headquarters at Wapaukonnetta. The business of the agency of the Shawanese, Wyandotts, Senecas, and Delawares, was transacted there."

In August, 1831, treaties were negotiated with the Senecas of Lewiston, and the Shawanese of Wapaukonnetta, by James Gardner and Colonel John Mellvaine, Commissioners on the part of the United States by the terms of which the Indians consented to give up their lands, and remove west of the Mississippi. The Shawanese had at that time about 66,000 acres in what was then Allen County, and, in conjunction with the Senecas, about 40,300 acres at Lewiston. The Indians were removed to the Indian Territory, on Kansas river, in September, 1832, D. M. Workman and David Robb being the agents for their removal. The celebrated chief and warrior, Black Hoof, died at Wapaukonnetta, shortly previous to the removal of the tribe, at the age of 110 years.

Among the early and most respected citizens of Wapaukonnetta, was Robert J. Skinner, who established the first Democratic paper published in Dayton,—the first number of which was issued in December, 1816. This paper was continued by him until 1830, in which year he removed to Piqua, and established in that town the first democratic press. In 1832, having received the appointment from President Jackson of Receiver of the United States Land Office, at Wapaukonnetta, he removed to that town, and continued a resident of the place until June, 1849 when, being on a visit, with part of his family, at the house of a married daughter in Dayton, himself, wife,

daughter and son, composing all the visitors, were attacked with the cholera which prevailed in that city at the time, and, during one week, the four died of the disease. Mr. Skinner was a man of positive character, of great enterprise, and a most useful citizen. He represented Montgomery county in the General Assembly, at the session of 1828-29, and the large territory, of which Allen county then formed a part, in the session of 1838-39.

Among those at Wapakonnetta who were residents about the time Mr. Skinner became a citizen of the place, were Colonel Thos. B. Van Horne, Register of the United States Land Office, Peter Hammel (a French Indian trader), Captain John Elliott (who was an officer at Hull's surrender, and who had been, during several years, Government blacksmith at Wapakonnetta), Jeremiah Ayres (who opened the first hotel in the town), Cummings & Mathers, and Samuel Case (the last three named being merchants), Henry B. Thorn (who also kept a tavern), and James Elliott. These, except a few itinerant traders, formed the population of the town, directly after the removal of the Indians, in 1832-33.

A son of Judge Michael Dumbroff, born in 1835, christened Charles, is said to have been the first white child born in Wapakonnetta.

Hon. George W. Andrews says :

“Settlements were first made by white people within the limits now occupied by Auglaize county, in A. D. 1828, in St. Mary's township. The Shawanee tribe of Indians were then the occupants, in their way, and claimants of the country. Soon after followed a few settlements, by the Quakers establishing a mission among the Indians at Wapakonnetta, in Duchouquet township; and then a white settler here and there on the streams, throughout the territory now composing the county, came in, and slowly clearing away the forest, they opened small tracts of land, which they cultivated undisturbed by the red men.”

On the 8th of September, 1812, the army reached St. Mary's, on its march to relieve the besieged garrison at Fort Wayne. There were at that time some block houses at St. Mary's, built for the security of provisions, and protection of the sick. The point had previously been known as Girty's town, named after the notorious Simon Girty.

About the time that Tupper's expedition to the Maumee Rapids was in execution, near the close of the year 1812, General Harrison (ante p. 148,) determined to send an expedition of horsemen against the Miamies, assembled in the towns on the Mississiniwa river, a branch of the Wabash. The command was entrusted to Lieutenant Colonel Campbell. A deputation of chiefs from those Indians met General Harrison at St. Mary's, early in October, and sued for peace. They agreed to abide by the decision of the President, and

in the meantime to send in five chiefs to be held as hostages. The President replied to the communication of the General on this subject, that, as the disposition of the several tribes would be known best by himself, he must treat them as their conduct and the public interest might, in his judgment, require. The hostages were never sent in, and further information of their intended hostility was obtained.

At the time of their peace mission, they were alarmed by the successful movements which had been made against other tribes, from Fort Wayne, and by the formidable expedition which was penetrating their country under General Hopkins. But the failure of that expedition was soon afterwards known to them, and they determined to continue hostile. To avert the evils of their hostility was the object of their expedition against Mississinewa. Said Harrison :

“The situation of this town, as regards one line of operations, even if the hostility of the inhabitants was less equivocal, would render a measure of this kind highly proper ; but, from the circumstance of General Hopkins’ failure, it becomes indispensable. Relieved from the fears excited by the invasion of their country, the Indians, from the upper part of the Illinois river, and to the south of Lake Michigan, will direct all their efforts against Fort Wayne, and the convoys which are to follow the left wing of the army.—Mississinewa will be their rendezvous, where they will receive provisions and every assistance they may require for any hostile enterprise. From that place they can, by their runners, ascertain the period at which every convoy may set out from St. Mary’s, and with certainty intercept it on its way to the Maumee rapids. But that place being broken up, and the provisions destroyed, there will be nothing to subsist any body of Indians, nearer than the Potawatimie towns on the waters of the St. Joseph’s of the Lake.”

This detachment numbered about 600 mounted men, armed with rifles. They left Franklinton on the 25th of November, 1812, by way of Dayton and Greenville, and reached the Indian towns on the Mississinewa, towards the middle of December, suffering much from cold. In a rapid march upon the first village, eight warriors were killed, and forty-two taken prisoners, consisting of men, women, and children. About a half hour before day, the morning following this charge, the detachment was attacked by the Indians, and after a sharp but short encounter, with a loss of eight killed and forty-eight wounded, several of whom afterwards died, the enemy, despairing of success, fled precipitately, with a heavy loss.

Hon. G. W. Andrews, from whose essay on the agriculture of Auglaize county, quotation has already been made, says of the St. Mary’s and Auglaize rivers :

“The St. Mary’s river, years ago, like the Auglaize, was thought to be a large and permanent stream of water, upon which boats of

considerable capacity for lading would ascend for trading purposes, but that was many years ago. Now, like the Auglaize, it has permanently but a small volume of water. It rises in the southern parts of St. Mary's and Washington townships, runs northwardly through St. Mary's, bending westward through Noble, northwestward through Salem, and continues nearly in the same direction until it reaches the Maumee at Fort Wayne."

Among the early settlers in the neighborhood of St. Mary's, was W. H. H. Langly; whose father, Bennett W. Langly, was a soldier in the war of 1812, and previous to that time had performed five years' service in the regular army. He was a soldier under Whistler, and aided in the erection of Fort Dearborn, at Chicago.

Isaac Nichols came to St. Mary's in 1828. His son, Dr. Nichols, is now a resident of Wapakonnetta.

The following were also among the early settlers:

Henry Reickard, Christian Benner, John Pickrell, Amos Compton, Joshua Warfield (sheriff), James W. Riley (Clerk Court Common Pleas), Stacey Taylor (former Associate Judge and member of the General Assembly), William Armstrong (county Auditor), Dr. Huxford, Dr. Murdock, John Elliott (Captain in the war of 1812), John Armstrong (Associate Judge, settled here in 1817), H. M. Helm, Samuel McKee, Gideon Mott, J. D. Blew, Dr. A. V. Medbery, Sabirt Scott (formerly a member of the Ohio Senate, and also a member of the Constitutional Convention of 1850-51), Franklin Linzee (Clerk of Court), Rev. Asa Stearns (whose widow, Sophia Stearns, at the age of 91 years, is now living at St. Mary's, with her son, Dr. R. W. Stearns), A. K. Stearns, Henry Updyke, Henry Smith, who removed to Bremen in 1820, and from thence to St. Mary's township in about 1822, Cuthbert Vincent, Reeve Chapman, Morgan Cleaveland, J. Hollingsworth, Wm. Hollingsworth, Eleanor Armstrong, Wm. Lattimer, Robert Bigger, David Woodruff, Chas. Watkins, R. R. Barrington, John Baker, Picket Doty, John Hawthorn, R. J. Crozier, Joseph Catterlin, C. P. Dunbaugh, Caleb Major (Justice of the Peace and County Commissioner), Elam Frost, Robert Elliott, William Elliott, Samuel Scott, Isaac Helm, John S. Houston (County Surveyor), Samuel Johnson, Thomas Longwith, Elias McAllister (the first hatter in St. Mary's), Charles Murray (the first white Indian trader who settled upon the banks of the St. Mary's, and at whose house, in 1817, the treaties were made with the sachems and chiefs of the Indian nations), Barney Murray, L. D. McMahon, James Vincent, Malachi Vincent, Thomas S. Sturgeon, James Gibson, and Andrew Collins.

S. R. Mott, who was a resident of St. Mary's in 1833, was admitted to the bar in March, 1841. At that time, E. M. Phelps, William M. Crane, and Oliver C. Rood, were the resident lawyers in practice.

William Sawyer, when 15 years of age, commenced, in Dayton, work as a blacksmith's apprentice. This was in 1816. After the close of his apprenticeship, he worked as a journeyman at Dayton,

and at the Indian Agency, near Grand Rapids, Michigan, and in 1829, removed to Miamisburg, Montgomery county, and established himself in business. During his residence in Montgomery county, he served five terms in the House of Representatives of the Ohio General Assembly—commencing in 1830—the last year of which (session of 1835–36,) he was chosen Speaker. In 1838, and again in 1840, he was a candidate for Congress, against Patrick G. Goode, and defeated in both trials. In 1843, he removed to St. Mary's, and in the year following, 1844, was elected to Congress, and re-elected in 1846,—his Congressional service running through the term of Mr. Polk's administration, and closing March 3, 1849. In 1850, he was a member of the Constitutional Convention. In October, 1855, he was elected a member of the House of Representatives, of the General Assembly, from Anglaize county.

During the year 1855, he was appointed by President Pierce Receiver of the Land Office for the Otter Tail District, Minnesota, re-appointed by President Buchanan, and removed by President Lincoln within twenty days after his inauguration, for political reasons, alone.

In 1869, he was appointed by Gov. Hayes one of the Trustees of the Ohio Agricultural and Mechanical College, and during the last six years has been acting Mayor and Justice of the Peace at St. Mary's.

The old block house at St. Mary's was demolished in 1833–34 by a person who used the material for fuel, exciting greatly the indignation of the inhabitants. The limbs of a large burr oak tree, standing about 180 yards distant from the fort, and bearing heavy foliage, was used by the Indians as a covert, from which they fired upon the soldiers in the fort. After the discovery of the uses being made of it, the tree was trimmed of its limbs. It, however, survived many years; but, finally, within the last two years, yielded to the pressure of a storm, and fell to the ground.

The St. Mary's of 1872 is a very flourishing town, having better business prospects than have been offered in any former period of its history. Before these pages will have been issued from the press, in addition to the transportation and manufacturing facilities afforded by the canal and reservoir, it will be in convenient communication with some of the leading railway lines of the country, through the opening of the Louisville and Lake Erie road. The town is situated upon elevated ground, being 398 feet above the level of Lake Erie. Among its superior advantages is its water power, afforded by the Mercer County Reservoir. A large canal basin occupies a place near the centre of the town.

In manufactures, St. Mary's has three grist mills; one woollen factory; one flax mill; two planing mills; three saw mills; one foundry; one distillery; one hub and spoke factory; one carriag

do; two cigar do; two brick yards; one tile factory; one lime kiln; two tanneries; one linseed oil mill; two furniture factories; one photograph gallery; two bakeries; two stove and tin shops; two merchant tailor establishments; three millinery do; four boot and shoe shops; two meat markets, and two wagon shops. Also, two hotels; two pork packing houses; two warehouses; two livery stables, and one nursery.

In stores, there are four dry goods; seven grocery and provision; two drug; one liquor; one watch and jewelry; two hardware; one hat, cap and shoe, and one fish and wild game depot.

The churches are, Catholic, Baptist, Presbyterian, Methodist, and German Lutheran. St. Mary's has also a first-class Union School, having English, German, and classical departments.

Hon. Ph. V. Herzing, member of the Board of Public Works, furnishes the following table of some of the principal articles shipped from St. Mary's during the season of canal navigation of the year 1871:

Lumber and timber—feet.....	1,649,066
Hoopoles, staves, hubs, and spokes—pieces.....	1,908,518
Grain and flour—pounds.....	19,063,582
Seeds, “.....	1,064,620
Linseed oil, “.....	55,431
Pork and Lard, “.....	29,255
Railroad ties—pieces.....	65,855
Firewood—cords.....	4,207
Oil cake—pounds.....	1,061,591
Sundries, “.....	1,182,916

The above exports do not include the large amount of articles shipped *via* the Dayton and Michigan railroad, during the close of canal navigation in the winter.

The first term of the Court of Common Pleas, in Anglaize County, was held in May, 1848; Patrick G. Goode, President Judge, and George W. Holbrook, David Simpson and John McLean, associates.

The first term of the Supreme Court was held in June, 1850, by Judges Edward Avery, and Rufus P. Spalding.

At the election held October 10, 1848, the following county officers were elected:

Auditor, Marmaduke Smith; Treasurer, John J. Rickley; Sheriff, John Elliott; Commissioners, S. M. Dreese, Shadrack Montgomery, and Hugh T. Rinehart; Recorder, Simon Dresher; Prosecuting Attorney, George W. Andrews; Coroner, Amos S. Bennett; Surveyor, Dominicus Fleitz.

Mr. Andrews, in his essay from which quotations have already been made, thus refers to Wapaukonnetta, the county seat:

“The first immigrant found an Indian village on the site where

the town now stands. The council house of the Shawanese stood about the centre of the present town—was a block building about 25 by 35 feet, and about eight feet story. It remained standing, in pretty good preservation, until 1859, when a purchaser of the lot on which it stood, thinking a valuable brick building would contribute more to the interests of a community of white men, and especially to the interests of his own pocket, than the remainder of deliberations of savages, tore it down. The writer of this essay, in the year 1856, tore down an Indian hut, which was standing on a lot of his, that was the honored residence of a chief. The building was constructed of round logs, not exceeding six inches in diameter, was about ten feet by fourteen, and seven feet high. These were the last remains of the Indian village, which derived its name from a chief of high standing—Waughpaughkonnetta. The word has been bereft of its surplus letters, retained as the name of the town, and built on the identical site of the old Indian one, which is our county seat, as above stated.

The original proprietors of Wapakonnetta were Robert J. Skinner, Thomas B. Van Horne, Joseph Barnett, Jonathan K. Wilds, and Peter Veehenbaugh. The town was platted in 1833, and at the first public sale eighty-four lots were purchased, ranging from \$20 to \$140—the one bringing the latter figures being lot No. 36, corner public square and Willipie street, and purchased by E. C. Case. Peter Hummel paid \$120 for lot 13, Anglaize street, upon which then stood the Indian trading post. The old Indian council house occupied lot No. 3, Anglaize street, now used by Samuel Bitler and J. H. Doering, for a hardware store and residence.

The town contains a public and a private school,—the latter under the management of the Catholic Church;—one Presbyterian, one Catholic, one Methodist, and two German and one English Lutheran Church—all the buildings being of brick, and attended regularly by large congregations.

The newspapers of Wapakonnetta are, the *Anglaize County Democrat*, H. P. Kelly, editor and publisher; and the *Wapakonnetta Courant*, E. B. Walkup, editor and publisher.

In manufactures, it has a woollen mill, machine shop, spoke and hub factory, a cooper establishment, employing an annual capital of \$100,000, and two large flouring mills—all these establishments being operated by steam; two private banks; two carriage factories, and three wagon shops; three hotels, all good (the Burnett House, by F. H. Kenthan, ranking among the best between Cincinnati and Toledo); six houses dealing in general merchandise, and two in hardware, two in boots and shoes, five in groceries and provisions, two in clothing, and three in drugs and medicines, and four millinery establishments. To these may be added four blacksmith shops, eight shoe do; one pump, two cigar, one half bushel, one candy, and one tress hoop manufactory, and three livery stables.

The taxable basis of Auglaize county, in 1871, was as follows :

Value of lands.....	\$4,170,276	
Value of town property.....	1,016,519	\$5,216,795
Value of chattel property.....		1,636,093
Making a total of.....		\$6,852,888

In the town of St. Mary's, in 1821, the total valuation of real and personal estate, for taxation purposes, amounted to \$76.70, and in 1871, to \$780,415.00. In Wapakonnetta, the total valuation in 1871, amounted to \$708,100.00.

Regarding other towns in Auglaize county, Mr. Andrews thus refers to them :

"New Bremen—Is on the canal, contains 1,200 inhabitants, and possesses a good deal of wealth. This town, also, has good water power, and has two flouring mills, a large and fine woollen factory, an oil mill, and other minor establishments—the machinery of all of which is propelled by water. The town is very thriving, and the people are enterprising. They are all Germans, and the village is located in German township. It bids fair to be a large place.

"Minster—Is situated three miles south of New Bremen, on the canal, in Jackson township, containing 1,000 inhabitants, all Germans; is a neat, growing town, has a large flouring mill, woollen manufactory, and two mills for cutting lumber—all propelled by steam. There is, also, in the town, one of the largest and best appointed lager beer breweries in the State.

"New Knoxville—This town is in Washington township, contains about two hundred inhabitants, and is a growing place.

"Criderville is six miles north of Wapakonnetta, on the D. and M. railroad, in Duchouquet township, contains 250 inhabitants, and is rapidly improving.

"St. Johns is on the Wapakonnetta and Belle Centre turnpike, six miles east of Wapakonnetta, is one of the oldest towns in the county, contains a larger number of inhabitants than Criderville, and is quite a business place.

"Waynesfield, situated in Wayne township, is a growing town, has a large steam flouring mill, and a mill for cutting lumber, contains about 250 inhabitants, who are exhibiting a spirit of enterprise unusual in towns of this size.

"New Hampshire is in Goshen township, and is, as well as Waynesfield, in the eastern portion of the county. This town contains a flouring mill propelled by steam.

"Unionopolis is in Union township, situated in a rich neighborhood, but does not give evidence of much future growth.

"Kossuth is in Salem township, on the canal, and does a good trading business. It will not probably become a very large town."

The first federal census of the county was taken in 1850, and then exhibited a population of 11,338; in 1860, of 17,187; and in 1870, of 20,011. The free colored population had regularly diminished—the returns of 1850 showing 87; 1860 reduced to 61, and 1870 reduced to 61.

The following is a table of the several census returns since the organization of Anghaize County:

TOWNS AND TOWNSHIPS.	1850	1860	1870
Clay.....	1095	1091	810
Duchonquet.....	3959	2502	1408
Criderville.....	167	.....	.....
Wapaukonnetta.....	2150	900	501
German (b).....	1159	1721	2342
New Bremen.....	528	379	311
Over Bremen.....	423	266	.....
Goshen.....	521	407	336
Jackson (b).....	1562	1551	.....
Minster.....	868	752	428
Logan.....	900	706	335
Moulton.....	1252	791	450
Noble.....	1159	826	399
Pucheta.....	1290	1280	1008
Salem.....	877	677	476
Kossuth.....	112	.....	76
St. Mary's.....	2129	2312	1567
St. Mary's.....	1370	1151	873
Union.....	1162	1130	1008
Washington.....	849	980	688
Wayne.....	1011	877	671

(b) In 1859, Jackson from German.

CRAWFORD COUNTY

Was formed from old Indian territory, April 1, 1820. The county derives its name from Colonel William Crawford, whose unfortunate expedition and fate have been related in preceding pages.

The following extracts are from the recollections of John Modrwell, published in the *Bucyrus Journal*, in 1868:

"The difficulties and trials of the early settlers of Crawford county, although not so great as those encountered by the earlier settlers west of the Alleghenies, were yet such as would be considered by their descendants of the present day as almost insurmountable. Nearly all the land, within the present limits of the county, was covered by a forest of heavy timber, which almost entirely prevented the sun's rays from reaching the ground. This, in connection

with the formation of the country, and the nature of the soil, necessarily made very muddy roads, even with the little travel then passing over them. And mud, and the fever and ague, produced by about the same causes, were great drawbacks to the rapid improvement of the country. The distance from mills, and from settlements, were also among the serious difficulties they had to contend with. For several years, nearly all the flour used had to be brought from the mills on Mohican creek, and its tributaries, in Richland county, thirty and forty miles distant. The practice then was, to make a trip to the vicinity of one of these mills—purchase a small quantity of wheat from some of the settlers there—place it upon your ox wagon, or pack it on your horse, or upon your own back, and, after being ground, return the flour in the same way—the *voyage* consuming a week to ten days.

“Most of the pioneers were men of small means. Their stock of cash being generally exhausted upon paying the government price for eighty, or, at most, one hundred and sixty acres of land, many became discouraged at the hardships they had to encounter, and returned to their old homes. Multitudes of others would have done so, could they have raised the means. This, however, did not last long; most of them becoming entirely satisfied after a few years’ residence—the improvement of the country each year making it more tolerable to live in, and giving increasing promise of its future prosperity.

“The total change in the appearance of things, to one who can look back forty-five years, seems almost miraculous; and could one of the residents here in 1825, after an absence of nearly half a century, now return, he would find it difficult to recognize a single familiar landmark, or half a dozen familiar faces; and one who has faithfully put in a whole day on horseback, from here to Mansfield, and now finds himself set down there by the cars in one hour, sometimes finds it difficult to realize that he is not in the situation of the fellow who had either found a cart or lost a yoke of oxen; and one who has not a correct record of his age is inclined to think he has been here a century instead of less than half a one.

“The first arrival of white settlers occurred in 1819. Of these, in addition to those who settled in the immediate vicinity of Bucyrus, we remember Resolved White, a descendant of the child born in the Mayflower; Rudolph Morse, and David Cummins, in the present limits of Auburn township; Jacob Snyder, near Leesville; David Anderson, and Andrew Dixon and sons, in Vernon township; John Brown and his son Michael Brown, on the farm owned by the late Mr. Beltz, of Polk township; David Reid, and two men named Fletcher, a little south of that point. In Sandusky township, there were Westell Ridgely and J. S. Griswell, near where the Bucyrus and Leesville road crosses the Sandusky river. A little south was Peter Bebout; Samuel Kniseley, at Kniseley’s springs, and his brother Joseph, and John B. French, just north of him. Near the

Bear Marsh, Isaac Matthews, William Handley, Nelson Tustason, two families of McIntyres, and John Davis.

“Samuel Norton, the founder of Bucyrus, squatted on the quarter section of land upon which the town was afterwards laid out, in the same year, and erected his first cabin on the river bank, a short distance above the present railroad bridge. In this cabin was born his daughter Sophronia, who was the first white child born on the town plat, or probably within the present limits of the county. At this time his only neighbors were David Beadle, and his sons Mishel and David, Daniel McMichael, and Joseph Young. Of these, Daniel McMichael settled on a quarter section two miles east of the river, part of which is now owned by Joseph Albright, and afterwards bought the eighty acres immediately north of town, on the pike; and also the tract upon which John Heinlin's additions have been laid out. Young settled on the farm now owned by John A. Gormly, near Esquire Stewart's; Mishel Beadle on the farm now owned by L. Converse and David Beadle, just southwest of town, at the Ludwig orchard, and John Ensley where widow Minich now lives.

“The lands in the county, except the Wyandott Indian reservation, were brought into market, and offered for sale at Delaware, Ohio, in the following year.

“Bucyrus was laid out in 1822, by Samuel Norton, proprietor of the land, and Colonel James Kilbourne, late of Worthington, Ohio, well known at that time as a pioneer and surveyor. The lots were soon after offered at public sale, and brought from 30 to 45 dollars each. Norton was the first settler on the site of the town, and moved in from Pennsylvania in 1819, and wintered in a small cabin of poles, which stood on the banks of the Sandusky. The lots transferred at this sale were all on Sandusky Avenue and Walnut street, and but few south of the public square. At this date, in addition to Norton, there were living, in the new town, Lewis and Abel Carey, Lewis Stephenson, Robert Moore, J. S. George, George P. Schultz, Samuel Roth, Harris Garton, Harry Smith, Russel Peck, E. B. and Charles Merriman and a few others.

“The first frame building erected in the town, was about 15 by 15 feet, and stood on the ground now occupied by Mr. G. John's property, north of the railroad. The first brick, on the lot where Blair & Pickering's brick buildings now stand.

“The first mill for grinding grain was erected by Abel Carey, on the river just west of the north end of Main street. It was afterwards removed to where McLain's mill now stands—subsequently destroyed by fire, and the present mill erected in 1844.

“The first school taught in the town, was in a log shanty, on the river bank, near the north end of Spring street. Horace Rowse was a scholar in this school, and is probably the only person now living here who attended it. The first building erected expressly for school purposes was of round logs, and stood near the present Catholic Church: after this, a small one-story brick was built on the lot now

occupied by the frame school house, near the depot, and was used as a school house, court room, town hall, and house for religious worship. When used as a court room, the jury had to be accommodated in shops, etc., in other parts of the town. Among the early teachers, were Colonel Zalmon Rowse, Horace Pratt, Sallie Davis, Doctor Horton, Mrs. Espy and daughters, Mr. White, and others.

“Crawford, though formed in 1820, was attached to Delaware county, and afterwards to Marion, until the session of the Legislature of 1825–26, when an act was passed organizing the county, and directing county commissioners to be elected, at the ensuing April elections, who were to fix upon a temporary seat of justice. The people in the southern part of the county were in favor of Bucyrus as the county seat, and those living in the western part insisted upon its being located in a town called Crawford, laid out by Joseph Newell, on land now owned by Thomas Hall, on Brokensword. Thos. McClure, John Magers, and John Poe, the candidates in favor of Bucyrus, were elected, and the county seat temporarily established, by them, at Bucyrus. A few years later, this location became permanently fixed by a board of commissioners appointed by the legislature for the purpose, consisting of Judge Williams, of Delaware, Rodolphus Dickinson, of Lower Sandusky, and J. S. Glassgo, of Holmes county.

“The first court held in the county was presided over by Judge Ebenezer Lane, of Norwalk, President Judge of the circuit, and John Carey, E. B. Merriman, and John B. French, associate judges. The court sat in Lewis Carey’s front room, in the house now owned by C. H. Schouert. Judge Lane was succeeded by Judge Higgins, and he by Judge Bowen, of Marion. The associate judges named above, were succeeded by Josiah Robinson, Abel Carey, George Poe, Andrew Taylor, R. W. Musgrove, James Stewart, and Robert Lee.

“Mr. Beardslee received the first appointment as clerk, but shortly afterward resigned, and was succeeded by Colonel Rowse, who held the office for a number of years, as, also, at the same time, that of county recorder, and was succeeded, as clerk, by J. B. Larwill, D. W. Swigart, Alexander P. Widman, etc., and as recorder, by Jacob Howenstein, and James Robinson.

“The first sheriff was Hugh McCracken, succeeded by John Miller, John Moderwell, David Holm, John Shull, Samuel Andrews, James L. Harper, John Caldwell, and James Clements.

“James Martin was the first county auditor, and he was succeeded by Charles Merriman, Edward Billips, John Caldwell, Jacob Howenstein, George Linn, Owen Williams, and John Pitman.

“The first county treasurer was John H. Morrison, succeeded by General S. Myers, Geo. Lauck, and Chas. Hetich.”

The officers of the county serving in 1872, are the following: Thomas Coughlin, clerk; Robert Lee, probate judge; William M. Scroggs, auditor; Job Franz, treasurer; James Worden, sheriff; F. M. Bowyer, recorder; J. W. Coulter, prosecuting attorney; H. W.

McDonald, surveyor; Phillip Moffat, coroner; Lewis Littler, James Hufty, and Charles Myers, commissioners; Jervise Jump, John Adam Klink, and John Alloback, infirmary directors.

"The first post office was opened in Bucyrus, in 1822, Lewis Carey being postmaster, succeeded by Henry St. John, John Forbes, James McCracken, A. P. Widman, and R. T. Johnson; and the incumbent in 1872 being John Hopley.

"The first lawyers who located here were John H. Morrison, Isaac H. Allen, M. Fleck, and another named Stanberg, known as the 'linsey lawyer,' by reason of his making his first appearance in a suit of blue linsey woolsey goods.

"Josiah Scott (late Chief Justice of the Ohio Supreme Court,) established himself at Bucyrus in 1830; George Sweeney (formerly member of Congress, and who came about the same date with Mr. Scott); Franklin Adams, who commenced practice in 1837, and S. R. Harris, whose law practice at Bucyrus dates from 1849.

"Of those from abroad, who formerly practiced in the Crawford county courts, there were Andrew Coffinberry, May, Purdy, Stewart, McLaughlin, and Bartley, of Mansfield; Bowen, Godman, and Watson, of Marion; Boalt, of Norwalk, Judge Parish, of Columbus, and others."

For a list of those in practice in 1872, see Appendix marked A.

"From 1819 to 1826, Mr. Heaman, Joseph Lonas, D. P. Dowling, Mr. Flake, Joseph Quaintance, Timothy Kirk, Joseph Newell, Mr. Spitzer, Jacob King, James Martin, Mr. Glover, Jacob Andrews, Eli Quaintance, Mr. Holmes, John McCulloch, and Daniel Snyder, were among the settlers of Holmes township, within the period above named."

George Sweeney was among the early settlers. He was born in Adams county, Pennsylvania, and took up his residence in Bucyrus, October 21, 1830, and was elected to Congress in 1838, and re-elected in 1840. His death occurred several years ago.

The first official report extant of the session of the Board of Commissioners of Crawford county (former records having been destroyed by fire), opens as follows:

"Proceedings of the Commissioners of Crawford County, begun and held in the town of Bucyrus, on the 17th and 18th days of October, A. D. 1831.

"Be it resolved, That James McCracken, Esq., of Crawford county, be and hereby is appointed a Commissioner (in the room of R. W. Cahill, Esq., resigned), to lay out a certain State road, commencing at the town of Perrysburg, in Wood county; thence to McCutcheonville; thence to Bucyrus, in Crawford county.

"Resolved, That an order be issued to the Auditor, John Caldwell, for seventy dollars and sixty-eight cents, for his services as Auditor.

“ Resolved, That Z. Rouse be, and he is hereby authorized to contract for books for the Clerk’s and Recorder’s offices, to be paid out of the County Treasury.”

The county seat is an inland town of importance, and, as the foregoing statistics show, has made rapid advances since the date of the commencement of its growth, directly after the opening of the Ohio and Indiana (now Pittsburg, Fort Wayne and Chicago) railway. Another road of great importance, not only to Bucyrus, but to a large district of the Maumee valley, and especially to Toledo—the Atlantic and Lake Erie—is nearly completed. The energy and public spirit which originated and has pushed forward this important line, belong to Bucyrus, and chiefly to D. N. Swigart, President, who has had the able co-operation of J. B. Gormly, the Secretary and Treasurer.

Bucyrus has two newspapers—the *Bucyrus Forum*, semi-weekly, Tuesdays and Fridays, and weekly on Saturdays; established 1844; J. R. Clymer, editor and proprietor. The *Forum* is one of the largest and ablest journals in the Congressional district in which it is published, and has a circulation equal to the most popular of its contemporaries. The *Bucyrus Journal*, J. Hopley, editor and publisher, is also in prosperous condition.

The city contains eight churches:—Presbyterian, German Lutheran, English Lutheran, German Methodist, Baptist, German Reformed, Catholic and Methodist Episcopal; one of the best-conducted public school systems, the Bucyrus people claim, in the State—one of the buildings, containing thirty-six rooms exclusive of basement, and erected at a cost of \$120,000;—two banks, the First National, and the private bank of John Scott, Biddle & Co., both solid institutions; and four good hotels (the Sims House, by J. Goldsmith, being first class); three flouring mills; one saw do; one hub, spoke and bent work factory; one woolen mill; one knitting machine establishment, invented, and the first one erected in Bucyrus; one lamp-bracket factory; one agricultural machine works; one iron foundry; one smut mill factory; one brewery; two tanneries; one woolen hose factory; three clothing stores that manufacture; one tailor shop; six wagon and carriage do; three blacksmith do; eight boot and shoe do; and of other stores, six dry goods; one music; five tin, stove and hardware; three drug, and two groceries and provisions. Also, three meat markets, two harness shops, and two livery stables.

It will also be noticed, by reference to the census table, on a preceding page, that there are several populous towns in Crawford county, aside from Bucyrus, the chief in business importance being Crestline and Galion.

Crawford County—Wealth and Population. 481

The following was the valuation of real and personal property in Crawford county, in 1830:

Valuation of farms and buildings	\$89,610 00
Town lots and buildings.....	5,635 00
	<hr/>
	\$97,245 00
Personal property,	\$58,652 00
	<hr/>
Total	\$155,897 00
Valuation in 1871 was, of—	
Lands	\$7,540,400 00
Town lots	1,975,800 00
Personal property.....	5,161,540 00
	<hr/>
Total valuation in 1871	\$14,677,800 00
“ “ “ in 1830	155,897 00
	<hr/>
Increase in 42 years	\$14,521,903 00

The following exhibits the progress of Crawford county in population

In 1820.....	4,791
In 1840.....	13,152
In 1850.....	18,177
In 1860.....	23,881
In 1870.....	25,556

And the following table illustrates the progress of the several towns and townships,—the figures being those of the census returns:

TOWNS AND TOWNSHIPS.	1870	1860	1850
Auburn.....	910	1072	951
Waynesburg.....	63	55	.....
Bucyrus.....	4184	3731	2315
Bucyrus.....	3066	2180	.....
Chatfield.....	1247	1430	1351
Cranberry.....	1281	1339	1042
New Washington.....	273	221	.....
Dallas.....	370	406	406
Holmes.....	1572	1639	1238
Jackson.....	4921	3290	1741
Crestline.....	2279	1187	.....
Liberty.....	1597	1788	1782
Annapolis.....	253	177	.....
Lykins.....	1140	1265	1185
Polk.....	4329	2911	1318
Galion.....	3523	1967	.....
Sandusky.....	665	792	822
Texas.....	563	566	515
Todd.....	1156	1093	578
Vernon.....	988	1224	1276
DeKalb.....	70	129	.....
Whetstone.....	1490	1524	1657
New Winchester.....	52	.....	.....

WYANDOT COUNTY

Was formed from Crawford, Marion, Hardin, and Hancock, February 3, 1845. A reference to former pages [see index] of this volume will show that some of the most interesting events connected with northwestern history, occurred within the limits of Wyandot county.

“Colonel John Bowman, in 1778, was meditating an expedition against the Shawanese villages, particularly Chillicothe (Oldtown, Greene county); and Kenton, accompanied by Alexander Montgomery, and George Clark, undertook to explore the route, and the vicinity and position of the town. This was effectually done, and all risk would have been avoided, if the three spies had not yielded to the temptation of running off a drove of horses, which they found enclosed in a pound. It was late at night, but the noise of the operation alarmed the Indians in the adjacent village. Kenton and his companions were pursued, and although they reached the northern bank of the Ohio river with the stolen animals, yet, before its passage could be effected, they were overtaken, Montgomery killed, and Kenton made prisoner—Clark escaping.

“The Indians were greatly exasperated at their captive, denouncing him as a ‘tief—a hoss steal—a rascal!’ and he received no indulgence at their hands, except that he was not struck dead with a tomahawk. Arrived at Chillicothe, he ran the gauntlet, after which a council was held, and soon Kenton saw, from the manner of speakers and auditors, that he was doomed to die. When the vote was taken, those who were for his torture struck the war-club, which was passed from hand to hand, violently on the ground—their number far exceeding those who simply passed the club to a neighbor, in token of mercy.

“Then arose a debate upon the time and place of the tragedy, and it was resolved that he be taken to Wapatomika (now Zanesfield, Logan county). Soon after his arrival at this place, Simon Girty came to see him, and soon discovered that Kenton had been his companion and friend at Fort Pitt, in Dunmore’s expedition. Girty threw himself into Kenton’s arms, embraced and wept aloud over him—calling him his dear and esteemed friend. This hardened wretch, who had been the cause of the death of hundreds, had some of the sparks of humanity remaining in him, and wept like a child at the tragical fate which hung over his friend.

“‘Well,’ said he to Kenton, ‘you are condemned to die, but I will use every means in my power to save your life.’

“The result of all Girty’s efforts was to obtain a reprieve until the prisoner could be taken to Upper Sandusky, where the Indians were soon to assemble and receive their annuities and presents from the British agents. As the Indians passed from Wapatomika to Upper Sandusky, they reached a village on the head waters of the Scioto, when Kenton, for the first time, beheld the celebrated Mingo chief,

Logan, who walked gravely up to the place where Kenton stood, and the following conversation ensued :

“ Well, young man, these young men seem very mad at you.”

“ Yes, sir, they certainly are.”

“ Well, don't be disheartened ; I am a great chief ; you are to go to Upper Sandusky ; they speak of burning you there ; but I will send two runners to-morrow, to speak good for you.”

“ Kenton's spirits immediately rose at the address of the benevolent chief, and he once more looked upon himself as providentially rescued from the stake.

“ On the following morning, two runners were dispatched to Upper Sandusky, as the chief had promised, and, until their return, Kenton was kindly treated, being permitted to spend much time with Logan, who conversed with him freely, and in the most friendly manner. In the evening the two runners returned, and were closeted with Logan. Kenton felt the most burning anxiety to know what was the result of their mission, but Logan did not visit him again until next morning. He then walked up to him, accompanied by Kenton's guards, and, giving him a piece of bread, told him that he was instantly to be carried to Upper Sandusky ; and, without uttering another word, turned upon his heel and left him.

“ At Upper Sandusky, Kenton was finally rescued from a death of torture, by the interposition of Peter Drayer, a Canadian Frenchman, who was a Captain in the British service, and acted as Indian agent and interpreter.

“ It was to this influential personage, probably, that Logan's message had been conveyed. He offered the Indians one hundred dollars in rum and tobacco, if they would allow him to take Kenton to Detroit for examination by the British governor, promising to return him when they should require. A slight additional remuneration, afterwards paid to the Indians, completed the ransom of Kenton, who accompanied Captain Drayer to Detroit, and about a year afterwards escaped and returned to Kentucky.”—*J. W. Taylor's History of Ohio.*

“ The Wyandot, or *Huron* tribe, as they were anciently called,” says Henry Howe, “ were the bravest of the race, and had among their chiefs some men of high moral character. With all other tribes but the Wyandots, flight in battle, when meeting with unexpected resistance or obstacle, brought with it no disgrace ; but with them it was otherwise. Their youth were taught to consider anything that had the appearance of an acknowledgment of the superiority of the enemy as disgraceful. In the battle of the Maumee Rapids, of thirteen chiefs of that tribe, who were present, one only survived, and he badly wounded. When General Wayne, prior to the battle, sent for Captain Wells, and requested him to go to Sandusky and take a prisoner, for the purpose of obtaining information, Wells—who had been bred with the Indians, and was perfectly

acquainted with their character—answered that he could take a prisoner, but not from Sandusky, because Wyandots would not be taken alive.”

The Methodists sustained a mission among the Wyandots for many years. Previous to the establishment of the Methodists, a portion of the tribe had been for a long while under the religious instruction of the Catholics. The first Protestant who preached among them, at Upper Sandusky, was John Stewart, a mulatto, and member of the Methodist denomination, who came to the place of his own accord, in 1816, and gained much influence over them. His efforts in their behalf paved the way for a regularly established mission a few years later, when the Rev. James B. Finley formed a school and established a church here. This was the first Indian mission established by the Methodists in the Mississippi Valley. The mission church building was erected of blue lime-stone, about the year 1824, by the United States Government, having permission from John C. Calhoun, then Secretary of War, to apply \$1,333 to this object. The walls of the building, in a dilapidated condition, only now remain. Connected with the mission was a school house, and a farm of 160 acres of land.

The original inscriptions on the monuments in the grave-yard, attached to the mission, have been rendered illegible by thoughtless hands, who have broken the stone and carried off the fragments as relics. Among the monuments erected to the memory of historical characters, was one to “Between-the-Logs,” who was among the first converts under the labors of John Stewart, and afterward became the most celebrated preacher among the Wyandots, and who died December, 1826, aged 50 years. Another to the memory of Rev. John Stewart, above-mentioned, who died December 17, 1833, aged 37 years.

The inscription on the stone at the head of another grave, reads as follows: “Sum-mum-de-wat, murdered December 4, 1845, aged 46 years. Buried in Wood county, Ohio.”

“The remains of Sum-mum-de-wat,” says Mr. Howe, “were subsequently re-interred here. He was, at the time of his death, on a hunting excursion with his family in Hancock county. In the evening, three white men, with axes, entered their camp, and were hospitably entertained by their host. After having finished their suppers, the Indian, agreeable to his custom, kneeled and prayed in his own language, and then laid down with his wife to sleep. In the night, these miscreants, who had been so kindly treated, rose on them in their sleep, and murdered Sum-mum-de-wat and his wife, with their axes, in the most brutal manner. They then robbed the camp and made off, but were apprehended and allowed to break jail.”

In speaking of this case, Colonel Johnston says, “that, in a period of fifty three years, since his intimate official relations with the In-

dians, he never knew of but one instance in which a white man was tried, convicted and executed for the murder of an Indian. This exception was brought about by his own agency in the prosecution, sustained by the promptness of John C. Calhoun, then Secretary of War, who manifested an interest in this affair not often shown on similar occasions in the officers of our government.'

On the bank of the river, about a mile above Upper Sandusky, is a huge sycamore, which measures around, a yard from its base, 37 feet, and, at its base, over 40 feet. The soil, particularly the bottom lands in the neighborhood of Upper Sandusky, is among the most fertile in Ohio.

Among the pioneers of the county, was Peter Bowsher, who, with his son Robert, commenced his residence in Pitt township, then Crawford county, on the 4th of June, 1821. The son first named is now a resident of Upper Sandusky, and two other sons, Anthony and Solomon, are also residents of the county.

It is claimed, however, that the first white settler within the limits of Wyandot county, was a soldier named McLish, who came to the county with General Harrison's army, and who, after the war, kept a ferry at the crossing of the Tymochtee, on the road leading from Upper to Lower Sandusky.

Michael Brackley, of McCutchenville; Moses H. Kirby, Indian agent, prior to the removal of the Wyandots; Guy C. Worth, who removed to Little Sandusky in 1833; Captain S. M. Worth, John A. Gormley, John Baker, Chester R. Mott, J. D. Sears, Robert McKelley, Dr. James McConnell, Wm. Brayton, David Ayres, and Peter B. Beidler, were also among the early settlers.

Curtis Berry, Sr., removed to Crawford township, three miles northeast of Carey, in 1827. The place was on the old trail between Upper Sandusky and Big Spring, at the head of Blanchard's fork. His sons, Curtis, Jr., and John, are now residents of Upper Sandusky.

- George Harper (with his father's, Samuel Harper's, family), in March, 1821, removed from Ross county, Ohio, to the township now called Sycamore. The territory then belonged to the civil jurisdiction of Delaware county, and was on the margin of the Wyandot reservation. At the date mentioned, there were not half a dozen families within the present limits of Wyandot county—those families being established in what is now known as Pitt township.

Conrad Hare removed to Crawford township (near what is now Carey), in 1833, and died in 1847. His widow yet resides on the old homestead, and his son, I. S. Hare, at Upper Sandusky.

C. T. Pierson removed to Tiffin in 1831, and in 1841 to Upper Sandusky, and purchased of Silas Armstrong (Wyandot), a lease running two years,—said lease embracing a tavern stand and other improvements.

John Carey removed to Tymochtee in the fall of 1823. During several years he has been a resident of the town that bears his name.

In the above partial list of the pioneers are included some of those who have held, and others now holding, important official trusts at the hands of their fellow citizens.

The first tax duplicate of Wyandot county was made in 1845. The sale of the Wyandot reserve, by the United States, in September and October of that year, exempted the lands, and Upper Sandusky town lots, under the United States laws, from taxation by State authority, until five years from the date of sale. Hence, the farm lands, and town lots, made at this sale, were first entered upon the tax-list of 1851.

The first duplicate, therefore, only exhibited, subject to taxation, 138,005 acres, valued at \$310,954. These taxable lands were from the territory taken from the counties of Crawford, Marion, Hardin, and Hancock.

In 1852, the duplicate shows 215,215 acres, subject to taxation, valued at \$1,468,585; and a value of town lots amounting to \$174,773.

In 1871, there were 254,921 acres upon the duplicate, valued at \$5,752,135; and town lots valued at \$876,670.

There are some remnants of swamp lands yet belonging to the county, and not yet entered upon the tax-lists.

The following statement of the valuation of lands, and town lots, and personal property, commencing with the organization of the county, and closing with the last record, will show the progress in taxable wealth:

In 1845—Real property.....	\$327,020 00	
Personal property.....	130,735 00	
	<hr/>	\$457,755 00
In 1871—Real property.....	\$6,628,805 00	
Personal property.....	3,088,615 00	
	<hr/>	\$9,717,420 00
In 1851, the value of town lots in Upper Sandusky, amounted to.....	\$ 94,900 00	
Value of personal property.....	65,936 00	
	<hr/>	\$160,836 00
In 1871, their value amounted to.....	\$522,100 00	
Personal property.....	458,258 00	
	<hr/>	\$980,358 00

The following figures exhibit the growth in population of Wyandot County from 1850 to 1870, inclusive: In 1850, 11,194; in 1860, 15,596; in 1870, 18,-

553. And the following table will show the growth in population of the several civil divisions of the county :

TOWNS AND TOWNSHIPS.	1870	1890	1890
Antrim (<i>b</i>).....	1061	1245	757
Crane.....	3876	2877	1544
Upper Sandusky.....	2564	1599	754
Crawford.....	1869	1626	1306
Carey.....	692	.....	.....
Edn (<i>b</i>).....	1423	1247	646
Jackson (<i>c</i>).....	771	603	495
Kirby (<i>c</i>).....	895	.....	.....
Marselles.....	603	695	558
Marselles.....	251	.....	.....
Mifflin (<i>c</i>).....	866	870	570
Nevada (<i>b</i>).....	828	.....	.....
Pitt.....	991	957	886
Richland (<i>c</i>).....	1271	1014	615
Ridge.....	584	583	501
Salem (<i>c</i>).....	1103	1070	738
Sycamore.....	850	937	880
Tymochtee.....	1631	1874	1818

(*b*) Exclusive of part of village of Nevada.

(*c*) In 1869, Kirby from Jackson, Mifflin, Richland, and Salem.

The finances of the county are in a satisfactory condition—the people having been fortunate, since the organization of the county (with the exception of a single instance, when a most worthy but incompetent man held the auditor's office one term), in securing the services of officers well qualified to discharge their several trusts.

The following is a list of first officers of the county, who were elected, the Associate Judges by the General Assembly, and the other county officers by the people, at the April election in 1855:

Associate Judges—Abel Reinrich, George W. Leith, and William Brown; clerk, Guy C. Worth; prosecuting attorney, Chester R. Mott; auditor, S. M. Worth; treasurer, Abner Jury; recorder, John A. Morrison; sheriff, Loren A. Pease; surveyor, Peter B. Bidler; commissioners, Stephen Fowler, Ethan Terry, and William Griffith.

Osias Bowen, of Marion, was then President Judge of the Circuit, and the only surviving member of the bench at that time, is George W. Leith, of Nevada. The first treasurer and the first recorder are dead.

The following is a list of those who hold the several county offices in 1872:

Probate judge, Peter B. Bidler; prosecuting attorney, M. H. Kirby; auditor, Jonathan Mallett; treasurer, J. S. Hare; clerk, Wm. B. Hitchcock; sheriff, Henry Myers; coroner, Levi Shultz; recorder, Adam Stuts; commissioners, Thomas McClain, Milton Morrell,

and Wm. Beam; surveyor, John Agerter; infirmary directors, A. H. Vanorsdoll, Tillman Balliet, and Michael Depler.

The town now contains seven churches—one Catholic, one Presbyterian, one Methodist Episcopal, two Lutheran, one United Brethren, and one Church of God (or, "Winnebrenarian").

Two newspapers—the *Wyandot Democratic Union*, and the *Wyandot County Republican*.

One National Bank, having a capital of \$100,000, and a surplus of \$7,000, and three private banking establishments, employing an aggregate capital of probably equal amount; one Masonic, and one Odd Fellows lodge; five dry goods stores; one china and glassware do; two jewelry do; eight grocery and provision do; three drug do; five clothing do; four hardware do; three meat markets; three livery stables; four millinery establishments; two sewing machine rooms; one produce and packing house; two grain warehouses; two photograph rooms.

The Upper Sandusky Deposit Bank is one of the three private establishments included above, and was established in November, 1869,—the owner and proprietor being J. H. Anderson, who, prior to his location at Upper Sandusky, had established such business relations at Marion and elsewhere, as gave him a reputation among financial circles, at home and abroad, that secured for his Upper Sandusky banking house a public confidence which is continually gathering strength.

An editorial in the *Democratic Union*, of February 22, 1872, thus refers to this gentleman:

"He is a native of Marion, and commenced his business career there as an attorney at law. In 1861 he was appointed United States consul to Hamburg, Germany, where he remained until 1866, and then, though the post was a pleasant one,—such as few willingly relinquish,—he resigned: his large landed and other interests here requiring his personal supervision. As consul, Mr. Anderson discharged his duties in such an efficient manner as to win the merited compliments of the department, and he acquired a vast knowledge of men and things. Since returning to the United States, most of his time has been spent here.

"As a business man, Mr. Anderson occupies a front rank among his cotemporaries."

In manufactures, there are, one woollen; three cabinet; two wagon and carriage, and two wagon shops; three harness and saddlery do; four tailor do; ten boot and shoe; one foundry and machine shop; two tanneries; one distillery (consuming an average of 300 bushels of grain per day); one brewery; one tile manufactory; four brick yards; two planing mills, manufacturing sash, doors, blinds, and flooring, and three cooper shops. The P., Ft. W. and C. railway have also repairing shops at Upper Sandusky, which give employment to an average of eight hands throughout the year.

SENECA COUNTY

Was formed April 1, 1820, organized four years later, and named from the Indian tribe who had a reservation within its limits. The county was settled principally from Maryland, Virginia, Pennsylvania, and older sections of Ohio.

From an address made by Isaac I. Dumond, before the Seneca County Pioneer Association, November, 1870, the following extracts are gathered :

“ My father moved with his family to what was then called the New Purchase, on the Sandusky river, in 1821, at which time I was in my twentieth year.

“ We found the entire county a wilderness with no other than the rude improvements made by the Indians.

“ There was but one public road, known as a highway, in all the region of country designated as the New Purchase, which was opened in the fall of 1820, and ran on the east side of the Sandusky river, north and south, then known, and still continuing, as the Marion State Road.

“ My father settled in Pleasant township, Seneca county, where for a time we encountered many difficulties. During a part of the year, the roads were almost impassable, by reason of the mud mixed with the beech-root. During the summer, mosquitoes and house-flies gave us a degree of trouble that none can realize, except from experience. The flies would gather on a horse, in such quantities, that a single grab would fill a man's hand. The massasauger, or prairie rattle snake, was another unpleasant enemy which appeared in great numbers. I killed five in cutting a small piece of oats; but to my knowledge no one ever suffered from them.

“ At that time, there were few families living along the entire route from Tymochtee (which name signifies, in the Indian language, ‘ the stream around the plains’) to Lower Sandusky.

“ We had few mechanics, but the one most needful was the blacksmith, which we found in Leroy Cresey at Fort Ball.

“ Dr. Brainard was the only physician in the neighborhood, and his practice extended from Lower Sandusky, his place of residence, to Tymochtee.

“ Throughout the entire settlement, there was not a lawyer to be found. The only minister we had was the Rev. James Montgomery, of the M. E. Church.

“ Jesse and George Olmsted had our only store between Delaware and Lower Sandusky.

“ There was considerable travel during the spring and early summer of 1821, till August, when the land sale occurred, by men in search of land.

“ Our greatest privation was want of mills. Our nearest mill was at Cole Creek, about twenty-four miles distant, and without a direct road leading to it. The difficulties in some cases were very trying.

For example, Mr. Barney and Daniel Rice arranged for a trip to mill, each with a team of oxen and wagon. As they had to cross the river, the grain was hauled there and unloaded, and ferried across, then the wagon ferried over, and afterwards the team swam over, when they could reload, hitch up, and proceed. This was in April, 1821. After having their grain ground, and on their homeward route, they were overtaken by a snow storm. The snow was damp, and fell to a depth of a foot, rendering the roads almost impassable, and so weighed the bushes down over them, that they were compelled to abandon their wagons, and, with much difficulty, succeeded in reaching home with their teams.

“Although the year 1821 was a trying one, it had secured to many a sufficient amount of land to afford a home; and, to encourage us, we had an abundant crop.

“Many of the people had acted as ‘squatters.’ The Indians, who had formerly lived on the west side of the river, had removed to their reservation on the east side, and abandoned their old houses, which were appropriated by the white settlers, and held until they wished to go, or were displaced by a deed from Uncle Sam, conveying the same to another party. The settlement was weak in 1821, and to raise a log cabin, the neighbors were often summoned from places five or six miles distant.

“Of those who came previous to the land sale, some suffered from sickness, and, becoming discouraged, left, and others died, but immediately after the land sale the population steadily increased, and, in 1823, Mr. Rumley built a mill on Green creek, and soon after Mr. More built a mill on Sandusky river, in order to supply the increased demand, which greatly diminished the inconvenience we had all experienced.

“The early settlers were, in the majority, rough but generous, whole-souled and kind towards one another, and ever ready to lend a helping hand to the needy.

“The use of intoxicating drinks was our greatest evil. Some would get on sprees, and after taking much whiskey, would form into a ring, and with bells, horns, tin pans, log chains, or any noisy instruments, engage in a hideous dance, sing and give Indian war whoops. Such a state of society was not the rule entirely, however, and was wholly displaced in a short time by the ingress of more refined people who controlled the moral standard of the neighborhood. That enemy to civilization, whiskey, was, as is always, a hard one to entirely subdue, nevertheless. I remember when farmers would trade a bushel of corn for five quarts of whiskey, and this was as necessary for harvest as provisions.

“In the fall of 1824, the first general muster of the militia took place at old Fort Seneca. The regiment numbered about 400 men, under General Rumley, and Colonel J. B. Cooley, who gathered from over the country, between Cole Creek and Tymoehtee, many having to camp out in order to reach the fort in time.

“A considerable trade was carried on between the southern portion of the State, after the close of the war of 1812, and Lower Sandusky, and Sandusky City. Teams came loaded with flour, bacon, and whiskey, and returned with fish, or merchants' goods, which sold in Urbana, Springfield, and Dayton.

“The Indian tribes here at the time of the first settlement by the whites, were the Senecas, Cayugas, Mohawks, and Oneidas. The Senecas, the most numerous, and Cayugas, occupied the lower part, and the Oneidas and Mohawks the upper part of the reservation, which was nine miles north and south, and six miles east and west, on the east side of Sandusky river. The land was held in joint stock, and each had the privilege of making such improvements as he wished.

“They numbered about 600, and were not bad in general character, but friendly and kind when well treated, and not maddened by whiskey, for which they had a strong passion. I have known them to offer two or three dollars worth of goods for a quart of whiskey, and, when intoxicated, would give any thing they possessed for it.

“They depended upon hunting largely for subsistence, in which, when children, they commenced by shooting fish and small game with the bow.

“Most of the Indians and squaws cultivated each a small piece of land, varying from a half to two acres, which they formerly did with a hoe; but seeing us use the plow, and the amount of labor saved thereby, they concluded to abandon the custom of their fathers. Seeing two Indians plowing on the opposite side of the river one day, I crossed over, and discovered them going the wrong way over the land, throwing the furrows in, and next time running inside of it, and then another, which they thought very well, until I turned them the other way, and gave a little instruction, which they thankfully received. They raised a soft corn, which they pounded into meal, and used to thicken soup.

“They had much idle time which they all liked—the children spending it shooting, the old people smoking from the pipes made in the heads of their tomahawks, with an adjustable handle for a stem. They smoked the sumac leaves dried and pounded, which gave a pleasant odor.

“The young Indians had a love for sports. Their chief summer game was ball—a game in which ten or twelve to a side engaged, the ground being marked off in a space of about sixty rods, the centre of which was the starting point. Each player had a staff some five feet long, with a bow made of rawhide on one end, with which to handle the ball, as no one was allowed to touch it with his hands. At the commencement the ball was taken to the centre, and placed between two of the staffs, each pulling towards his outpost, when the strife began to get it beyond the outpost by every one, the success in which counted one for the victor, when the ball was

taken to the centre again, and a new contest began. The squaws and older Indians constituted the witnesses to these sports, and added zest by their cheers.

“The favorite winter sport was running upon skates. They would spread a blanket on the ice, run and jump over it, each trying to excel in the distance he made beyond.

“Another favorite sport was to throw upon the snow, to run at the greatest possible distance, *snow snakes* made of hickory wood, about five feet long, one and a half inches wide, a half inch thick, turned up at the point like a snake’s head, and painted black.

“The Mohawks and Oneidas had some very well educated people, and most of their tribes could read and write. They had religious services every Sabbath, in the form of the Church of England, held by a minister of their own tribe. They were excellent singers, and attracted the whites often, which pleased them much.

“The Senecas and Cayugas were more inclined to adhere to the customs of their forefathers. They held in reverence many gatherings. The green corn dance was prominent among them; but that most worthy of note was the Great Dance, which took place about mid-winter, and lasted three days, at the close of which they burned their dogs.

“Great preparation was made for this festival. Provisions in great abundance were collected to constitute a common store from which all were fed. The two dogs were selected, often months in advance, well fed and made fat. They were as near alike as possible, and white, with yellow spots. When the time for the festival arrived, the dogs were killed (but in what way I never learned), washed clean as possible, trimmed with pink ribbons about the neck, each leg and toe, and about the tail. After the hair over the entire bodies was carefully smoothed, they were hung up by the neck to the arm of a post similar to a sign post, where they remained through the services.

“The dance was held at the council house, built of logs about 20 feet wide and seventy-five feet long, with three holes in the roof to allow the smoke to escape. At these places fires were kept burning during the season, over which were suspended brass kettles containing provisions.

“At this time, strong as was their appetite for whiskey, none was allowed on the premises; and any intoxicated person appearing, was sent off at once.

“All things being ready, their war dance began, which was participated in by none but those fit for the service of warriors. Blue Jacket led the band. Each carried a war-club in his right hand, and had tied to each leg a quantity of strung deer-hoofs, which rattled at every step. The object was to assist in keeping time to the music, which consisted of an Indian sing-song and the beating with a stick on a dry skin stretched over a hominy block.

“When the music commenced, Blue Jacket would step out and

move around the fire, exerting himself to display some warrior's exploit. About the second round, others would fall in, and continue till the ring round the fire was full, all moving with their faces to the fire, till a change in the music, when they would turn their faces out, and at a different change would trail in single file, all the while keeping time to the music.

"While the Indians were thus engaged, the squaws formed another ring around another fire, but moved very slow. They would tip on their heels and toes alternately, and endeavor to move with the music.

"At meal time all were seated with wooden bowls and ladles, when they were served by those appointed, till all were satisfied. Then all were quiet awaiting the next scene. Soon a rumbling noise at the door, in one end of the house, would start the squaws and children to the opposite end, and the door flying open, an Indian came in wrapped in a bear or some animal skin, wearing a hideous false face, and carrying a dry turtle shell filled with small stones, which he would throw about. This, added to his low, growling noise, and menacing way of head, made a frightful object. Almost immediately after, the door at the other end would open, and a similar character enter, and soon another drop from the roof, who, striking his hands, proceeded to throw embers and live coals in every direction, among the rushing crowd. After this performance, these demons, as they were represented to be, contested in a foot-race, and, at the end of the third day, they burnt their dogs.

"Although much mirth was indulged in, there was a sort of solemnity maintained throughout the entire services."

The following is a list of the enrolled membership of the Seneca County Pioneer Association :

Mrs. Ann E. Seney, born in Pennsylvania, and moved to Tiffin in 1831.

Mrs. Nancy Ellis, born in Fairfield county, moved to Eden township in 1820.

Mrs. Margaret Campbell, born in Maryland, and moved to Tiffin in 1830.

Mrs. Sally Cary, born in Champaign county, and moved to Fort Seneca in 1819.

Mrs. Elizabeth Snook, born in Champaign county, removed to Fort Seneca in 1819.

Mrs. Sarah Huss, born in Virginia, moved to Tiffin in 1825.

Mrs. Elizabeth Kridler, born in Pennsylvania, moved to Tiffin in 1831.

William Toll, born in Virginia, moved to Tiffin in 1824; died March 19, 1871, in Toledo, and buried near Tiffin.

Benjamin Pittenger, born in Maryland, moved to Tiffin in 1825.

John Souder, born in Pennsylvania, moved to Clinton township in 1826.

Luther A. Hall, born in New York, moved to Tiffin in 1833.

Morris P. Skinner, born in Pennsylvania, moved to Louden township in 1833.

Nancy M. Stevens, born in New York, moved to Tiffin in 1827.

Daniel Cunningham, born in Maryland in 1804, and moved to Tiffin in 1834.

Samuel Kridler, born in Pennsylvania, moved to Tiffin in 1823—deceased.

Jacob Bouer, born in Maryland in 1809, moved to Seneca county in 1826.

Michael Freer, born in New York, moved to Bloomfield township in 1834.

Christ. C. Park, born in Pennsylvania, moved to Tiffin in 1830.

Mrs. Jane Dawalt, born in Pennsylvania, moved to Tiffin in 1824.

Mrs. S. B. Baker, born in Pennsylvania, moved to Bloom township in 1821.

David B. King, born in Pennsylvania, moved to Tiffin in 1830.

Mrs. Ann E. Park, born in Pennsylvania, moved to Tiffin in 1830.

Polly Stewart, born in New York, moved to Eden township in 1821.

George L. Keating, born in Muskingum county, moved to Seneca county in 1825.

Jane Boyd, deceased, born in Pennsylvania, moved to Bloom township in 1822.

Lewis Baltzell, born in Maryland, moved to Tiffin in 1829.

Abel Rawson, born in Massachusetts, moved to Tiffin 1826, died August 24, 1871.

William Lang, born in Bavaria, Germany, and moved to Tiffin in 1833.

Lorenzo Abbott, born in Massachusetts, moved to Seneca county in 1822.

James Doman, born in Pennsylvania, moved to Tiffin in 1828.

William Raymond, born in New York, moved to Reed township in 1823.

Rezin W. Shawhan, born in Virginia, moved to Tiffin in 1833.

Elijah Musgrove, born in Virginia, moved to Scipio township in 1824.

James McEwan, born in Pennsylvania, moved to Clinton township in 1823.

Henry Ebbert, born in Pennsylvania, moved to Clinton township in 1831.

E. G. Bowe, born in Delaware, Ohio, April 5, 1818, was brought by his parents to Tiffin in June, and was the first white infant in the county, his father, Erastus Bowe, being the first white settler in Seneca county, in 1817.

Mrs. Maria Rawson, born in Arthur, Ohio, located in Fort Ball in 1824.

Inman Roby, born in Virginia, located in Seneca township 1832.

- Levi Keller, born in Fairfield county, located in Tiffin in 1830.
- James Chamberlain, born in Pennsylvania, located in Seneca county in 1832.
- A. B. McClelland, born in Pennsylvania, located in Seneca county in 1830.
- Thomas R. Ellis, born in New Jersey, located in Seneca county in 1825.
- Frederick and Elizabeth Kishler, born in Pennsylvania, located in Tiffin in 1830.
- Joseph Heirne, born in Pennsylvania, located in Clinton township in 1828.
- Samuel Heirne, born in Pennsylvania, located in Clinton township in 1828.
- John Free, born in Virginia, located in Seneca county in 1823.
- Judge and Mrs. Elizabeth Ebbert, born in Pennsylvania, located in Tiffin in 1831.
- Mrs. Maria Shawhan, born in Maryland, located in Seneca county in 1821.
- Lyman White, born in New York, located in Seneca county in 1838.
- Dr. Henry Kuhn, born in Maryland, located in Tiffin in 1827.
- Joseph Richards, born in Pennsylvania, located in Clinton township in 1823; died, 1871.
- Henry Davidson, born in Pickaway county, Ohio, located in Seneca township in 1832.
- Jacob M. Zahm, born in Bavaria, Germany, located in Thompson township in 1832.
- Miron Sexton, born in Connecticut, located in Clinton township in 1833.
- Hugh Welch, born in Pennsylvania, located in Seneca county in 1819.
- Sylvester B. Clark, born in Virginia, located in Tiffin in 1833.
- Mrs. Catharine F. Louder, born in Virginia, located in Seneca county in 1830.
- Nathaniel L. Spielman, born in Maryland, located in Seneca county in 1830.
- John Williams, born in Fairfield county, Ohio, located in Seneca county in 1821.
- Enos Cramer, born in Maryland, located in Seneca county in 1831.
- DeWit C. Pittenger, born in Seneca county in 1836.
- Mrs. Margaret Watson, born in Pennsylvania, located in Seneca county in 1830.
- Mrs. Elizabeth Dorsey, born in Pennsylvania, located in Seneca county in 1836.
- Mrs. Hannah Herrin, born in Maryland, located in Seneca county in 1833.
- Lewis Seewald, born in Bavaria, Germany, located in Seneca county in 1833.

James H. Sohn, born in Pennsylvania, located in Seneca county in 1834.

Robert Nichols, born in Virginia, located in Eden township in 1831.

Arthur Morrison, born in Jefferson county, located in Clinton township in 1831.

Mrs. Jane Dildine, born in Pennsylvania, located in Clinton township in 1829.

James Griffin, born in Virginia, located in Eden township in 1831.

L. A. Myers, born in Perry county, located in Seneca township in 1831.

Hezekiah Searles, born in Fairfield county, located in Eden township in 1825.

Eliza A. Searles, born in Pennsylvania, located in Eden township in 1825.

R. M. C. Martin, born in Perry county, located in Eden township in 1830.

Mrs. Barbara, born in Seneca county in 1831.

Jacob Price, born in Virginia, located in Seneca county in 1822.

Mrs. Mary Price, born in Pennsylvania, located in Seneca county in 1830.

Henry H. Schocks, born in Pennsylvania, located in Seneca county in 1830.

Mrs. Margaret Schocks, born in Maryland, located in Seneca county in 1830.

James S. Latham, born in Seneca county in 1828.

Richard and Elizabeth Jacque, born New York, located in Seneca county in 1822.

John Wax, born in Perry county, located in Seneca county in 1835.

Sarah Wax, born in Franklin county, located in Seneca county in 1822.

Jacob Hassler, born in Pennsylvania, located in Seneca county in 1834.

Ann Hassler, born in Stark county, located in Seneca county in 1834.

Mrs. E. J. Watson, born in Washington county, located in Seneca county in 1845.

Eli Winters, born in Jefferson county, located in Seneca county in 1836.

Henry Guiger, born in Baden, Germany, located in Seneca county in 1835.

Thomas West, born in New York, located in Seneca county in 1822.

George McLaughlin, born in Pennsylvania, located in Seneca county in 1825.

Joseph Miller, born in Pennsylvania, located in Seneca county in 1834.

Archibald Stewart, born in Pennsylvania, located in Seneca county in 1825.

Weltha C. Stewart, born in Vermont, located in Seneca county in 1846.

William Davis, born in Pennsylvania, located in Seneca county in 1825.

On the 11th of October, 1829, Benajah Parker, a resident of what is now Fort Seneca, in Pleasant township, was stabbed by an Indian of the Seneca nation, named Peter Pork. It appears that the Indian, who had been drinking, called at Parker's house, and asked for whiskey. Angry words ensued on its being refused, and while Parker was attempting to force the Indian out of doors, the latter drew a knife, and with a back-handed stroke, inflicted a dangerous wound in the side of the former. Parker lingered for several months and died.

Peter Pork, as soon as he had committed the deed, fled to his cabin, and prepared to defend himself. Having placed his tomahawk under his bed, and his knife in the wall at the head, he laid down to sleep. He was a stalwart Indian—the whole tribe standing in awe of him. The neighbors in the vicinity soon assembled near his house, and while asleep, they secured his tomakawk and knife. He was then awakened—but not until after a severe contest was he secured and placed in confinement.

On the 28th of April, 1830, he was tried by the court of common pleas of this county, and found guilty of 'stabbing with intent to kill.' He was sentenced to three years' confinement in the penitentiary.—*Butterfield's History of Seneca County.*

Dr. Kuhn removed from Woodsborough, Frederick, Maryland, in August, 1827. He was the second physician in Tiffin, Dr. Stewart, who had died the year previous, having preceded him. Of all his old cotemporaries of the medical profession, he is the only survivor. Among those who were residents of Tiffin, when he removed to the place, were the following:

Josiah Hedges, proprietor of the town; Benjamin Pittenger, and John Pittenger, merchants; Richard Sneath and George Park, tavern keepers; Jacob Reed, John Galbraith, Samuel Kreidler, Thomas Loyd, George Saul, George Donaldson, Solomon Kuder, Wm. Toll, David Bishop, David Betz, Joseph Walker, John Walker, Jacob Plain (postmaster), Joseph Biggs, William Hunter, and Henry Cronise.

And at Fort Ball were the following:

Abel Rawson (lawyer); Milton McNeal (merchant); Neil McGaffey (county clerk); Dr. Eli Dresbach; Jesse Spencer (proprietor

of Fort Ball); Elisha Smith (tavern keeper); David Smith (chair maker), and Samuel Hoagland.

Tiffin was walled in by a dense forest, and the principal street (Washington) was encumbered by fallen timber, stumps, etc., to a degree that seriously obstructed travel. At the suggestion of Dr. Kuhn, a portion of one day in each week was devoted to the purpose of "niggering" the logs, and the removal of the stumps and roots, so as to make a passage for teams and pedestrians. The doctor and Judge Pittenger undertook the work of opening Market street. Crossing the river in a canoe, the moment the bow struck the opposite shore, the doctor seized his axe, and, rushing partly up the bank, buried the blade in the trunk of a linn tree; and, turning to Judge Pittenger, exclaimed:

"I struck the first blow in the work of clearing the west end of Market street; and you will make a note of the fact."

There being no cleared ground suitable for the burial of the dead the doctor devoted the larger portion of three weeks of his personal time to the work of clearing the timber for a cemetery.

Among the early settlers in Tiffin, was Dr. Eli Dresbach, a very young man, who had gone there to practice medicine. He was born in Pennsylvania, but removed, when a small boy, with his parents, to Pickaway county, Ohio.

He was a pupil of the late Dr. Luckey, of Circleville, and a graduate of the Ohio Medical College.

Like most of the pioneers of the northwest, he had, as the best part of his outfit, good, industrious habits, with a full share of self-reliance. Unlike a vast number of the human family, he had not mistaken his vocation.

Nature had fitted him for the profession of medicine, by the endowment of certain qualities deemed essential to success. He loved his profession, and was proud of it. All his life he was a close student, keeping abreast with the best men of his time. He was a most uncompromising enemy of quackery, in all its phases, and under all its disguises.

His professional popularity, among all classes, was truly wonderful. It is a good thing to possess popular favor,—better still, the merit to deserve it. Dr. Dresbach was fairly entitled to the honors of both.

Touching this subject, we may rightfully appropriate a line from the "Deserted Village," and say, with the poet:

"A man he was to all his country dear."

The doctor was a man of fine presence, somewhat below the medium height, of robust frame inclining to corpulency, nervo-sanguine temperament, light blue eyes and fair complexion, a good talker, a most agreeable companion, and a polished gentleman. He was never married.

His widespread reputation for eminent skill, forced upon him a very large professional business. Finally, this constant strain of mind and body, for more than a quarter of a century, began to make serious inroads upon his health. Other causes, doubtless, contributed to the same end. Travel and a change of climate, it was hoped, would prove beneficial; kind, loving friends did all in their power, but all without avail. He died April 14, 1853, at the age of fifty years.

Dr. Dresback was fond of a good story, and used to relate many amusing incidents in his own life. We will give only one:

Two neighbors, Smith and Jones we will call them, lived on opposite sides of Wolf Creek, five or six miles from town. As Mrs. Smith was suffering a great deal one day, it was so arranged that if she grew worse during the night, a signal should be given by blowing the horn, and thereupon Mr. Jones would make all haste to fetch the doctor. Before midnight the signal was given, with an emphasis that soon aroused Jones. It was a terrible night for any one to be out:

—————“ Ah! bitter chill it was,
The owl, for all his feathers, was acold.”

An obstetric call could not be put off till morning, by sending a prescription; so the doctor was soon in his saddle, and, two miles out from town, taking Mrs. Levi Creecy behind him on his horse, he plunged across the country, through woods and brush, and over fallen timber. Finally, after much tribulation, the party drew up on the east bank of Wolf Creek, and began to reconnoitre. Smith had agreed to be in waiting with a canoe to take them across, as the water was too high for fording. Smith made no appearance that night, but his house stood in the distance dark and silent. Mrs. Smith had evidently got better, and the whole family were sound asleep. The party called and shouted till they were tired, and, after resting awhile, repeated the experiment. At last, heartily disgusted and half frozen, they went back to their homes.

A few nights after this, the same mellow horn might have been heard discoursing sweet music; but this time it had no charms for Jones. Jones may have read the story of the shepherd boy, who used to cry “ wolf,” till nobody would believe him. The Smith family were left in the lurch.

Rodolphus Dickinson settled in 1826; Abel Rawson opened a law office in Fort Ball in 1824.

A. G. Pennington was a student of Mr. Rawson in 1841, and has since continued practice in Tiffin—being now the senior member of the Seneca county bar.

Judge Lang commenced his studies with the late Joshua Sney, completed them with Oliver Cowdery, was admitted in 1812, and is the second oldest lawyer in practice; W. P. Noble is the third on the list.

The late Anson Burlingame, for many years a member of Congress from Massachusetts, and subsequently United States Minister to China, and finally accredited, by the Chinese Emperor, as Ambassador to represent his government at the various European Courts, and to the government of the United States, passed about eight years of his boyhood in Eden township, Seneca county, near the town of Melmore. His father, Joel Burlingame, was a local preacher of the M. E. Church, and removed to the place above-mentioned in 1823. Among his day and Sunday school mates, at the little log school house in the neighborhood, was General William H. Gibson, of Tiffin. His first teacher in the day school, Mrs. Electa Hunter, is now a resident of Green Springs. When his father removed to Seneca county, Anson was about five years of age. He was regarded, in the neighborhood of his residence, as one of the most promising and exemplary boys, and was a general favorite.

There are many of his kindred now residents of Seneca county. His father was a natural frontiersman—removing to Seneca when the county was sparsely settled—residing in a small log cabin—his means never adequate to afford himself and family any other than a meagre support, and finally pursued his westward course, drifting in advance of the tide of civilization, until he reached the shores of the Pacific ocean, where he died several years ago.

Joseph Burnside, in June, 1872, had occupied the farm in Clinton township, about one mile southeast of Tiffin, for a period of fifty consecutive years—having removed to it in June, 1822.

Messrs. Benjamin and John Pittenger, when they were engaged in mercantile business, had their goods transported by wagons from Baltimore to Tiffin.

John Park (merchant in 1833,) established, in that early day, a "one price store." Upon receipt of a certain invoice of goods, he marked up a piece of calico at $37\frac{1}{2}$ cents per yard, and sold a dress to a woman at that price. The remaining portion of this particular piece of goods remained upon the shelf some two years. One day a lady called and inquired the price, and was informed that, as the goods had been on the shelf so long a time, he would let her have what she required for 30 cents per yard. Having made the sale at this reduced price, he refunded to his first customer the difference between the two rates.

Richard Jaque and wife, near Melrose, married in 1809, are yet living together. In the war of 1812-15, he was a scout in the United States service on the St. Lawrence river. He was born April 9, 1787, in Columbia, New York, and settled in Seneca county, October, 1822.

The following are the census returns of Seneca county, for the decennial periods from 1830 to 1870, inclusive:

In 1830.....	5,159
In 1840.....	18,128
In 1850.....	27,104
In 1860.....	30,868
In 1870.....	30,827

This reduction in the population of the county, occurring during the decennial period ending in June, 1870, is an evidence of the thrift of the agricultural interests. Where a given section of land was heretofore occupied by a half dozen families, one among the most successful farmers has bought out his neighbors, and the latter have removed to the cheaper acres of the west. This process has been going forward in other counties in the wealthiest agricultural districts of the State, during the last twenty years. While the tendency has been to depopulate, it has not diminished the wealth of the country, but the importance of the towns has been augmented, as the following figures will explain :

Tiffin—population in 1850.....	2,718
“ “ 1860.....	3,992
“ “ 1870.....	5,648

The consolidated towns of Risdon and Rome, now known as Fostoria, had,

In 1850.....	677
In 1860.....	1,027
In 1870.....	1,733

While Tiffin and Fostoria have exhibited a growth so remarkable, other towns have declined. This is particularly the case with Republic, which, in 1850, numbered 917; in 1860, declined to 636, and, in 1870, to 481.

Value of lands in Seneca county in 1871.....	\$11,630,840 00
Value of chattel property.....	4,234,020 00
Total.....	\$15,864,860 00
In Tiffin—Value of real estate.....	\$ 1,286,511 00
“ Value of chattel property.....	751,323 00
Total.....	\$ 2,037,837 00
In Fostoria (Loudon township)—Real estate.....	\$ 429,216 00
“ “ Chattel.....	477,333 00
Total.....	\$ 906,549 00
In Green Springs (Adams twp.)—Real estate.....	\$ 57,237 00
“ “ Chattel.....	234,624 00
Total.....	\$ 291,861 00
In Republic (Scipio twp)—Real estate.....	\$ 77,126 00
“ “ Chattel.....	173,031 00
Total.....	\$ 250,157 00
In Attica (Venice twp.)—Real estate.....	\$ 52,420 00
“ “ Chattels.....	238,894 00
Total.....	\$ 291,314 00
In New Riegel (Big Springs twp)—Real estate.....	\$ 32,240 00
“ “ Chattels.....	157,869 00
Total.....	\$ 190,109 00

In Melmore (Eden twp.)—Real estate.....	\$ 28,416 00
“ “ Chattels.....	226,212 00
Total.....	\$ 254,628 00

PUBLIC PROPERTY.

Value of court house.....	\$ 30,000 00
Value of jail.....	10,000 00
Value of Infirmary.....	75,000 00
Total.....	\$ 115,000 00

The following is a list of county officers for 1872 :

Wm. M. Johnson, probate judge ; Isaac Hagey, auditor ; William Lang, treasurer ; J. C. Millhine, clerk of common pleas court ; Frank Baker, prosecuting attorney ; John Wesley, sheriff ; Wm. De Witt, recorder ; P. H. Ryan, surveyor ; H. D. Rakestraw, D. E. Majors, and S. M. Ogden, commissioners ; U. P. Coonrod, Eden Tease, G. W. Bachman, infirmary directors.

The public schools of Tiffin employ twenty teachers, who give instruction to 970 pupils, with an average daily attendance of 69 per cent.

The three Catholic schools have in charge the education of about 500 pupils. The Ursuline Convent, founded in 1862 by four nuns of that order from Cleveland, is under the management of an able corps of teachers, and possesses advantages for the accommodation of 100 boarding pupils.

Heidelberg College employs six professors, and has an average attendance of 175 students. It is the first organized, and, as yet, only Collegiate Institution in northwestern Ohio, having been opened November 11, 1850, by Rev. J. H., and Rev. R. Good, of the German Reformed Church.

The city also contains eleven churches, including one Episcopalian, one Presbyterian, one Baptist, one German Catholic, one Irish Catholic, one Methodist, one Methodist Episcopal, two Reformed, one Lutheran, and one Albright.

The Citizens' Hospital and Orphan Asylum is an institution situated on a plat of forty acres, one mile from Tiffin, founded by Rev. J. L. Bihn, in 1868, and conducted by the sisters of St. Francis.

In connection with the college is a Theological Seminary, open to students of all denominations, who may desire to avail themselves of its advantages. One hundred and five ministers have been educated at the institution, and the average attendance is about twenty-five.

The business houses of Tiffin include ten dry goods ; nine millinery and fancy goods ; three clothing ; six boot and shoe ; one hat and cap ; four jeweler ; three book and stationery ; five drug ; five hardware ; twenty-two grocery ; three tobacco and cigar ; four con-



Charles W. Hiles

fictionary; four furniture; three crockery; three saddlery; four photograph galleries; seven produce dealers, and seven hotels and boarding houses.

In manufacturing industries, there are three foundry and machine shops; Tiffin Agricultural Works; Ohio Stove Works; Tiffin Woollen Mills; one churn and wooden ware factory; one pump do; two bent wood do; one paper board mill; one handle factory; two planing mills, manufacturing sash, doors, blind, etc.; three carriage factories; three wagon do; one flax and one wool carding mill; one foundry; one tile factory; one wool stirrup do; one boiler do; five flouring mills; three saw mills; two stove factories; two marble do; three bakeries; three breweries; two distilleries; two tanneries; two asheries; five cigar manufactories; four lumber yards, and six lime kilns.

The newspapers of Tiffin are well conducted, and consist of the *Advertiser*, by J. M. Armstrong and J. M. Myers; the *Tribune*, by Lockes & Blymer, and the *Star*, by White & Foster.

Next in importance to Tiffin is Fostoria, of which future city Mr. Charles W. Foster being the founder, a brief personal sketch of him is here introduced.

Mr. Foster was born in Rockfield, Worcester county, Massachusetts, November 21, 1800; and, in about 1820, his father and family removed to western New York, then a sparsely settled country. On the 7th of June, 1827, at Cambridge, Washington county, New York, he married Miss Laura Crocker; and, during the same year, removed to Seneca county, Ohio, and from thence, in October, 1832, to the place now known as Fostoria; and, jointly with his father-in-law, John Crocker, and his brother-in-law, Roswell Crocker, entered about 2,000 acres of unimproved land, in the town and neighborhood. Immediately after the arrival of the party, the town of Rome, in Seneca county, adjoining the Hancock county line, was laid out, and in November a store of goods was opened. The rival town of Risdon, located, one-half in Seneca and one-half in Hancock county, was platted about the same time by John Gersuch—the town being named after the surveyor, David Risdon.

In the last named town a store was established, about the same time with the one of Mr. Foster and his associates; but the latter has continued, under a modification of partnership, and commencing forty years ago, with a capital of two thousand dollars, and sales of goods the first year not exceeding three thousand dollars, and those chiefly a barter trade—furs and skins being the chief medium of exchange—the house has now a paid up capital of \$75,000, and last year's sales reached \$139,000; and the outside business of the firm, including the trade in wool, grain, pork, lumber, etc., amounted, in cash, to over one million of dollars.

There are few instances of business success in the Maumee Val-

ley that have been more marked, than that of Mr. Foster. With the exception of R. W. Shawhan, of Tiffin, there is not one of his contemporaries who, in 1832, were engaged in merchandise, and now pursuing the business. During this long period of business life, Mr. Foster was never a party to a contested law-suit. He has in some instances been compelled to bring suit against parties removing out of the country, or manifesting indifference to their obligations; but his extensive business has been generally conducted amicably and satisfactorily to all with whom he has had dealings.

Among the first enterprises of public value that seemed a necessity, was the erection of a saw and grist-mill—the mills of Tiffin being the nearest—and, in about 1834, Roswell Crocker, with the aid of his father and brother-in-law, built a saw-mill, and in 1836 a grist-mill. These mills drew custom from distant settlements, and proved highly beneficial to the new town and country.

The town of Risdon, after the consolidation of the two places in the year 1852, transferred its business activity to Rome, and the point now known as Fostoria, where it will have a permanent and prosperous abiding place. To Mr. Charles W. Foster, and to his son, Hon Charles Foster, and to their enterprise and foresight—affording substantial aid to every proposition which gave a reasonable promise of advancing the moral and material growth of the place—is this recently isolated inland town indebted for the rank it now holds, and for the promise of continued growth. Starting the town in the wilderness, with his courageous partners, and with an adjoining rival to contest the field, there are not many who would not, during some of these forty years that are past, have yielded a conflict that now, when we look back, must have appeared hopeless to one of less energy and will.

Although having passed a life of unusual activity, and achieved a degree of success rarely attending, under the circumstances, human effort, Mr. Foster now appears, at the age of seventy-three, in the very prime of vigorous manhood.

The shipments made by G. Morgan & Co., from March 1, to July 30, 1872, five months, were 3,100 barrels of eggs (220,000 dozen), and 2,500 firkins of butter.

Foster, Olmsted & Co., bought, during the year ending July, 1872, 185,000 bushels of wheat; 300,000 pounds of wool; 175,000 bushels of oats; 50,000 bushels of corn, and 5,000 dressed hogs. And other parties shipped, during the same period, about 12,000 barrels of flour; 2,000,000 feet of lumber; 7,000 hogs, and 3,000 head of cattle and horses.

Fostoria contains Presbyterian, Methodist, United Brethren, Lutheran and Catholic churches; one newspaper—the *Fostoria Review*, by Mr. Jones, editor and proprietor—one bank; four hotels (the principal being the Hayes House, W. W. Reed, proprietor); three general merchandise stores, which last year made sales amounting to

\$261,000; three provision, two jewelry, three hardware, three clothing, one drug, and two stove stores; three tin, three harness, four millinery, two dress making, and two marble establishments; two furniture sales rooms; two meat markets; two photograph galleries, and one news depot. Also, two grist and three saw mills; one stove and barrel, and one tile factory; two planing mills; two foundries; four carriage, and six blacksmith shops; one tannery; one ashery; five brickyards; two boot and shoe shops and stores, and four shoe shops; two bakery and confectionery stores, and one grain elevator.

SANDUSKY COUNTY

Was organized, according to the court record, in pursuance of an act of the General Assembly of Ohio, February 12, 1820. George Tod was President Judge of the Circuit, and Israel Harrington, David Harrold, and Alexander Morrison, Associate Judges. James Williams was appointed clerk *pro tempore*; “whereupon,”—so the record reads—“the sheriff returned the *venire* for the grand jurors, and it appearing that the *venire* did not issue thirty days before the return, the array being challenged, the panel was questioned; whereupon the sheriff was ordered to select a new jury from the bystanders, and the following persons being called, appeared, to wit: Joshua Davis, Elisha W. Howland, Jonathan H. Jerome, William Morrison, Josiah Rumery, Nicholas Whittinger, William Andrews, Ruel Loomis, James Montgomery, Caleb Rice, Robert Harvey, Thomas Webb, Elijah Brayton, Charles B. Fitch, and Reuben Bristol; whereupon Charles B. Fitch was appointed foreman, and took the oath prescribed by law; and his fellow-jurors, after taking the same oath, received a solemn charge from the court and retired.

“Upon application, David Baker was appointed Inspector of the County of Sandusky, and entered into bonds according to law.

“Willis E. Brown produced his commission as Sheriff of the County of Sandusky, and was sworn to execute the duties of his office in open court.

“Phillip B. Hopkins is appointed clerk *pro tempore*.”

Election Notice and Poll Book of Election, August 1, 1815:

Notice is hereby given to the qualified electors of the township of Lower Sandusky, to meet at the house of Israel Harrington on the 15th day of August, at 10 o'clock A. M., then and there to elect township officers, as the law directs. Said township to comprise all that part of Huron county west of the 24th range of Connecticut Reserve.

ELI S. BARNUM,	} Commis- sioners.
CALER PALMER,	
CHARLES PARKER,	

HURON, August 1, 1815.

In pursuance of the foregoing notification, the electors of Lower Sandusky assembled and made choice of Israel Harrington, Esq., for Chairman of said meeting. Elisha Harrington and Charles R. Fitch were chosen judges of election. Ephraim Johnston and Isaac Lee were appointed clerks.

At that election, the following officers were chosen:

Trustees, Israel Harrington, Randall Jerome, and Jeremiah Everett; township clerk, Isaac Lee; overseers of the poor, Morris A. Newman, and William Andrews; fence viewers, Isaac Lee, and William Ford; appraisers, Charles B. Fitch, and Henry Dubrow; lister, Charles B. Fitch; supervisors, William Andrews, and Morris A. Newman.

Israel Harrington, who died in 1841, was one of the early "inn-keepers" at Lower Sandusky;—was a good citizen and neighbor, and understood how to conduct a house of entertainment. Colonel Richard M. Johnson, of Kentucky, after the battle of the Thames, in which conflict he received a painful wound, was a guest, during several days, under the hospitable roof of Mr. Harrington.

Regarding the signification of the name of the county, John H. James, in the *American Pioneer*, makes the statement following:

"I have a note of a conversation with William Walker, at Columbus, in 1835-6, at which time he was principal chief of the Wyandots, at Upper Sandusky, in which I asked the meaning of the word Sandusky. He said it meant 'at the cold water,' and should be sounded San-doo-tee. He said it 'carried with it the force of a preposition.' The Upper Cold Water, and the Lower Cold Water, then, were descriptive Indian names, given long before the presence of the trader, Sowdowsky. In the vocabulary of Wyandot words, given by John Johnston, formerly Indian agent in Ohio, as printed in *Archæologia Americana*, vol. I, p. 295, the word water is given, *Sa, undustee*, or, *water within pools.*"

The late Major B. F. Stickney, in a lecture delivered before the Young Men's Association of Toledo, February 28, 1845, said:

"The remains of extensive works of defence are now to be seen near Lower Sandusky. The Wyandots have given me this account of them: At a period of two centuries and a half since, or more, all the Indians west of this point were at war with all the Indians east. Two walled towns were built near each other, and each was inhabited by those of Wyandot origin. They assumed a neutral position, and all the Indians at war recognized that character. They might be called two neutral cities. All of the west might enter the western city, and all of the east the eastern. The inhabitants of one city might inform those of the other, that war parties were there, or had been there; but who they were, or whence they came, or anything more, must not be mentioned. The war parties might remain there in security, taking their own time for departure. At the western town they suffered the warriors to burn their prisoners near it; but the eastern would not. An old Wyandot informed me

that he recollected seeing, when a boy, the remains of a cedar post, or stake, at which they formerly burned prisoners.

"The French historians tell us that these neutral cities were inhabited, and their neutral character respected, when they first came here. At length a quarrel arose between the two cities, and one destroyed the inhabitants of the other. This put an end to neutrality."

Tecumseh's brother, "the Prophet," made a visit to the Wyandots, at Lower Sandusky, as early as 1806 (says Peter Navarro), and designated four of their best women as witches, whom he appointed men to slay at midnight. This fearful deed would have been consummated, but for the timely interference of Rev. Joseph Badger, missionary to the Wyandots.

In a manuscript memoranda of Rev. R. A. Sherrard, now in possession of Mr. Butterfield, of Bucyrus, the following account is given of a trial at a term of the Sandusky Court of Common Pleas:

"When at Lower Sandusky (now Fremont), the 1st of May, 1824, I attended a term of the Court of Common Pleas of Sandusky county. The first case called was one brought by a Seneca Indian, represented by his next friend, a fourth breed Indian, a local Methodist preacher named Montgomery. The suit was brought to prove the identity and ownership of a pony horse, which Montgomery, acting for the Seneca Indian, had replevied, having found the horse in the possession of a white man, living three or four miles west of the Seneca reservation.

"The Indian's statement was, that he had raised the pony from a colt, and had been out on a hunting excursion, near where his opponent, the white man, lived, when his pony left him, and was making its way homeward, to the Seneca Reserve, when it was taken up by defendant. The white man claimed that he had raised the beast, and was its rightful owner. The plaintiff also asserted the same claim.

"The Indian had five witnesses of his own tribe, the testimony of each being directly in favor of his claim. The first of these witnesses was 'Old George,' the chief, a tall, portly man, six feet and two inches in height, and a well-proportioned figure, though over seventy years of age. I frequently met his father, whose hair was once, it is said, as black and coarse as that of a horse's tail; but when I first met him, in 1824, his hair was as white as a sheep's wool, and he was said to have passed his hundredth year.

"He was born at or near Cayuga Lake, in the State of New York, and was generally known as Cayuga George, the chief. His testimony was expected to be corroborated by four other Indians. A question suggested itself to the court (Judge Ebenezer Lane being President Judge of the circuit,) and attorneys, as to the form of oath proper to be administered to the Indian witnesses. After some deliberation, Judge Lane, through an interpreter, put the question to the chief in the following words:

“Do you believe that the Great Spirit will punish you, if you tell a lie about the horse?”

George quickly replied, and with great animation in his countenance, that he would not tell a lie for any man's horse.

The Judge then ordered the witnesses to hold up their right hand, each, and put the test to them as follows:

“You and each of you, do solemnly promise to speak the truth, as you believe that the Great Spirit will punish you, if you tell a lie about the ownership of the horse, now in dispute between the Indian and the white man;” to which they gave their assent by a nod, and the exclamation ‘Ugh!’

The Indians were then questioned, one by one, commencing with George, the chief, as to what they knew concerning the pony, or horse, in dispute; and their averment was, that the Seneca Indian who claimed the horse raised him from a colt, and that he was three years old that spring. The four witnesses of the white claimant testified directly the reverse of this, and swore that the white man had been the owner of the pony since it was a colt, had raised it, and that it was four years old that spring.

Here was a discrepancy between the witnesses of the opposing parties as to the age of the colt; and, in order to aid the jury in reconciling the conflicting testimony, the judge ordered the sheriff to call three men, who claimed knowledge of such matters, to ascertain the age of a horse by examination of his teeth.

The sheriff selected three men who professed to be endowed with this gift, and who, after a careful examination of the beast's mouth, testified that he was of the age sworn to by the Indian witnesses.—Contrary to the evidence, the jury brought in a verdict for the white man.

And thus ended that lawsuit, showing the uncertainty of the law. A number of white men raised fifteen dollars, and purchased the horse, and delivered it to the Indian, who returned to his home in the Reservation, consisting of forty thousand acres, situated on the east side of the Sandusky river, five miles above Fremont.”

And regarding the Seneca Indians, the same writer has the following:

The Ohio fragment of the Seneca tribe was an off-shoot from the old Senecas of New York. This swarm, or colony, from the old line, left it more than 200 years ago, and settled on the Sandusky river, around where Fremont now stands, and where they resided from that time until they sold out their reservation to the United States, under the treaty made at Washington city in February, 1831, —James B. Gardner being the Commissioner of the General Government.

In pursuance of this treaty, the Senecas removed to the Nesho river, west of the Mississippi, in the fall of 1831. Their reservation was sold by order of President Jackson, in the autumn of 1832.

At the time of the horse trial mentioned above, George, the

chief, and his father, were both living, but both had become old, and far advanced in life. George was the only acting chief, ruler, or head man of the Seneca tribe, and was much respected, not only by his own race, but by all the white settlers who knew him, or had any dealings with him. His word would be taken among the white people, by whom he was known, far beyond many of the white population of that country at that time. He would not suffer any thieving person, male or female, of his own, or of any other tribe, if he knew it, to live among his Indians. The punishment for theft, and other crimes, was 'club law'—the offender being clubbed outside his jurisdiction; and if the culprit returned at a future period, death by clubbing would be his portion. Murder, in all cases, was punishable by death. It was a rare crime among the Senecas, and only occurred in drunken broils."

"While at Lower Sandusky, in May, 1824," Mr. Sherrard continues, "I often met George, the chief, and his wife. She frequently visited Lower Sandusky, distant five miles from her residence, and travelled upon her pony, using a side-saddle. The Seneca women generally rode upon a man's saddle, and after the custom of men, a leg on each side the body of the horse; but they had a neat way of tucking their Indian blanket around their legs, and they all wore leggins and moccasins.

"One day George and his wife, on returning from Lower Sandusky, called at the house of Colonel Chambers, two miles above town, where Mr. Sherrard boarded; and, after being seated, George took out his pipe and filled it with tobacco, and commenced smoking. He then made enquiry of Mrs. Chambers whether she "had lost hankish, like one on neck;" at the same time pointing to the one she wore. She replied that she had not missed any as yet.

"Me know you have," said George. "Me see many on line to dry; Mohawk squaw live 'mong us; she steal one like dat on neck; me think she stole from line when dry. Next time me come, me bring him. Me no 'low Indian steal; me good man; me good in here;" at the same time placing his hand over his heart.

"Having finished this bit of discourse, he and his wife left, forgetting the twist of tobacco from which he had filled his pipe. Shortly after he was gone, Mrs. Chambers noticed the forgotten tobacco, and remarked that when he came again, she would give it to him.

"Yes," said I, "and tell him you are good woman—good in *here*."

In regard to the Indian murder, reference to which is made by Judge Higgins (pp. 282, 283), Mr. Sherrard gives the following account:

"About the year 1825, Coonstick, Steel and Cracked-Hoof, left the reservation for the double purpose of a three years' hunting and trapping excursion, and to seek a location for a new home for the tribe in the west. At the time of their starting, Comstock, the brother of the two first, was the principal chief of the tribe. On their return, in 1828, richly laden with furs and horses, they found Seneca

John, their fourth brother, chief in place of Comstock, who had died during their absence. Comstock was the favorite of the two, and they at once charged Seneca John with producing his death by witchcraft. John denied the charge in a strain of eloquence rarely equalled. Said he:

“I loved my brother Comstock more than the green earth I stand upon. I would give up myself, limb by limb, piecemeal by piecemeal;—I would shed my blood, drop by drop, to restore him to life.”

“But all his protestations of innocence and affection for his brother Comstock, were of no avail. His two other brothers pronounced him guilty, and declared their determination to become his executioners. John replied that he was willing to die, and only wished to live until next morning, to see the sun rise once more. This request being granted, John told them that he would sleep that night on Hard-Hickory’s porch, which fronted the east, where they would find him at sunrise. He chose that place because he did not wish to be killed in presence of his wife, and desired that the chief, Hard-Hickory, witness that he died like a man.

“Coonstick and Steel retired for the night to an old cabin near by. In the morning, in company with Shane, another Indian, they proceeded to the house of Hard-Hickory,—who was my informant,—who stated that a little after sunrise he heard their footsteps on the porch, and he opened the door just wide enough to peep out. He saw John asleep upon his blanket, and they standing near him. At length one of them awoke him, and he immediately rose, took off a large handkerchief which was around his head, letting his unusually long hair fall upon his shoulders. This being done, he looked around upon the landscape, and upon the rising sun, to take a farewell look of a scene he was never again to behold; and then announced to his brothers that he was ready to die.

“Shane and Coonstick each took him by the arm, and Steel walked behind. In this way they led him about ten steps from the porch, when his brother, Steel, struck him with a tomahawk on the back of his head, and he fell to the ground, bleeding freely. Supposing the blow sufficient to kill him, they dragged him under a peach tree near by. In a short time he revived, however, the blow having been broken by his great mass of hair. Knowing that it was Steel who struck the blow, John, as he lay, turned his head towards Coonstick, and said: ‘Now, brother, take *your* revenge!’ This so operated on Coonstick, that he interposed to save him; but the proposition enraged Steel to such a degree, that he drew his knife and cut John’s throat from ear to ear; and the next day he was buried with the usual Indian ceremonies, not more than twenty feet from where he fell.”

The judicial basis upon which the judgment of the Court was rendered in the foregoing case, is clearly stated in the communication of Judge David Higgins, already referred to.

Mr. Sherrard has also the following in regard to the religion of the Indians :

“Here I would offer another remark from an idea which has been discussed in connection with this matter,—which is, that I have reason to believe that the Seneca, as well as the Osage Indians, may have been sun worshippers. I reach this conclusion from the circumstance of the willingness of Seneca John to meet death on condition that his brothers would let him live until morning, to see the sun rise one more.

“The reply of George, the chief, to the missionaries, was, at all times, that their own religion was good enough; but what that religion consisted in, I have no account, further than that they had a strong native belief in a Great Spirit, that overlooked the affairs and actions of mankind. The Senecas have also a custom handed down from their ancestors, and points to their Jewish origin as one of the lost ten tribes. They have a yearly sacrifice; and for that purpose fatten a white dog—for they utterly abhor and detest any other color. At this sacrifice, the whole male portion of the tribe are convened. This statement I obtained from Colonel Chambers, in 1824, who was well acquainted with the manners and customs of the Senecas.”

A writer in the *Fremont Messenger*, Mr. Morris E. Tyler, communicates to that sprightly journal the interesting reminiscences quoted below :

“During the war of 1812, while D. P. Snow, who lived at Cold Creek (now called Castalia), was absent from home, Captain Pumpkin and a band of Indians captured the family of Mr. Snow. He instantly killed an infant. They marched the rest towards the Sandusky bay. Mrs. Snow being unable to travel, was tomahawked and scalped within a few rods of the house. The remainder of the family, two sons and one daughter, they took to their canoes. They then conveyed them to Detroit, which had been disgracefully surrendered by the coward, Hull, where they sold them to the British government. After this brutality on the part of Pumpkin and his band, he killed some of his own people, when they in revenge killed this Indian murderer, on the Stony Prairie, about one mile from the city of Fremont.

“The Indians were in the habit of watching for the United States mail, which came weekly from Columbus to the forces in this part of the State. The Indians knew the day, and awaited the arrival of the mail carriers. About twenty of the redskins secreted themselves behind logs, in an oak opening, about one mile and a half south of Fremont, up the river. On that day, General Harrison sent Colonel Ball with twenty-seven dragoons to Fort Stephenson. On their way, they were attacked by the Indians, who were defeated by Colonel Ball's force, without the loss of a single man, and the mail was saved from British inspection.

“The village and township of Ballville was named after Colonel Ball in honor of this achievement.

“James Whittaker, the first white man who settled here, was captured near Fort Pitt (now Pittsburg), by the Indians, about the year 1778, while hunting. He was compelled to run the gauntlet, and was adopted by the Wyandot tribe, and was considered one of their people.

“Elizabeth Fueks was the first white woman who settled in Sandusky county. She was captured by the Indians when she was about eleven years old, at Cross Roads, Pennsylvania, about the year 1780, and was adopted by the Wyandot Indians as one of their tribe. She was married to James Whittaker, at Detroit. They settled here at a very early day. Mr. Whittaker was an Indian trader. He died in 1806, at Upper Sandusky, after partaking with his partner, Hugh Patterson, a glass of wine which, it is supposed, contained poison, as he died very suddenly after taking it.

“At the close of the war, the following named settlers were living: Jeremiah Everett (father of Homer Everett), Israel Harrington, Morris A. Newman (father of the wife of Judge Knapp), James Nugin, and David Gallagher, who was then commissary at Fort Stephenson.

“Judge Isaac Knapp carried the mail a portion of that year, from Fort Stephenson to Fort Meigs (now Perrysburg). At that time, there was no road, and he was guided by blazes or spots made on the trees by hewing with a hatchet. The route travelled was a dangerous one. They started from Fremont, went down the river to Muskalonge creek, thence west about one mile, where they crossed the creek by fording; thence to Portage river which they crossed, where Elmore is now situated; from there by a circuitous route to Fort Meigs.

“In those days the mail carriers were men of courage and determination, as the Indians and wolves were opposed to the advancement of our system of civilization.

“Fort Stephenson was built upon the ground now occupied by Lewis Leppelman and Dr. W. B. Ames, for residences. The fort was within the square formed by Arch, Garrison, High, and Croghan streets. The fort was built of pickets twelve feet high above the ground, and the line surrounded by a ditch nine feet wide and six feet deep. The earth from this ditch was thrown up against the pickets. Within the fort were three rude structures, used by the garrison for storehouses. It was built for a garrison of 200. On the west side of the fort, the ditch was situated on the north side of High, and about the centre of Croghan street.

“Before the war of 1812, there was a large town built by the Muncie Indians, which was called Muncie village. It was situated several miles below Fremont, on the Sandusky river, on what is known as the Neil lands, at a point where a rivulet enters the river,

a few rods above a house now occupied by a man named Harrison. This village was destroyed in the war of 1812.

“Rev. Joseph Badger was the first man who preached the gospel in Sandusky county. In the year 1800, the Missionary Societies of the Eastern States desired to send missionaries to the Indians in the northern part of Ohio. At their instance, he came here and resided among the Wyandots and other tribes of Indians. The same year he returned to Blandford, Massachusetts, and afterwards returned to Ohio, and settled on the Western Reserve. Before the war of 1812, his labors were divided between the Western Reserve and the country bordering on the Sandusky and Maumee rivers. In 1812, he was appointed chaplain by Governor Meigs, was in Fort Meigs during the siege of 1813, and through the war was attached to General Harrison's command. He died in Wood county in 1846.”

The following sketch of the first Court House at Lower Sandusky, is from the pen of Homer Everett:

“The first Court House in Lower Sandusky, was erected between the month of July and the last day of December, on the site near the present residence of Hon. R. P. Buckland. The frame was then put up and covered, but not finished. The whole surrounding was then densely covered with thick oak trees. It was away out in the woods. A year or two afterwards, this frame was moved on rollers to the top of the hill, on the lots now occupied by Rev. H. Lang, and constitutes his residence. From sometime about the year 1825 or 1826, to 1840, this building was called the Court House, when our present one was completed.

“The first one was built by subscription; the location was warmly contended for by the east and west sides, each making the best offer it was able to perform. The subscription signed by the inhabitants west of the river, is dated August 1, 1823, and is quite indicative of the state of things in a monetary and pecuniary point of view. The list embraces four columns, one for the amount of cash, one for the amount of labor, one for the amount of produce, and one for the amount of material subscribed. Out of the thirty-three signers, only fifteen subscribed money, and the total amount of cash raised was only \$235. The remainder of the \$1,800, which was the total of the subscription, was signed material, labor, and produce.

“The building was first let to Cyrus Hulbert, who failed to fulfill his contract, and afterwards let to Thomas L. Hawkins, for \$2,400, the County Commissioners paying six hundred dollars in orders on the Treasury.”

The act of March 12, 1820, established the county seat at Croghansville; but Commissioners appointed by the General Assembly to review the location, in 1822, established it on the west side of the river, where it has since remained.

The fifty-ninth anniversary of Croghan's defence of Fort Stephenson was celebrated at Fremont, on Friday, August 2, 1872, by a large concourse of old residents of the Maumee Valley. The Fremont Democratic *Messenger*, August 8, 1872, concludes a notice of the celebration as follows :

"The victory of Croghan and his brave band of heroes, gave prominence to this place; to Ohio, a glorious page in history; to Croghan and his determined supporters, imperishable honors, and lustre to the American arms.

"Well may our people honor and cherish, in grateful remembrance, the brave and heroic defenders of Fort Stephenson."

Isaac Knapp located at Fort Stephenson in September, 1814. None who were then citizens of the place, survive him.

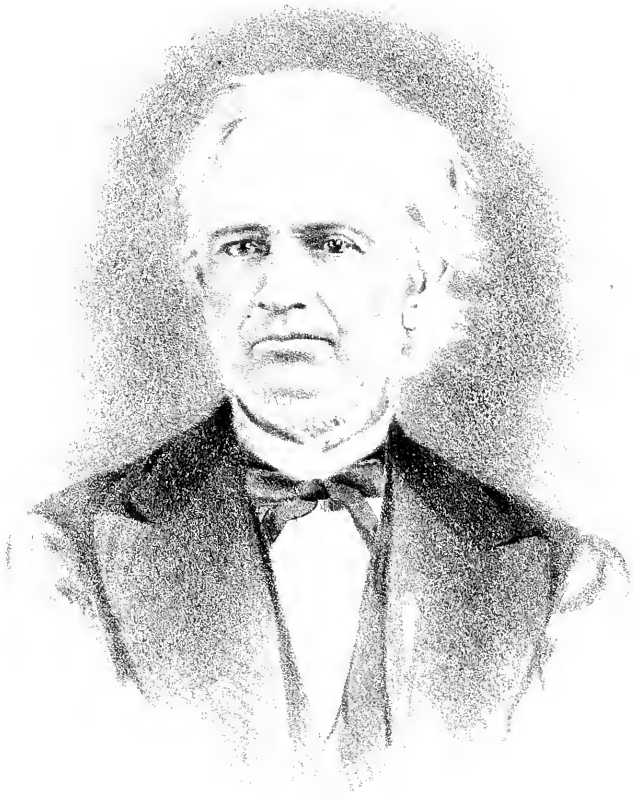
The pickets of the Fort, and the two large block houses, situated on the south line of the enclosure; the sentry-box on the southeast corner; the magazine in the northwest corner, and a large block house projecting over the picket line, and designed to cover the ditches, were then in good condition of preservation.

About ninety to one hundred men, under command of Captain Gest, garrisoned the post. The fort was evacuated in May or June, 1815. Lieutenants Thomas L. Hawkins, and Thomas E. Boswell, after the evacuation, remained at the fort, and made the place their permanent home. Morris A. Newman, from Norwalk, was military postmaster, and kept a small store. Israel Harrington was a tavern-keeper; and Messrs. Disborough and Wilson, who, in 1818, built a schooner for the lake trade, were also here. And so was Jeremiah Everett, and Josiah Rumsey—the last named building the schooner *General Brown*, in 1819. There were, also, in 1814, several French families—among them Thomas DeMasque, Joseph and Baptiste Momeny, and a Mr. LaPoint. There was also a Mr. Loomis, a Mr. Crossett, and Major Stoddard, an old man without a family, and Moses Nichols, who afterwards erected a tannery.—George Shannon had resided in the neighborhood of Fort Stephenson before the war, and married one of the daughters of the well-known Whitakers, but fled after the war broke out, and returned after Perry's victory.

Lysander Ball located in the neighborhood in 1818; and during the same year, Thomas Holcomb, and Samuel Hollinshead, the latter now of Port Clinton.

In early life, Isaac Knapp exhibited several instances of the highest order of moral courage, and which have few parallels. In addition to his military service in the war of 1812, he served, after he had many years passed the "military age" of life, in the war with Mexico, in 1846-47; and in civil life was a member of the Ohio Legislature, Associate Judge, etc.

John S. Tyler was one of the pioneers of the county. His death, which occurred January 12, 1873, was noticed in the Fremont *Messenger*, as follows :



L. S. Rawson

“Mr. Tyler was born in Cayuga county, New York, on the 25th day of December, 1803. He came to this city with his father's family from Detroit, Michigan, in 1816, and at time of his father's death had been a resident of this city for fifty-seven years. He was engaged in mercantile business in Fremont and Elmore for a number of years. He was highly esteemed by all our people as a good citizen, neighbor and friend. His family were all present at his bedside. His remains, on Tuesday afternoon, were followed by a number of our early settlers, and a large number of mourning friends, to their final resting place in Oakwood cemetery.”

DR. L. Q. RAWSON.

Three brothers, each distinguished in his sphere of life, have left their impress upon the early history of northwestern Ohio. The late Abel Rawson, Esq., of Tiffin, hitherto mentioned, was one of the oldest and most prominent members of the northwestern Ohio bar. Previous to his removal to Ohio, in 1824, he was admitted as a lawyer in his native State, Massachusetts; and at the August term of the Supreme Court, in 1825, to the Ohio bar, and established himself in practice at Fort Ball, then a rival of Tiffin, but now forming a part of that city.

Mr. Rawson closed his long and useful life on the 24th of August, 1871.

Dr. L. Q. Rawson, a younger brother of the above mentioned, was born September 14, 1804. The place of his birth, although within the established boundaries of a State, was in a place so barren and inhospitable, that it was not embraced within any civil jurisdiction. The locality was known as “Irvin's grant,” and was situated between the towns of Warwick and Wendall, in Franklin Co., Mass., and was so rough, rocky, and worthless, that neither of the adjacent towns would consent to extend over it the protection of municipal law. Hence, the doctor facetiously remarks, when approached touching the place of his birth, that he “was not born anywhere.” The locality has since, however, achieved the dignity of a lawful birth, and organized as a town called Irvin.

When the doctor was yet a boy, three or four years old, his father and family removed to New Salem, now Orange, Franklin county, Massachusetts, where he remained until he bade adieu to his friends and native State, in March, 1824, and came to Ohio. He passed some time in the counties of Geauga, Summit, and Muskingum, pursuing medical studies, until July, 1826, when, having received a license from the Ohio Medical Society, he engaged in the practice of his profession, at Tyamochtee, then Crawford county, and in December, 1827, removed to his present residence, Fremont, Ohio. He attended medical lectures, and received the degree of M. D.

from the Ohio Medical College, and the University of Pennsylvania, and continued in active practice until 1855.

On the 8th of July, 1829, the doctor married Miss Sophia Beaugrand, daughter of John B. Beaugrand, one of the early Indian traders at Maumee City, and who was engaged in business at that place on the occurrence of the war of 1812.

When he commenced practice in Lower Sandusky, in 1827, the two physicians in the place were Drs. Brainard and Hastings. He has survived many years his professional cotemporaries, and is now, at the age of 68, in full health and vigor. The general limit to his practice was west to the Portage river, from the source of that stream to its entrance into the bay at Port Clinton; on the east, Clyde, and on the south to Fort Seneca. None of the intervening streams, crossed by these several routes, were then bridged, except the river at Lower Sandusky. The inhabitants were generally poor; and even those in comparatively comfortable circumstances, and disposed to pay, had little money, and offered produce in liquidation of their physicians' bills.

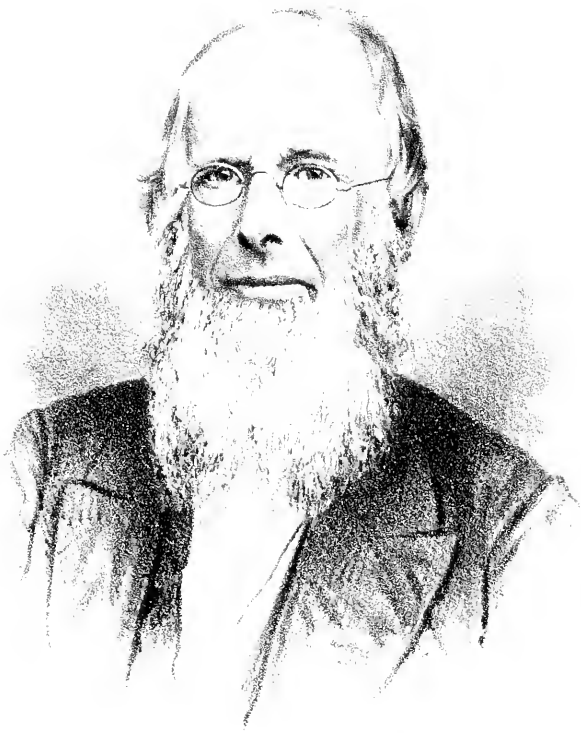
In 1834, the cholera scourge prevailed at Lower Sandusky. The people generally, at that time, regarded the disease as contagious, and the mass of them locked their doors, and refused to leave their houses, or admit visitors. Drs. Rawson and Brown, Mr. Birchard, and Judge Hulbert, discharged the several offices of physician, nurse, and undertaker. The population of the town then amounted to about three hundred, and the per cent. of deaths was large. This was the first year of the visitation of the cholera, and on no occasion of its subsequent appearance at Lower Sandusky, has the disease been attended with results so fatal.

From 1836 to 1851, he was clerk of the court—his professional business, however, rendering it necessary that the principal charge of the office be confided to a deputy.

The Louisville and Lake Erie Railway, with which the name of Dr. Rawson is so closely identified, was incorporated April 25, 1853—Charles W. Foster, L. Q. Rawson, Sardis Birchard, James Justice, and John R. Pease, being the corporators. The Company was organized on a capital of \$200,000.

The purpose was, "the construction of a railroad from the town of Fremont, in the county of Sandusky, through the counties of Sandusky and Seneca, to the town of Rome, in said county of Seneca; thence through the counties of Seneca and Hancock, to the town of Findlay, in said county of Hancock; thence through the counties of Hancock, Allen, Auglaize, Mercer, and Darke, to the west line of the State of Ohio, in said county of Darke."

In 1855, he made an effort to withdraw from professional business, and engage in railroad enterprises; and, co-operating with Mr. C. W. Foster, of Fostoria, was among the original projectors of the Lake Erie and Louisville railroad, and, to their united energies and labors, the country interested in that important work is unquestion-



S Richards

ably indebted for the progress it has made, and for the prospects of its early completion. Since his effort to relieve himself of medical practice, he has devoted his energies to the work of enlisting capital and local aid in behalf of this road. At the first organization of the company, in 1853, he was elected Director and President, and has maintained, uninterruptedly, these relations down to the present time—having, in fact, the general management of all the interests of the road.

Dr. Bass Rawson, the third brother, removed to Findlay in September, 1829, and has continued uninterruptedly and successfully the practice of his profession in that place. He is one of the oldest and most honored citizens of that city.

SARDIS BIRCHARD.

Sardis Birchard, of Fremont, Sandusky county, was born in Wilmington, Windham county, Vermont, January 15, 1801. He lost both his parents, while yet a child. His father, Roger Birchard, died in 1805; and his mother, Drusilla Austin Birchard, in 1813. Both of his grandfathers were revolutionary soldiers. His grandfather, Elias Birchard, died of disease contracted in the service near the close of the war. His grandfather, Captain Daniel Austin, served as an officer under Washington throughout the war, and survived many years. The Birchards were among the first settlers of Norwich, Connecticut.

When his mother died, five children survived her, of whom the subject of this sketch, Sardis, was the youngest. He was placed in charge of his sister, Sophia, who had married Rutherford Hayes; became one of their family, and lived with them at Dummerston, Vermont, until 1817, when he accompanied them in their emigration to Ohio.

In Vermont, young Birchard acquired the rudiments of an English education, by an irregular attendance at such schools as were in existence at that day in the country towns of Vermont; became an expert hunter and horseman for a boy of his age, and gained some knowledge of business in the store of his brother-in-law, Mr. Hayes.

In Ohio, he worked with his brother-in-law in building, farming, driving, and taking care of stock, and employing all his spare hours in hunting. He was able, with his rifle, to supply his own and other families with turkeys and venison.

In 1822, his brother-in-law, Mr. Hayes, died, leaving a widow and three young children, and a large unsettled business. Mr. B., who was barely twenty-one years old, at once assumed the duties of the head of the family, and applied himself diligently to the management of the unsettled affairs of his brother-in-law's estate, and to the care of his household.

Inheriting from his father what was then considered a handsome

start for a young man, with a jovial and friendly disposition, fond of wild sports and wild company, with no one to look up to as entitled to control or advise him, his future might well be regarded with apprehension. He was then a slender, delicate, handsome youth, with engaging and popular manners, and a favorite among the young people of the new country. Warmly attached to his sister and her children, he devoted himself to them and their interests, and was the main stay of the family.

While yet a boy, he was hired to help drive hogs to feed the first settlers at Fort Ball, now Tiffin, in 1817. The men in charge were hard drinkers, and, soon after leaving Delaware, the whole business depended on Birchard. It was in the bitterly cold weather of early winter; the roads and streams were impassable; but with an energy and spirit which delighted his employers, he pushed through to the Tymochtee, where he was met by a party of settlers at Fort Ball, to whom he safely delivered the drove of hogs. This was Mr. Birchard's first visit to the Sandusky region.

He first visited his future home, Fremont, then Lower Sandusky, in September, 1824. His companion was Benjamin Powers, for many years past a respectable citizen and successful merchant and banker of Delaware, Ohio. The young men traveled in a one-horse spring wagon, and their outfit consisted of a little extra clothing, and a jug of fine brandy. The then universal custom of the country for friends and acquaintances, on meeting, to drink together, made the brandy a by no means insignificant part of their supplies.

At Fort Ball they met Erastus Bowe, and other friends, formerly of Delaware, and had a jolly meeting, in which the brandy was not altogether neglected. At Lower Sandusky, they stopped at Leason's tavern, a log house on the east side of Front street, where Shomos' block now stands. The pickets were still standing around Fort Stephenson, and the ditch was quite perfect. The village then contained perhaps two hundred inhabitants. There was another tavern known as the Harrington tavern, and kept by Annie Williams, standing where Leppelman's store now is.

The young men made the acquaintance of George Olmsted, Elisha W. Howland, and others. They left for Portland, now Sandusky City, crossing the river at the "Old Ford," between what are now Garrison and Croghan streets, in Fremont. After his return home, Mr. Birchard, with Stephen R. Bennett as a partner, bought and drove to Baltimore, in the first cold weather of the winter of 1824-25, a large drove of fat hogs. There were two incidents of this trip which are well remembered.

The young men had to swim their hogs across the Ohio river, at Wheeling, and came near losing them all by the swift current of the river. By great exertions, and at considerable risk to themselves, they got all but four or five safely across. In the meantime, they were overtaken on the road by a tall, fine looking gentleman on horseback, who had also a carriage drawn by four horses, and two

other saddle-horses with attendants. The gentleman helped Mr. Birchard get the hogs out of the way, chatted with him about the state of the market, and the prospects of the weather, and advised him as to the best way to dispose of his hogs at Baltimore. This gentleman turned out to be General Jackson, on his way to Washington, after the Presidential election of 1824, in which he was the highest, but not finally the successful candidate.

In the summer of 1825, while mowing in the hay-field, he was seriously injured in health by over-exertion. From the effects of this, he never entirely recovered, but has remained in impaired health ever since. In the winter of 1825-26, he was confined to his bed with an attack called consumption, and it was supposed he would not live till spring. He however talked hopefully of his condition, and spoke of a horseback trip to Vermont. One day, while yet confined to his bed, he heard two men, who were at work finishing the room below him, talking of his case. One of them said:

“It is strange how Birchard is deceived. He thinks of making a long journey, soon; but the only journey he'll ever make, is when he leaves this house, feet foremost, for the graveyard.”

But the cheerful disposition of Mr. B., aided by the elasticity of his constitution, carried him through. In May he set out on horseback, making short day's journeys at first, and reached Vermont, where he remained until the approach of winter, when he travelled south to Georgia, and remained until the spring of 1826.

This year he made his first purchase of goods, as a retail dry goods merchant. He went to New York without money and without acquaintances. Passing about the streets, he fell into conversation with a young merchant, a stranger to him, named William P. Dixon, standing at the store door of Amos Palmer & Co., on the corner of Pearl street and Maiden Lane. He told the New Yorker his plans and his condition; when the latter told him he would sell him all the goods he wanted in his line, and would recommend him to others. His stock was made up and shipped to Cleveland, he accompanying the goods. His intention was to sell to laborers on the Ohio Canal, which was then being built from Cleveland southwardly. After passing down the canal into the Tuscarawas valley, he became dissatisfied with that trade, and sold part of his goods in bulk to another trader, and took the rest to Fort Ball (now Tiffin), on the west side of Sandusky river.

Here he remained, trading successfully with the new settlers, until December, 1827, when he removed to Lower Sandusky—having decided to go with Dr. L. Q. Rawson, who preceded him a few days. He was first in Lower Sandusky in business alone, in a store on the corner of Front and Croghan streets, where Betts' block now is; the store being a new one, and erected and owned by Richard Sears, who had made a fortune trading with the Indians, and who had left for Buffalo that year, in the spring. Three other stores were, one very large one, by George Olmsted, on Front street, east

side, between Garrison and Croghan, where Heffner now is—a frame two-story building. George was the earliest merchant in the place, who came with his brother, Jesse, from New York city in 1817, and established one of the largest stores in the State.

Their first store was on Front street, west side, north end of town, where Gasdorf's packing house now is. Boats came up the river, nearly to this store. Jesse S. had a store on the west side of Front street, directly opposite to Birchard's. Esbon Husted's store was in a large frame building, on the southeast corner of Front and State streets, where the Birchard block now stands,

Dry goods, groceries, hardware, crockery, salt, drugs, and school, and a few other books, stationery, whiskey, brandy, rum, wines, etc., were among the staple goods.

There were two distilleries—one owned by Ezra Williams, just at the foot of the hill, south of the pike, east of Thompson's; and the other owned by Sanford Main, at the Tyler spring. The merchants generally sold their goods for corn, and sold the corn for whiskey, which they shipped to Buffalo and New York. For clothing, broadcloths, Kentucky jeans, and linsey woolsey goods were generally in use. The Indians bought fine blue cloth, Mackinaw blankets, beads, and powder and lead.

Mr. Birchard received the Indian trade to a large extent, by refusing to sell them liquor. He was in trade three or four years, and having accumulated ten thousand dollars, considered himself rich enough to retire. About 1831, however, he formed his first partnership with Rodolphus Dickinson, and Esbon Husted—Mr. B. furnishing the capital. The firm name was R. Dickinson & Co.; and they soon had in operation one of the largest retail stores north of Columbus, and west of Cleveland, their yearly sales amounting to fifty thousand dollars.

Sales were largely on credit. He bought the first vessel with Richard Sears, each owning an equal interest. The vessel was named "John Richards," a schooner worth then four thousand dollars, and about one hundred tons burden.

The first shipment of wheat, out of Lower Sandusky, according to the best of Mr. B.'s recollection, was made on this schooner; and this shipment was probably the first sent eastward from any lake port west of Cleveland. The wheat from the ridges of Seneca county was then much sought after for starch manufacture. Wheat was then worth about fifty cents a bushel.

The Indians, with whom Mr. Birchard traded chiefly, were the Senecas. They drew an annuity from the State of New York, payable at Albany, amounting to \$1,700; and among Mr. B.'s customers, whom he trusted, during the year, were Tall Chief, Hard-Hickory, Seneca John, Curley-Eye, Good-Hunter, and others; and before the annuity was paid, he would get authority to draw the money, signed by the chiefs, and go to Albany after it. This he did three times, and once had trouble in obtaining it—the agent refus-

sing to pay money, and offering barter. This was in Silas Wright's time. The agent belonged to the Albany Regency, and Mr. B. called upon Comptroller Wright, to ask him to interpose in his favor; but the Comptroller treated his application rather coolly.—Horace Meacham, a friend of B.'s, and a forwarding merchant at Albany, went with him to the Comptroller again. Wright was quite a different man; and soon after Mr. B.'s return home, his friend Meacham forwarded him the cash.

Besides the Seneca tribe, Mr. B. traded somewhat with the Wyandots, and Ottawas. Among the Wyandots were a few Delawares. The Senecas owned a reservation, containing perhaps forty thousand acres, east of the Sandusky river, on the line of Sandusky and Seneca counties. Their principal settlement was near Green Springs. They had a mill near where Stoner's mill now stands. Their Council House was near the same place.

Mr. B. attended several of their dances in the daytime, and at night. He was present at the ceremony of burning the white dogs. The Indians danced in the Council House, in the centre of which was a fire, over which was boiling a pot of corn and meat. Their musicians had in their hands bundles of deer hoofs, which they rattled and pounded on a skin stretched over a hoop. Mr. B., Rodolphus Dickinson, Judge Justice, Mr. Fifield, and others, joined in the Indian dance. Mr. B. was the guest, at night, of Hard-Hickory—They called him Ansequago, and told him that it meant "the man who owns most of the land"—the significance of which Mr. B. could not understand, as, at that time, he was not the owner of much land. The Wyandots, and a few Delawares, were at Upper Sandusky, where they had twelve miles square. The Ottawas—"Tawas"—were on the Maumee, near the mouth of that river, and occasionally visited Lower Sandusky, in small squads.

He remembers well the death of Seneca John, mentioned in Howe's Historical Collections of Ohio (p. 459), and also by Judge Higgins, in this volume (p. 282). * * * * * Seneca

John was a tall, noble looking man, said to look very much like Henry Clay. He was always a pleasant, cheerful man, and almost always wore a smile. He was called the most eloquent speaker of his tribe. If there was anger, or ill-feeling in the council, he could always restore harmony. He was particularly admired by the squaws, and fond of buying gifts for them. He traded much with Mr. B., and on the evening before the morning of his death, was at Mr. B.'s store. The whole tribe seemed to be in town. Steel and Coonstick, half brothers of Seneca John, were jealous of his power. Mr. B. knew all the parties, and remembers well, when, on the last evening of his life, and above referred to, he bade Mr. B. good-bye. They stood together on the platform, in front of Mr. B.'s store, as the Indians went off south on their horses. He looked at them, as they moved off, with such sadness in his face that it attracted Mr. B.'s attention, who wondered at his letting them all go off without

him. Then he turned to Mr. B., and inquired the amount of his indebtedness. They went back together into the store, and passed behind the counter to the desk. The account was figured up, and the amount stated to John. Saying something about paying it, he bade Mr. B. good-bye, and went off—making no reference to his trouble.

Hard-Hickory lived about a mile below Green Springs, in a cabin yet standing, and Seneca John, the night before his execution, slept under Hard-Hickory's porch. Steel and Coonstick, at sunrise, called and waked him. John told them to kill him quick. They tomahawked him. Mr. B. obtained this statement from Hard-Hickory, who came into town that day, or the next, with Tall Chief, and told about it.

Tall Chief could not talk English well. Mr. B.'s clerk, Obed Dickinson, could talk better Indian than himself, and he asked Obed to inquire of Tall Chief if he was willing that Steel and Coonstick should be arrested? Tall Chief thought it was a great crime, and he was understood to say "yes;" but when they were arrested, Tall Chief did all he could to defend them. Tall Chief was a man of great dignity of manner and character.

Mr. B. found the Indians, in their business transactions, generally very honest. They would not steal as much as the same number of whites, with the same opportunities. He has had his store room full of Indians, sleeping all night on the floor, with no watch or guard, and sleeping in a cot near by them.

Tall Chief always settled the debts of the Indians who died—believing that "they couldn't enter the good hunting grounds of the spirit-land, until their debts were paid." He settled the bills of Seneca John, after the death of the latter.

The Indians paid for goods mostly in deer-skins, finely dressed, and in coon, muskrat, and sometimes in mink, otter, and bear skins. The Indians dressed skins much better than white men.

In 1835, Esbon Husted died, and his place in Mr. Birchard's firm was taken by George Grant, who had been a clerk in the establishment, since the formation of the firm. In 1841, Mr. Grant died, and the firm was dissolved; the business being settled by Mr. Birchard.

Rodolphus Dickinson was an educated man, being a college graduate, and having a good knowledge of the law, which profession he studied under the late Judge Gustavus Swan, in Columbus. Had he given attention to law practice, he would have been successful; but he was active in the politics of his time,—thrice elected a member of the Board of Public Works, and twice elected to Congress, and died while a member of the House of Representatives of the United States, in 1849. Mr. Grant was a man of great business capacity and energy, who died young, aged only 32. He was a tall, slender man, of fine address, and full of life and ambition.

On the first of January, 1851, Mr. B., in partnership with Lucius

B. Otis, established the first banking house in Fremont, under the name of Birchard & Otis. On the removal of Judge Otis to Chicago, in 1856, Mr. B. formed a partnership with Anson H. Miller, and Dr. James W. Wilson, under the name of Birchard, Miller & Co. In 1863, the First National Bank of Fremont was organized, and the banking house of Birchard, Miller & Co. was merged into it. It was the second National Bank organized in Ohio, and the fifth organized in the United States. Mr. Birchard was elected President of the Bank, on its organization, and yet holds the position.

There were two lawyers in practice in Lower Sandusky, when Mr. Birchard came there to reside—Harvey J. Harmon, and Rodolphus Dickinson. They were opposite in politics—Harmon supporting Jackson, and Dickinson supporting Adams. Harmon was honest and able, but indifferent to business, and fond of talking politics. He cultivated the island; but his fences were often down, and hogs and cattle gathered his crops. Mr. Birchard used to, in jest, tell him that he never got but one basket of corn from the island, and that, as he passed the corner tavern, some one engaged him in a political debate, and the hogs ate up his corn.

No churches were in Lower Sandusky in 1827. Religious meetings were held in an old log school house, that stood nearly where the new high school building now is, on Croghan street. Court was held in the same building, until the frame court house was finished, where Rev. H. Lang now lives. The preachers were, Rev. Mr. Harrington, a Presbyterian, who took up preaching in his old age. He generally put in two hours' time on each sermon. Rev. Mr. Montgomery, a Methodist missionary, lived with the Seneca Indians, near Fort Seneca. These men preached only occasionally.—Rev. Mr. Bigelow, and other Methodists, also visited the town. Samuel Treat, John Bell, Thomas Gallagher, and Thomas L. Hawkins, and their wives, all Methodists, were the only church members, now recollected by Mr. Birchard, as living in Fremont, in 1827. Judge Jacob Nyce always led the singing, in the Presbyterian meetings, but was not a church member.

Among the farmers living near Lower Sandusky, were Mr. Moore, father of James and John, who owned the mill property near Ballsville; Mr. Chamberlain, a short distance above Moore; Mrs. Tindall and sons, Daniel, William, John, and Edward; Mr. Patterson, and his sons, Danforth, and Julius.

Mr. B. attended the sales of United States lands at Delaware, about 1820, by Platt Brush, Register of the Land Office. The sale included all of the lands from Delaware county north to the State line, except the Indian reservations. The lands were sold at public auction, the minimum price being fixed at \$1.25 per acre. The sale continued two or three weeks, and large crowds of people attended. On certain tracts, there was a brisk competition in the bidding, and some land sold as high as \$10 per acre.

[The foregoing is chiefly gathered from notes embracing some of the recollections of Mr. Birchard, as communicated in a conversation with a friend, and not designed, originally, for publication. What follows, in conclusion, only embraces facts now generally known; but, unless placed upon record, would perish with this generation.]

During a period now embracing nearly half a century, Mr. Birchard has been active and conspicuous, where good words and works were required, in the promotion of every important scheme, designed to advance the welfare of the town and county of his residence.

It has already been stated, that he was connected with the first enterprise that opened river and lake commerce, between Fremont and Buffalo. Appropriations, by the State, for the construction of the Western Reserve and Maumee road, had in him an early, untrifling, and efficient friend; and, through his efforts in circulating petitions over the State (throughout which he had a large business acquaintance), to influence public opinion, and thus secure favorable legislative action, the work was doubtless completed many years earlier than it would otherwise have been.

The next and most important work that enlisted his efforts, was the enterprise of constructing the Toledo, Norwalk and Cleveland railroad; and when the scheme was struggling for existence, against the efforts of those friendly to the rival route, now known as the Northern Division, which had among its friends the late Judge Lane, of Sandusky City, and others of commanding influence. The chances were in favor of the Northern route; but Mr. Birchard, in co-operation with C. L. Boalt, of Norwalk, commenced the enlistment and organization of forces in behalf of the Southern route. A public meeting—the first one held—of those along the contemplated line friendly to this route, was appointed at Bellevue. At the time named, the “mass meeting,” it was discovered, was composed, in great part, of the citizens which Mr. Birchard had persuaded to go along with him from Fremont.

At one time, during the progress of the struggle, Mr. Boalt and Mr. Birchard pledged every dollar of their private fortunes, for the purpose of raising funds to prosecute the enterprise; and without such pledges and extraordinary personal efforts, and the encounter of such hazards, it is probable that the construction of the southern line of the Lake Shore road, would have been postponed many years. Mr. Boalt was made the first President of the road, upon the organization of the Company; and, heartily co-operating with him, Mr. Birchard, through his influence with leading capitalists in New York, was successful in obtaining the necessary means to push forward the work.

He was an active and influential member of the Whig party while it existed, and did not abandon his interest in politics after its demise; but was an earnest supporter of Mr. Lincoln and the war,



*James
R. Dickinson*

He was a purchaser at the first sale of government bonds, to carry on the war for the Union, made in Ohio in 1862.

Mr. Birchard is hospitable, warm-hearted, and friendly. In addition to contributions to religious and benevolent objects, his private charities are large. His latest and most important benefaction, affecting the public interests of Fremont, was made within the present year, in the donation by him, to said city, of a tract of ground, to be devoted to the uses of the public as a park. The *Toledo Morning Commercial*, in an elaborate notice of this donation, thus described the ground:

“The land is highly favorable in its topography, while the location could not be more eligible. It is timbered by the large trees common to the native forest of that section, while it lies at the very door of the part of the city on the hill. Improvements are already surrounding it, and in a few years it will be entirely encompassed by the population whose it is to be.”

For many years past, he has been a member of the Presbyterian church; and while free from bigotry, and tolerant of the views and conduct of others, is always found ready to support the cause of religion and morality. He never married; but almost always has a house well filled with young relatives and friends—his chief enjoyment being in contributing to the happiness of those around him.

Mr. B. has a decided taste for works of art, and derives great enjoyment from the fine collection of paintings which now adorn his residence.

RODOLPHUS DICKINSON

Was born at Whately, Massachusetts, December 28, 1797, and was a graduate of Williams College, in that State. Reaching Columbus, Ohio, early in life, he taught school, and studied law with the late Gustavus Swan, of that city; and after his admission to the bar, commenced practice at Tiffin, and was appointed, at the first term of the court of common pleas, held in Seneca county, in 1824, prosecuting attorney. Resigning this office (and the late Abel Rawson having been appointed his successor), Mr. Dickinson removed to Lower Sandusky in May, 1826; and, in 1827, was married to Miss Margaret Beaugrand, daughter of John B. Beaugrand, one of the oldest settlers of Lower Sandusky, and at an early day partner of General John E. Hunt, at Maumee City.

Connected with the inception and prosecution of the schemes of early public works, in which northwestern Ohio, particularly, was then so deeply interested, the late Mr. Dickinson occupied higher prominence than any of his cotemporaries, or official colleagues. This is true especially of those works, of so great importance and value in their day,—the Wabash and Erie Canal, and the Western Reserve and Maumee road. His official relations to these public improvements, as a member of the Board of Public Works, com-

menced in 1836, and closed in 1845, and embraced the whole period from the first letting to the final completion of the contracts; and the prosecution of work included an era of financial embarrassment the most severe the State of Ohio, in all its history, ever encountered. His influence with his colleagues, with the Board of Fund Commissioners, and with the Ohio Legislature, was generally potential; and during a series of years when the credit of the State was so prostrated, that its bonds sold as low as fifty cents on the dollar (the proceeds of sales being realized in paper of suspended banks depreciated ten or twelve per cent.), his prudent counsels contributed largely in saving the prosecution of the works mentioned, from indefinite suspension.

In 1846, Mr. Dickinson was elected to Congress, re-elected in 1848, and died soon after the commencement of his second term of service, at Washington City, on the 20th of March, 1849.

RALPH P. BUCKLAND.

“Our recent civil war,” says Mr. Barnes, in his Fortieth Congress of the United States, “the war of 1812, and that of the American Revolution, are all associated with the history of the subject of this sketch, and his immediate ancestors. His grandfather was a captain of artillery in the Revolutionary War, from East Hartford, Connecticut. He was taken prisoner by the British, and died in the Jersey prison-ship, near New York. His father went from Massachusetts to Portage county, Ohio, as a surveyor, in 1811. He enlisted as a volunteer in Hull’s army, was surrendered at Detroit, and died at Ravenna, Ohio, a few months after his return home, from disease contracted in the service.

“Ralph Pomeroy Buckland was born in Leyden, Massachusetts, January 20, 1812. His father, a short time before his death, had conveyed his family to the West, and settled them in the wilderness of Ohio. His premature death left them in dependent circumstances. Ralph was dependent upon the exertions of his mother, and the kindness of friends for support, until he was old enough to earn a living by his own labor. He had the advantage of attending the common schools of the country during the winter, and attended the academy at Talmadge during the summer of 1830. In the following autumn, he went down the Mississippi river, stopping a few months at Natchez, where he found employment as a clerk. In the spring of 1831, he was sent by his employers to New Orleans, in charge of two flat-boats, loaded with flour. He remained at New Orleans, as clerk of the cotton house of Harris, Wright & Co., until the summer of 1834, when he returned to Ohio, spent a year at Kenyon College, studied law with Gregory Powers, at Middlebury, and Whittlesey & Newton, at Canfield, and was admitted to the bar at the March term of the Supreme Court, on the Circuit, held at



Your truly
R. W. B. K. L. C.

Gallipolis in 1837. Six months of his law study, although Whittlesey & Newton were his preceptors, were in the law office of the late George B. Way, at Toledo. This embraced the period from January to June, inclusive, of 1836. During this time, Mr. Way was editor of the *Toledo Blade*, and, in his absence, young Buckland was the *ad interim* editor. In the summer of 1837, he commenced the practice of his profession at Fremont, where he now resides.

"In January, 1838, he was married to Miss Charlotte Boughton, of Canfield, Ohio. In 1848, he was a delegate to the Whig National Convention, at Philadelphia, that nominated Taylor and Fillmore. In 1855, he was elected to the State Senate, and re-elected in 1857, serving four years.

"In October, 1861, he began to organize the seventy-second regiment Ohio Volunteer Infantry, which, in three months, was fully equipped, and ready for the field. Soon after entering upon active service, Colonel Buckland was assigned to the command of the Fourth Brigade of Sherman's Division. On the 7th of March, 1862, he moved up the Tennessee river, and, on the 17th, encamped at Pittsburgh Landing—the left of his brigade resting at Shiloh church. On the 3d of April, he made a reconnoissance with his brigade four miles to the front; and on the 4th he participated in a skirmish with some of the enemy's advanced forces. On the morning of the 6th, Colonel Buckland's brigade was in line full one hour before the hard fighting began. He advanced his lines about two hundred yards on the left, and about four hundred yards on the right, and met the enemy. The fighting was desperate for two hours. During this time, the Colonel was riding along the line, encouraging his men by word and example, the rebels being repeatedly driven back. Colonel Buckland's brigade maintained its ground until ordered back by General Sherman. He was heavily engaged during the second day, and was continually in the saddle.

"On one occasion, being ordered to advance his brigade, under a very severe fire of artillery and musketry from the enemy, one of his color-bearers hesitated to move. Colonel Buckland rode to the front, seized the colors, and planted them at the desired point. His brigade instantly advanced, with cheers. General Lew, Wallace remarked, on Tuesday morning, while riding over the ground which the brigade had occupied, that, 'judging from the dead bodies, here seems to have been the best and the hardest fighting.'

"He continued in command of the brigade during the march on Corinth, until about the middle of May, when he was succeeded by General J. W. Denver. At Memphis, Tennessee, he was assigned to the command of a brigade in General Lauman's division, and formed part of the Tallahatchie expedition.

"As soon as the news reached General Grant, that General Van Dorn had taken Holly Springs, General Buckland was sent with his brigade to retake the place. This having been accomplished, he was sent to drive Forrest from his camp at Dresden, West Tennessee.

“On the 20th of March, he joined General Sherman’s corps, in front of Vicksburg, and participated in the series of battles which occurred in the movement to the rear of that place. During the siege, he was always active and vigilant, and at times much exposed. On the 22d of May, he led his brigade down the graveyard road, marching on foot to support the assault on the enemy’s works, exposed to a murderous fire of artillery and musketry. Although General Buckland was constantly exposed until all his regiments were in position, and his men shot down around him in great numbers, he escaped unhurt.

“He remained with his command, in the rear of Vicksburg, after the surrender, until the 1st of October, when his right arm was broken by the falling of his horse. By this injury, he was incapacitated for active field service, but continued to command his brigade, except for a short time, until, on the 26th of January, 1864, he was assigned to the command of the District of Memphis, where his administrative abilities were exemplified, and his integrity of character was clearly manifested.

“At the time of the Forrest raid into the city, Gen. C. C. Washburne commanded that department, with his headquarters at Memphis. General Buckland had command of the troops in the city. Most of the troops had been sent in pursuit of Forrest, under command of General A. J. Smith. Forrest eluded Smith near Oxford, Mississippi, made a rapid march to Memphis, captured the cavalry patrol, rushed over the infantry pickets, and was in Memphis before daylight, took possession of General Washburne’s headquarters, capturing his staff officers, clerks, and guards—the General escaping to the fort below the city. When General Buckland was awakened by the sentinel at the door, the rebels were in possession of a considerable part of the city, and on all sides of General Buckland’s headquarters. General Buckland rallied about 150 men, quartered near him, caused a small alarm gun to be rapidly fired, and instantly attacked the rebels at General Washburne’s headquarters, although they outnumbered him four to one. General Buckland very soon concentrated all his forces, which were stationed in different parts of the city, and followed up his attack so rapidly, and with such spirit, that in less than an hour he had driven every rebel out of the city, and attacked General Forrest’s main force just outside; and after a sharp fight of about one hour, General Forrest was in full retreat, having entirely failed in the object of his attack on Memphis. But for General Buckland, Forrest would have held the city, and captured immense stores of government property.

“General Buckland remained in command of the post of Memphis until December 24, 1864, when he resigned his commission. Without having sought or expected political favor, he had been nominated for Representative in the Thirty-Ninth Congress, while still serving in the army; and without going home to farther his interests, he had been elected by the people of the Ninth District of

Ohio. In obedience to their wishes, he left the military for the civil service of the country. During the Thirty-Ninth Congress, he served on the Committee on Banking and Currency, and on the Militia. In 1866, he was re-elected, and served throughout the Fortieth Congress."

After the close of his Congressional service, General Buckland resumed his law practice—a field of labor in which, before the war, he had attained distinction.

Although, when in practice before the war, and since his retirement from military and congressional service, he has never wanted for the best class of clients, he has found leisure to cultivate his natural taste for the beautiful in nature and art. Thirty-one years ago, in the spring of 1841, he was the first who transplanted, in front of his then residence, corner of Main and Croghan streets, the strippling maples, now large and vigorous, that adorn, and afford grateful shade during summer heats, to those whose business or pleasure calls them to that locality; and, through his persuasion, and, to a considerable degree, by means of his own liberal contributions, the same adornments were initiated, the same spring, on the outer margins of the sidewalks fronting the Court House square, and the Episcopal church. These evidences of refined culture will long endure, as testimonies of his foresight and good taste. In every public enterprise and plan of benevolence, General Buckland manifests a lively interest, and his material as well as moral aid is cheerfully given.

In March, 1870, he received the appointment, at the hands of Governor Hayes, as one of the Board of Managers of the Ohio Soldiers' and Sailors' Orphans' Home, located at Xenia; and, at the first meeting of the board following his appointment, he was elected President, which position he yet holds. The beneficent results, already realized from the establishment of this institution, are largely due, and justly awarded, to General Buckland, who has spared no personal sacrifice or care to secure the patriotic and benign purposes that dictated the founding of the Ohio Soldiers' and Sailors' Orphans' Home.

The following is a list of the Sandusky county officers, in 1872:

Clerk, J. R. Gephart; prosecuting attorney, A. B. Pullman; auditor, George W. Gurst; treasurer, J. B. Elderkin; probate judge, John L. Green, jr.; sheriff, A. Young; coroner, William Harsster; recorder, W. W. Stine; surveyor, Jeremiah Evans; commissioners, Henry Reiling, David Fuller, and Martin Longabaugh.

The census returns of Sandusky county indicate a very satisfactory progress, as follows: In 1820, 852; in 1830, 2,851; in 1840, 10,182; in 1850, 14,305; in 1860, 21,429; in 1870, 25,503.

The population of Fremont, Clyde, and of the several townships, were officially reported as follows:

TOWNS AND TOWNSHIPS.	1870	1860	1850
Ballville.....	1731	2188	1556
Fremont	5455	3510	1464
Green Creek.....	3666	2527	1289
Clyde.....	.....	701	.....
Jackson.....	1350	1478	1092
Madison.....	985	881	389
Rice.....	927	943	486
Riley.....	1461	1198	682
Sandusky (a).....	1570	1251	1040
Scott.....	1274	1264	792
Townsend.....	1290	1062	968
Washington.....	2282	1992	1499
Woodville.....	1418	1516	1237
York.....	2094	1619	1811

(a) Exclusive of city of Fremont.

The total amount of taxes collected in Sandusky county, in 1822, amounted to \$154.60. There is no record of the valuation.

The following was the valuation of Sandusky county in 1871:

In the county:—

Real property.....	\$8,452,660 00
Personal property.....	3,943,344 00
Total.....	\$12,396,004 00

And the following was the valuation of property in Fremont:

Real property.....	\$1,072,869 00
Personal property.....	768,028 00
Total.....	\$1,840,883 00

In Clyde, the following was the valuation:

Real Property.....	\$ 320,570 00
Personal Property.....	169,892 00
Total.....	\$ 490,462 00

The city of Fremont is at the head of navigation of Sandusky river, has the advantage of two railway lines—the Lake Shore and Michigan Southern, and the Lake Erie and Louisville—and, also, of the Western Reserve and Maumee McAdamized road.

The city contains nine churches,—one Presbyterian, one Episcopal, one Methodist, two Catholic, one Evangelical, one German Reformed, one German Lutheran, and one colored church.

The county affords substantial support to four newspapers—the Fremont *Messenger*, by J. S. Van Valkenburg; the Fremont *Jour-*

nal, by A. H. Balsley; the Fremont *Courier* (German), by Willmer & Knerr, and the Clyde *Independent*, by E. E. White.

In the city of Fremont, there are, also, two carriage and wagon, and five wagon shops; one foundry and machine shop, and one foundry; four flouring mills; one furniture factory; one hub and spoke do; three lime kilns, and one manufactory of lime and Freer stone; one do of steam boilers; three planing mills, manufacturing sash, doors, etc.; four saw mills; one cotton and woollen factory; two tanneries; one ashery; two breweries; one extensive pork packing house; three cooper shops; three cigar manufacturing establishments; one carding mill; three pump factories; eight boot and shoe, six blacksmith, and four tailor shops, and four bakeries.

Among the business houses are two banks—the First National, and a private bank; seven hotels, one of which is a new and expensive structure; eight dry goods, thirty grocery and provision, three clothing, three furniture, four harness and saddlery, one butter and game, four jewelry, four boot and shoe, two crockery, four drug, three hardware, and one wholesale wine and liquor store; six meat markets; four photograph galleries; twelve millinery and dress-making establishments, and four livery stables.

OTTAWA COUNTY

Was erected at the legislative session of 1839–40, being formed of territory taken from the counties of Sandusky and Erie.

Homer Everett, of Fremont, in his reminiscences, has the following touching the tribe which suggested the name for the county:

“Ottawa is an Indian word signifying *trader*, and was the name of a tribe of natives who had their home on the banks of the Maumee river, and whose hunting ground embraced this county, and other adjacent territory. The language of the Ottawas was worthy of notice. When a young man, I was clerk in the mercantile house of the late Judge Jesse S. Olmstead, at Lower Sandusky, now Fremont. The business of the house consisted, in a large degree, of Indian trade. This trade was principally with the Wyandots, of Upper Sandusky, the Senecas, who resided on a reservation, partly in Seneca and partly in Sandusky counties, and the Ottawas of Maumee.”

Historical matter, referring to pioneers and early events, is given elsewhere.

The first session of the commissioners was held at Port Clinton 13th April, 1840. Present, Ezekiel Rice, and William Gill—James Kingham, clerk. Bonds were filed by the following county officers: James Kingham, auditor; Cyrus Moore, treasurer; William B. Craighill, appraiser; Eli Foglesong, assessor; Henry J. Miller, sheriff.

The first term of court commenced at Port Clinton April 5, 1840, by Associate Judges Samuels Hollinshead, Roger Kirke, and Samuel and Gilbreath Stewart; and clerk, Stanton H. Brown. The principal business transacted at this term, was the naturalization of foreigners. The early lawyers in attendance, during several of the first terms, were John L. Green, R. P. Buckland, W. F. Sloan, Spink & Hosmer, Charles L. Boalt, Joseph M. Root, George Reber, William W. Ainer, Parish & Saddler, J. H. Magruder, Lucas S. Beecher, Pitt Cooke, and Homer Everett.

Among the pioneers of Ottawa county, were the following:

Harvey J. Miller, who removed from his native town, Putnam, Ohio, when a boy, to Huron county, and in 1832 purchased land in Sandusky (now Ottawa) county. He was engaged, during several seasons of navigation, in the marine service on Lake Erie. He continues his residence in Ottawa county.

Portage township, in 1828, when Mr. Miller first visited it, included in its organization the present townships of Bas, Erie, Salem, and Carroll. In Salem township, there were a few inhabitants established in the neighborhood of Hartford.

Joseph Momeny (whose name has heretofore been mentioned as one of the early settlers of Lower Sandusky,) was at Winchester's defeat, on the river Raisin, and, after that disaster, brought the two families of Beaugrand on the ice to the mouth of Huron river—passing the mouths of the Maumee, and Portage rivers, and Portland (now known as Sandusky City). There were then block houses at Port Clinton, and Sandusky City. Mr. Momeny rendered valuable service as a scout during the war—was bearer of dispatches from General Harrison, during the siege of Fort Meigs, to Gallipolis, and was active at the defense of Fort Stephenson; and after peace was concluded, settled at Lower Sandusky, where he died in January, 1843, at the age of 62 years.

Judge A. Kraemer, who settled in Toledo in 1835, and after Manhattan was platted, erected the first frame house in that town, was also one of the first settlers at Oak Harbor, where he yet resides.

The county has three newspapers: The *Ottawa County News*, R. Stanberry, editor; *Elmore Weekly Courier*, J. E. Crofoot, editress, and the *Exponent*, Oak Harbor, W. E. Freer, editor.

In population, the county had, in 1840, 2,248; in 1850, 3,308; in 1860, 7,016; in 1870, 13,364; and the town of Elmore had, in 1870, a population of 1131; Genoa, 558, and Port Clinton, 543.

LUCAS COUNTY.

The organization of this county was made amid the storms of the disputed jurisdiction between the Federal Government and the State of Ohio—the former holding in trust the interests of the territory of Michigan. The stirring events attending its introduction into the

family of Ohio counties, are sketched in the chapter relating to the boundary controversy. It was named after the champion of Ohio's interest in that conflict, the then Governor, Robert Lucas.

Excepting only Fort Wayne, there is no present organized county in the Maumee Valley invested with points surpassing in historical prominence than those embraced within the limits of Lucas county.

On the score of antiquity, the fact may be recalled, that, near the present site of Maumee City, the French, in 1680 (twenty-one years before the founding of Detroit by De Cadillac), erected a stockade, and this settlement by the white race, places Lucas county next, or equal, in interest to Allen county, Indiana. The British Fort Miami, near Maumee City, which General Wayne, in his brilliant expedition in August, 1794, discovered, had, as he states, in his correspondence with the British commandant, Major Campbell [pp. 92 and 93], been then only recently erected, under orders from the Canadian Governor, Simcoe. It was one of the important seats of the British power in the northwest, at an early period, and the headquarters, often, of the renegade Girty, and the residence, also, of those notorious enemies of the Americans, during the Indian wars in the northwest, Colonel McKee, and Captain Elliott.

Soon after the victory of General Wayne, and the evacuation of Fort Miami by the British, many French and Americans settled at the foot of the rapids. In October, 1807, James Carlin (government blacksmith,) and family, removed from the river Raisin to Maumee City; and his son, Squire Carlin, now a resident of Hancock county, states, that when his father's family reached the place, now known as Maumee City, the following were residents of the neighborhood: Three families of Ewing (the Christian names of two being William, but the first name of the third not by him recollected); William and Andrew Race, and a Mr. Carter—making a total of six American families. David Hull, a single man, and a nephew of the General who surrendered the American army at Detroit, also resided at Maumee as a trader and tavern-keeper—his sister keeping house for him.

In addition to the American families above named, Mr. Carlin says there was a settlement of French, among whom were J. B. Beauprand, Mr. LaPoint, Mr. Momeny, and Mr. Peltier. All these were traders, and employed a considerable force of young men to visit the Indian camps, and barter for furs and skins. In numbers, the French population were in excess of the American.

Near the mouth of the river, opposite Manhattan, about 1806 or 1808, a French settlement, near the village of the Ottawa Indians, was established. Conspicuous among these French adventurers, was Peter Navarre, a grandson of Robert de Navarre, an officer in the military service of France, who came to the country in 1745. The Ottawa village, Navarre asserts, had been in existence since the days of the Pontiac conspiracy; and the head chief of the nation was a descendant of Pontiac. At this time, also, the widow of Pontiac,

Kan-tuck-ee-gun, and his son, Otussa, dwelt at the mouth of the river. The old woman was held in high reverence—always the first one applied to by the nations for advice, and the first to sign all treaties. Otussa was a man of excellent sense, free from the vices of his tribe; and, with none of the ferocity, inherited all the bravery of his father. Mesh-ke-ma, a cousin of Otussa, was a chief on the opposite side of the river, and was the finest orator of the nation, and the foremost speaker at all treaties. Ka-ne-wa-ba was another noted chief. A-be-e-wa, another chief, was quite young at the time of his death, which was produced by poison, in 1810. Navarre's recollections of him (says H. L. Hosmer, now of Montana, who communicates these notes,) seem to indicate that he was the most talented man in the nation. There were 8,000 of the Ottawas, at this time, living upon the lower Maumee, and subsisting principally by hunting and fishing.

The last hundred of these eight thousand, who left their old homes in 1837, to go west of the Mississippi, were nothing but vagrants and drunkards—made so by contact with the whites.

The intelligence that war was declared in 1812, was first communicated to the white settlers at the foot of the rapids, and at Monclova (these places then being the only white settlements between Lower Sandusky and Frenchtown, or Monroe), by Peter Manor, of Providence.

Peter Navarre, hitherto mentioned, joined Hull's army on the Maumee, went to Detroit, and then returned to Raisin, where he enlisted in Colonel Anderson's regiment. He was at Raisin when the British Captain, Elliott, accompanied by a Frenchman and a Wyandot, came with a flag to inform Colonel Brush, and the troops at Raisin, that they were included in the terms of surrender of Hull. Navarre and his four brothers, acknowledged themselves as prisoners, and were permitted to depart on parole.

"Peter Manor says," (we quote from H. L. Hosmer,) "that the first intimation of Hull's surrender was given to the French settlers at the foot of the rapids, by a party of 60 or 70 Delawares, who arrived there in advance of the main body of the army, on their march to Fort Wayne. Manor says that he, with some of his neighbors, was standing in front of Beaugrand's store, at Maumee, when the Indians came out of the woods—that they drew him up in line, and each put his gun to his shoulder and aimed, as if to fire at the little group of settlers. Beaugrand came out and waved a white handkerchief. They dropped their muskets, and approached the store on a run, and remained a few minutes. An hour after their departure, about 100 British soldiers, and as many Pottawotomies and Wyandots, came up. Their first inquiry was for guides. Manor, from prudential motives, was seized with sudden and severe lameness; but it would not do. The officer in command pressed him into service as a guide, and lame as he seemed, he was compelled to conduct this company to the head of the rapids. Here his lame-

ness so increased, that his persecutors dismissed him, and he set out on his return home. At the foot of Presque Isle Hill, he met Colonel Elliott, the officer in command of the detachment, and the remainder of the troops and Indians composing it. Elliott examined him closely, and on learning that he had been employed as a guide, permitted him to go on his way. He proceeded to Beaugrand's. Finding that the country was getting too hot for him, and sympathising with the American cause, he left the rapids to join his family, which had previously removed to the dwelling of Robert Navarre, at the mouth of the river. At Swan Creek, he came suddenly upon two British vessels. The officer in command, not satisfied with his account of himself, took him prisoner, and confined him under hatches. He remained there until Beaugrand could be informed of his condition; and upon his representation that Manor was a tory, he was released."

Peter Navarre and his four brothers, and Peter Manor, and Joseph Bordeau, rendered valuable aid to the United States, as scouts during the war of 1812; and had General Winchester listened to their sagacious and timely suggestions, the disaster at the river Raisin would not, probably, have occurred.

"Navarre and his brothers were employed as scouts, by Harrison, as soon as Fort Meigs was completed. When the Indians first made their appearance, Navarre discovered them crossing the river at the foot of the island. On reporting this to Harrison, he gave him three letters—one to Lower Sandusdy, one to Upper Sandusky, and a third to Governor Meigs, at Urbana. Navarre departed, and at the close of the fifth day, handed the message to Governor Meigs."

Peter Navarre, who is yet living near the Maumee Bay, was born at Detroit in 1786, being now 87 years of age. An editorial in the *Toledo Blade*, of May, 1872, gives the following, in addition to what has been hitherto sketched, upon the authority of this venerable patriot:

"At the battle of the Thames, on the 1st of October, Navarre was under Johnson, in the immediate vicinity of Tecumseh, of whose death he speaks as follows:

"He was standing behind a large tree that had blown down, encouraging his warriors, and was killed by a ball that passed diagonally through his chest. After death he was shot several times, but otherwise his body was not mutilated in the least, being buried in his regimentals, as the old chief desired, by myself and a companion, at the command of General Harrison. All statements that he was scalped or skinned are absolutely false."

"While at Malden, General Proctor, of the British army, offered the Indians \$1,000 for the scalp of Navarre, and was informed that if he wanted it he must secure it himself, as in times of peace they had taught him all their knowledge of woodcraft, and now it was almost impossible to capture him.

“Mr. Navarre receives a pension of \$8 per month by a late act of Congress, and resides at Big Ditch, with his wife and family, about six miles east of Toledo.”

The early history of Toledo is very fully embodied in the recollections of the late Major B. F. Stickney, and of J. W. Scott, Richard Mott, Willard J. Daniels, and others, which will soon follow.

Says Major Stickney :

“By act of Congress, in 1816-17, the reservation of twelve miles square, was ordered to be surveyed and sold in February, 1817. The centre of this reserve was the Big Island, at the foot of the rapids of the Maumee, and extended down the river far enough to include the mouth of Swan Creek. A company of Cincinnati men purchased at the sale two tracts, making about 400 acres, at the mouth of Swan Creek—laid out a few town lots and called it Port Lawrence. They offered a part of their lots for sale at auction in September, 1817, at the Indian treaty at Fort Meigs. I was the purchaser of a greater number of lots than any other person. I then conceived that this property was to constitute a part of the future commercial city.

“The company had purchased these lands of the United States upon the conditions of paying one-fourth in hand, and the remainder in three equal annual payments, and had sold on the same terms. After the first payment, in consequence of the revulsion of money affairs, they found themselves unable to pay the other instalments, they having agreed to pay for the Port Lawrence tract seventy-six dollars and six cents per acre. Congress passed a law for their relief, known as the ‘Relief law,’ by which they were allowed to relinquish a part to the United States, and to apply the amount to the quarter payment upon the three instalments upon the part they chose to retain. Under this provision, the Port Lawrence tract was entirely relinquished. All the lots that had been sold, were surrendered to the United States. I prosecuted the company on their contract with me, and obtained a compromise. Before the surrender, I had made brick to build a dwelling on the lots I had purchased. These I now removed on a large tract adjoining, which I had purchased some years before, and built a house there, and commenced making a farm, determined to live by farming until the canal should be made.

“The University of Michigan at this time owned some floating sections granted them by the United States for University purposes. They had the right to locate on certain lands within the territory of Michigan, belonging to the United States. The Port Lawrence tract was considered as being within the territory, but not exactly of the description called for. However, they located upon these two tracts, and their title was subsequently confirmed by act of Congress.

“The Cincinnati company was deemed to be dead. Three of the gentlemen who belonged to it,—Micajah T. Williams, William Oliver, and Martin Baum,—entered into a negotiation with the University, by which they became the owners of this important piece of ground.

“In 1832, seeing no prospect that Baum and Oliver would make any advances in improvement on their grounds, I closed with an offer made to me by Captain Samuel Allen, of Lockport, New York, by which improvements were to be commenced upon my land.—Allen was a shrewd, far-seeing man, and had discovered the importance of the location some years before this time. A contract was entered into between us, by the terms of which Allen was to receive half the ground, upon the performance of certain covenants. This was in October, 1832, and the contract run until the following January. Allen failed to perform his part of the contract, but came on in January, accompanied by Otis Hathaway, whom he desired might be taken into partnership, and a new contract made. This was done, and a town plat laid out, and called *Vistula*; but, owing to pecuniary difficulties, all action under this contract was suspended in a short time. Allen bought Hathaway's interest, and a new contract between us was entered into, by the terms of which we were to commence building wharves, warehouses, and dwelling-houses in the town, expend considerable sums in making roads leading to and from it, and perform other acts, involving, in all, an expenditure of \$30,000. One half of this expenditure was to be made in six months.

“From some cause, Captain Allen failed to comply with the contract, and returned to Lockport; but after a few months came back, accompanied by Edward Bissell, with whom I entered into a contract similar to the one I had made with Allen.

“Bissell set about the work of improvement in earnest, and built wharves, and houses, advanced money for making roads, and, in many respects, did more than his contract required. *Vistula* advanced rapidly, and soon acquired considerable reputation.

“In the meantime, Martin Baum died, and William Oliver, and Micajah T. Williams were the surviving proprietors of the adjoining ground, where a town plat had been laid out in 1817. In 1833, Port Lawrence and *Vistula* were united under the name of *Toledo*.”

REMINISCENCES OF JESUP W. SCOTT.

The general reader, as well as those especially interested in Toledo history, will appreciate the following from the pen of this eminent citizen :

On this first day of January, 1844, I commence to write matters which, I suppose, will be interesting to be known in the future, rela-

tive to the commencement of a city on the estuary of the Maumee river. The reader will get my views and observations just as they came up in my memory while writing.

In 1828, while residing in Columbia, South Carolina, my thoughts were directed to future seats of commerce to grow up in the great central plain of North America. My conclusion was, that the great city of the nation, and, probably, of the world, would grow up in that plain; and that, on the harbor at the west end of Lake Erie, would grow up a great mart, possibly the largest, probably the second largest, and, certainly, not below the third in rank. The period for the consummation of the superiority of central, over Atlantic cities, was thought to be either the year 1900, or about 100 years from that time—say, 1928—and, for the supremacy of some central city over any other of the world, by the year 2000 of our era. The largest commercial points in what was then called "*the West*," were Cincinnati (numbering some 8,000), Pittsburg, Louisville and St. Louis—all smaller than Cincinnati. The idea of an interior mart becoming larger than New York, or New Orleans, was deemed, by persons to whom I stated these opinions, nothing short of the most absurd that could be suggested; and I found no man disposed to give it the least hospitality. Allowing the rate of progress which our population had made to be continued 100 years, the truth of my opinion seemed perfectly demonstrable, and I thought I did make a complete demonstration of it. But I did not satisfy another mind, or make a single convert, for many years.

In the fall of 1830, I removed to Ohio, and, during the year 1832, I published, in a small monthly sheet printed at Norwalk, at my expense, called "*The Ohio and Michigan Register and Emigrants' Guide*," an article in which I undertook to prove that Cincinnati, or some other city of the great valley, would, in A. D. 1900, be larger than New York, and, by the year A. D. 2000, be larger than any other city of the world.

About 1838, or 1839, I published in the *Hesperian* magazine, a monthly published in Columbus and Cincinnati, by Gallagher & Curry, a series of papers on internal improvements and interior cities, in which I amplified on my previous article. Previous to this time, to wit: in June, 1832, I visited the country at the mouth of the Maumee. My residence was then, temporarily, at Florence, then in Huron, now in Erie county, Ohio. Although I had for years held in high estimation some indefinite good place for a city on the harbor formed by the entrance of the Maumee into the lake, I had not taken the trouble to visit it, until I read in the *National Intelligencer*, an article from the pen of Major Benjamin F. Stickney, in which it was stated that "the plan of a town—indeed of a city—had been laid out by some enterprising gentlemen from the State of New York," and setting forth the advantages of its position. This called up the desire to see the site of a city that might one day be great; and I accordingly mounted my horse, and, passing through

Milan, then one of the largest places in Northern Ohio, Lower Sandusky (now Fremont, and then a place of some promise, and some 300 or 400 people), and thence along the thirty-one miles of road through the swamp to Perrysburg, thence crossing, by ford, the Maumee, above the old town of the same name, I, with some difficulty, found my way along the Monroe turnpike, and thence from Section 16, T. 3, U. S. R., by a rude path through the openings and woods to the mouth of Swan Creek, and thence down along the river bank, mostly through the forest, to the new town of Vistula; and below to the residence of Major Stickney.

A few board shanties had been put up on Summit street, near Lagrange, and some men were at work grading down what is now the foot of Lagrange street, preparing a wharf for the landing of vessels. At the gate of the brick house now standing—but soon to go the way of all others of the olden time—I overtook Major Stickney and Samuel Allen (known as Captain Allen), the Major's associate in laying out the new town. The Major received my address in his own courteous, grave manner, and Mr. Allen in that prompt business style, and with an air that might have become one of the solid men of Boston, accustomed to shake State street by his stately tread. I told them my errand was to see where the mighty city site of the Maumee should be, and to write about it—perhaps to make some purchase, if I should be satisfied that this was the right spot. Mr. Allen kept, as a boarding house, temporarily, the residence of the Major for the accommodation of the persons coming to settle or purchase in the new plat, or in the neighborhood. There I domiciled myself for a few days to look about.

Mrs. Allen, a Quaker lady, exhibited remarkable talent and tact in pleasing those of her guests who might forward the growth of the city in embryo. In appearance and address, she was no less remarkable than her husband. He was rather short, thick set, straight, and with a quick, firm movement, like one born to lead. No one could be better fitted to lead a forlorn hope in battle, or in city building. His benevolence was high, his organ of hope large, and his caution small, with a back head of sufficient capacity for ample motive power.

Major Stickney, as having had more to do with this city and region, and as a character not less marked, I design to describe more fully hereafter.

FEBRUARY 18, 1857.—The foregoing, written in Toledo over thirteen years ago, and with the intention of regular continuation, has just been looked over; and I now, near Castleton, New York, resume the narrative.

When these notes were commenced, Toledo was a city, to be sure, on paper, and by act of incorporation; but according to an estimate carefully made, the entire population out of the city, on which its commerce depended, did not exceed 200 families of farmers. There

were probably living, within the limits, about 2,000 people—many of them holding on with a view to the business that was expected to flow in on the completion of the Wabash and Erie, and the Miami and Erie Canals, then being constructed. Now the population is not less than 12,000, with abundance of business for a good support to all who are willing to work. I now resume the narrative.

On my way to the new "Vistula," I passed through Perrysburg and Maumee—small, but, as it seemed to me, beautifully situated hamlets, at the head of navigation on the Maumee river, and each claiming to be the best position for the chief town. The principal men were fur traders, or, as they were more generally designated, Indian traders; and their expectation of future greatness was quite limited. The commerce, by lake, of these places, was carried on by two schooners, named "Eagle" and "Guerriere," of about 60 tons burthen, and commanded by two brothers named David and James Wilkinson,—hardy, bluff, and strong-minded men, whose position as friends or enemies no one could long doubt. The principal owner was John Hollister, of Perrysburg, from Pittsfield, Massachusetts, an Indian trader and man of mark, one of nature's noblemen, whose influence was felt in the councils of the State, and in the commercial struggle for the supremacy between the towns at the foot of the rapids, and the new city below.

The Indian trade, in furs and the fisheries, with corn growing on the bottom lands, constituted the business on which these hamlets relied for support; and, with few exceptions, the inhabitants failed to anticipate any considerable change from that condition. There was one man, however, then living in Perrysburg, familiarly known as Judge Rice—Ambrose Rice—who, in native sagacity and foresight, seemed to me, and seems now to me, to have been before any man I have ever known. I afterwards became intimate with him; and, though I have had familiar intercourse with several men who have the position, in public estimation, among the greatest men of our country, I have not known one with so penetrating a judgment, or so clear an intellect. Nor, in moral truthfulness, and stern integrity, was he less distinguished. His position was that of County Surveyor, and agent to select lands for purchasers. His usual habits were secluded, and he spent very little time in conversation. Except on business, he conversed with very few persons, and the community looked upon him as very odd, especially as he usually avoided the society of ladies—being a confirmed bachelor.

The few days at Major Stickney's were spent in looking about and coming to an opinion as to the relative advantages of a city site of the places eight miles above, and the present position of Toledo. What is now partially built over, and laid out into streets,—being nearly all in a wild state,—seemed a wide extent of land admitting room for a choice of location for several towns. The two tracts, Nos. 1 and 2, of the 12 miles square reservation, which embraced

the mouth of Swan Creek, had been selected as the best point, and purchased at the sale of the reserve lands in 1817, by Major Willman Oliver and associates. But, as the adjoining lands, for several years after, were still in possession of the Indians, who were then the sole tenants of all the northwest quarter of Ohio, except a few reservations; and, as the collapse of the credit currency of the country occurred soon after, this effort to start a city at the west end of Lake Erie, proved abortive.

After being taken up the river as far as Delaware flats (where she got aground), by the little steamer "Pioneer," which had been chartered by Stickney and Allen to run between Sandusky City and their "Vistula;" and turning over in my mind the advantages relatively to each other, of the up-river and down-river claimants, I decided that the down-river had the preponderance of advantages, and that the best position for the centre of the down-river town, was just below the entrance of Swan Creek into the river. At this point, there was then a log warehouse, and rude wharf, nearly rotten. Believing in the high destiny of the future city, wherever it should be, and having brought my mind to a satisfactory state as to its precise location, I became anxious to have an interest in it. My means were quite limited, so that it was necessary to make the most of my opportunity to buy in the right place.

The only possible chance that I found, was a very wild and rude piece of ground, then possessed by Dr. Sutphen, being the S. W. fr. $\frac{1}{4}$ of sec. 36, T. 9 S. R. 7 E., embracing with it a small piece of sec. 35. Of this, I bargained for seventy acres, at \$12 per acre. I also wrote to Major Oliver, who resided in Cincinnati, offering to become part owner of his tracts, and to become agent for their management. When my letter reached the Major, there was an applicant with him, having the same object in view, Dr. D. O. Comstock, who bought one-fourth of tracts 1 and 2, and, with his brother, S. B. Comstock, became agent of what was called the Port Lawrence Company—owning river tracts 1 and 2.

At the time I bought the seventy acres, I could have bought the whole fractional quarter of eighty-six acres, by giving \$15 per acre for what remained; but, as I thought the part bought was worth more by the acre than what was left, I declined to buy. Having, as I thought, got a fair chance to participate in the advantages of the future rapid growth of a great city, I embarked with my horse on the steamer "Pioneer," for Sandusky City, elated with high hopes of future profit from my purchase. On the steamer I fell in with a man who had just come from the west shore of Lake Michigan, where he had pre-empted, or rather bought the pre-emption of an 80-acre lot at the mouth of the Milwaukee river. This was the first time I had heard the name. I think the land had cost him \$6 per acre; and, as he could hardly spare so much money as it had cost, he offered to let me in as joint purchaser, I think, but am not certain, at the cost price. I declined, telling him that he would do

better to make the new town of Vistula the theatre of speculation, as it might, and probably would, become a considerable city before settlements to any extent would reach as far west as Milwaukee.

On my return to Florence, I told my wife, and one or two other persons, that the seventy acres I had bought would, in twenty years, be worth \$20,000. They laughed at my sanguine calculation, and they would have been still more merry, if they had been told the real extent of my hopes. In 1852, the twenty years had passed. Toledo then possessed a population of over five thousand, and the seventy acres, if I had owned it all, in one piece, would probably have been marketable at something near, but not much over, twenty thousand dollars. I had, however, in 1835, about three years after the purchase, sold an undivided half of the tract for six thousand dollars, to Edward Bissell, then the largest owner of property in what was then the united village of Toledo—Vistula and Port Lawrence having yielded their separate existence, and become one.

In 1835, commenced that memorable speculation in wild lands, and wild cities, which culminated in 1836. The whole Maumee valley was filled with eastern fortune-hunters. Congress and State lands were raced-for entry, and the shores of the river from Fort Wayne to the Maumee Bay, were alive with city-builders. From the foot of the rapids to the bay, land was all considered necessary for three-story brick blocks; and, after the canal was located on the north side, all the shore from Waterville to Manhattan was held as city property. Jackson's specie circular soon brought their airy fabric into ruin, which was completed by the failure of the United States Bank of Pennsylvania, in 1839.

Under the auspices of Bissell and his associates, Toledo had been pushed forward to be a considerable place—numbering, at one time, probably, over fifteen hundred inhabitants. Most of the buildings of any note, had been erected by the speculative owners, and when money ceased to flow west for investment, and men, from devoting themselves to speculation, turned their attention to earning their daily bread, Toledo was a young city in the wilderness, with high expectations, but with nothing, or next to nothing, to live upon. The great body of lands which surrounded it, had been entered for speculation; so that, up to the time of the canal being completed to Toledo, in 1843, there were not over 200 families out of the city, which resorted to it as their principal place of trade. These families, too, were but little advanced in farming operations; and many of them too deeply in debt to have much means to buy even necessities. This estimate of the number of families out of Toledo, who could be relied upon to do their business with its citizens, was made by me in 1844, when I was editor of the *Toledo Blade*. At that time, those best informed as to the advantages of the place to become a large commercial town, anticipated a more rapid growth than has been realized. The canal, though a noble channel for commerce, passes through a country with rich and great agricultural

capabilities, but out of the tract of the best class of migrating farmers. It has for this and other reasons, had very partial development.

In 1844, Toledo was little more than the dead carcass of speculation. Its previous existence had been abnormal, but its condition was worse than negative. It had acquired a widespread and almost universally-believed character for insalubrity. It would, in its first settlement, have been noted, to some extent, for the severity of its malarial fevers, if it had been settled by industrious and moral people, having the means to provide comfortable habitations, and healthy food. A large portion of its first inhabitants, though intelligent enough, were not possessed of the means or habits to preserve health, in a new and rich soil. Much sickness and distress, therefore, were suffered. When, therefore, after the canal began to give it a business worth naming, its reputation for sickliness had become such as to divert from it, to other western cities, most of the enterprising business men, who flocked thither from the old States and Europe. Its rivals—and almost all the towns on Lake Erie considered themselves such—were very industrious in giving, and keeping alive, the bad name which it had, in its speculative existence, to some extent, deserved. Other causes conspired to turn the tide of population from the wooded region about Toledo to the prairies beyond Michigan. The most powerful of these was the interest which existed in Buffalo and Oswego, through which, up to 1853, nearly all the immigration flowed, to carry passengers and freight as far as possible, in their steamers and other vessels. Concurring in this, was the interest exerted by speculators in prairie lands, to give to emigrating families in Europe, and especially in Germany, such information of the advantages of the country west of Lake Michigan, as turned the tide almost entirely through that channel. This tide and its reaction built up, in a very short time, the considerable cities of Milwaukee and Chicago. The position of the latter has always seemed to me one of very great commercial power, second, perhaps, to none other of the great plain.

TOLEDO, DECEMBER 24, 1861.—A wide interval from the last date for a journal. My impression, on first studying attentively the merits of the commanding commercial points of the great North American plain, were in favor of St. Louis and Cincinnati, as the chief rivals for the great city. Afterwards, I became convinced that the lake borders were to give the great emporium to the country, and Chicago seemed to promise best. I now believe Toledo better located to become the central city of the Continent than any other. In giving the preference to Chicago, I did not sufficiently value the power, for commercial purposes, of the countries lying eastward of both, and more accessible to Toledo. Balancing the commercial and other industrial power, domestic and foreign, east and west, north and south, of the two cities, it will be found that Toledo is more central. Its harbor and site are also much better than those of Chi-

ago. My views, on this special subject, may be found in the December number of 1861, of *Hunt's Merchants' Magazine*, in an article written by me. For a general view of the causes which go to build up cities in modern times, I would, also, refer to an article in the same magazine, published in the November number for 1854.

TOLEDO, APRIL, 1871.—Another interval of ten years has passed, and given abundant proofs of correctness of my early, and, generally thought, wild calculations of the superior power of the interior of our continent for the growth of cities. Having lived beyond the ordinary limit allotted to man, and witnessed a wonderful advance in all that goes to give power to man, and to encourage a feeling of the wisdom of unity of thought and action among individuals and nations, I now look forward with interest and ardent hope that all peoples will see their welfare in the common effort to maintain peaceful and untrammelled commercial and social relations with each other, increasing the productiveness of lands, and building up more beautiful houses in country and city, and, in process of time, making one great central city, which shall be as the heart and brain of the united family of man, and a common home for the best of all nations, with equal rights protected by equal laws.

REMINISCENCES OF RICHARD MOTT.

The reader is under obligations to Mr. Mott for the charming style employed by him, in communicating his reminiscences of Toledo. He gives sketches of nearly all the old citizens,—remembering many friends, and dexterously omitting any reference to his own manifold good works. His genial, charitable disposition is also manifest in the omission to refer to the foibles of some, against whom, in their life-time, and even since, the world delighted to render verdicts, untempered with charity. Could Mr. Mott have his own way, the good that men do would undoubtedly live after them in perennial bloom; while the evil, only, “would be interred with their bones.”

With characteristic modesty, as before stated, it will be noted that he scarcely refers to himself, and even such skeleton touches as he affords, were fairly coaxed from him. The following brief note embodies all that he vouchsafes relating to himself and family:

“PORT WASHINGTON, QUEENS CO., N. Y., }
“8th Mo., 25, 1872. }

“MY DEAR FRIEND:

“I am in due receipt of thine of the 21st. I should have replied to it sooner, but was away from home yesterday.

“In response to the inquiries as to my birth, marriage, etc., I have to say:



Yours friend
Rich^d Mott

"I was born at Mamaroneck, Westchester county, New York, July 21, 1804,—removed, in 1815, with my parents, to the city of New York, and was married November 12, 1828, to Elizabeth M. Smith, daughter of Captain Elihu Smith, formerly of New Bedford, Massachusetts. She died in August, 1855. We were both Quakers, and both of Quaker descent. The branch of the Mott family to which I belong, were among the early converts, in America, of George Fox, and we have ever since, through each generation, adhered to the faith, and ever expect to,—at least I hope so.

"Thy friend,

"RICHARD MOTT.

"To H. S. KNAPP."

In his reminiscences, while liberally commending others, he would not indicate the monuments of his own enterprise: the multitude of his unostentatious charities; and also omits mention that the city of Toledo has often called him into her public councils, and greatly profited by his services. And, furthermore, this witness, almost in derogation of public opinion, and to the damage of public wealth,—which consists, in good part, of the honorable record made by those who have held public trusts,—he omits the sketch which he should have made of his four years' Congressional service, extending from 1857 to 1861.

With this very brief explanation, rendered necessary by the omissions of Mr. Mott, his recollections of Toledo are subjoined:

My personal knowledge of the Maumee country dates from the 1st of March, 1836. I arrived there after a three days' ride by stage from Columbus. The Black Swamp was frozen hard, and we had an easy ride through that then dreaded region. Willard V. Way, then, as now, a resident of Perrysburg, was the only other passenger in the stage, our three days' association making us pretty well acquainted, by the time he got out at Spafford's, where we changed horses, and I came on alone to Toledo, reaching the "Toledo House" late in the afternoon. The Toledo House was a double, two story, brick building, standing on the corner of Perry and Summit streets. It was afterwards added to, and re-named the Indiana House.

The road from Maumee wound along through the woods, near the bank of the river, and not far from the present river road. The forest extended to the south bank of Swan Creek—no improvement being on that side, nearer than George Knaggs' farm, after leaving Port Miami. At Swan Creek, a road had been cut, commencing where Henry Brand's brewery now is, and descending along the side of the bank to about opposite Superior street, where was a bridge—carried off by a freshet a few weeks later. For some years afterwards, the creek was crossed by a scow ferry-boat, large enough

to carry a single team. This ferry was kept by Harrison Crane, father of Charles A. Crane, of East Toledo.

At Columbus, I had left Stephen B. Comstock, and Andrew Palmer, who were successfully lobbying for a charter for a railroad from Toledo to Sandusky. William Wilson, then of Sylvania, was also there on some similar business. He had been one of the earlier settlers on the river, owning the farm adjoining Major Stickney's, towards Manhattan. At Marion we met Joseph R. Williams, Willard J. Daniels, George McKay, and Cyrus King, from Toledo, on their way to Columbus, to aid in procuring the railroad charter—all young and active men, and having full faith in Toledo. Williams and King are not living; Daniels now resides at Lockport, New York. He was then, and still is, largely interested in Toledo real estate. McKay left Toledo during the following year, and has never returned.

Adjoining the Toledo House, was the store of W. J. Daniels & Co., in which, at the time, Roswell Cheney, Jr., and Daniel McBain were clerks. Cheney remained in Toledo, and died in 1845.

Over the store, reached by outside stairs, was a large room occupied by Emery D. Potter (since Judge), as a lawyer's office. This office was much resorted to by the judge's friends, who wished to write or transact business, all of whom were heartily welcomed by him—pens, ink, and paper, and a seat at his long table, thrown in. It was, in fact, the most attracting loafing place in town. Occasionally, in the evenings, a debating society met there. Besides Judge Potter, Peter Palmer (now living in Lockport), Daniel McBain, Caleb F. Abbott, and Josiah G. Murfee, were prominent in this organization. Joshua R. Giddings, and Benjamin F. Wade, came in the spring, and took part in some real estate purchases. Wade did not stay long, but Giddings remained a long time, and took an active part *con amore* in the debating society. Later in the spring, Edward Wade also came, and opened a law office in company with Richard Cook. The early settlers will recollect Cook as a lawyer of much promise, cut short by his untimely death, a few years later.

Nearly opposite W. J. Daniels & Co., on part of the lot where Ketcham, Bold & Co. now are, was another frame store standing alone, over the door of which was the sign of A. Palmer & Co. This old building remained till 1859, when it was pulled down to make room for the block belonging to V. H. Ketcham.

Daniels & Goettel (Munson H. Daniels and Henry Goettel,) were doing a large business in a wooden building, on the corner of Perry and Swan streets. During the year, they put up two three-story brick stores, on the corner of Monroe and Summit streets, and, in the fall of 1836, moved into the corner one. These stores were burned October 16, 1860, and are replaced by the present Lenk's Block, erected in the spring of 1861. A row of buildings stood on the northwest side of St. Clair street, built by Colman I. Keeler, Jr., where is now the American House, but extending further south, and

across the alley that runs between the new Police Station and Kelsey & King's Pork house. The usually travelled road into the Port Lawrence end of the town was through this alley, and under the wooden arch-way of Keeler's row. This road continued nearly to the present site of the African church, then more towards the north, passed over the rear of Austin Scott's property, corner of Monroe and Michigan streets; thence crossing Monroe street, it passed over the ground where J. H. Whitaker's house is—then along in front of Judge Potter's residence, and in the same direction over the rear of Calvin Barker's and Horace Holcomb's grounds, and just clearing the corner of Dr. White's house, on Madison street, continued in a direct line to the present road in front of Judge Fitch's mansion.

On the river, in rear of the store of A. Palmer & Co., was a log warehouse, an old looking building, said to have been standing when Colman I. Keeler landed there in 1817. Keeler settled in that year on the farm now occupied by his widow, on the road above mentioned. This log building was taken down in 1836, by Judge John Baldwin, who put on its site the warehouse occupied, after his death, in 1837, by Carpenter & Myers, and then by V. H. Ketcham, who now owns the ground—the building having been taken down to make room for Ketcham's block.

The Olver warehouse, built by Joseph Prentice, was then standing on the west side of Monroe street, where Roff & Co. now are, and occupied by A. Palmer & Co. Further down, under the bank of the river, on the site of M. I. Wilcox' brick store was another warehouse, belonging to William P. and W. J. Daniels. The bank, which was there upwards of thirty feet high, had been dug away to fill in for the dock foundation for this warehouse, which was only reachable from the land side, by a road commencing at Jefferson street, and cut sideways down the bank.

An attempt had been made towards street making on Monroe street, but it was not used, the travel continuing on the old track out Perry street, and through the alley, under the arch of Keeler's row.

A brick store of two stories, belonging to John Baldwin, fronted Summit street adjoining W. J. Daniels. This stood till within a few years since.

The ground in front of the Toledo House was about at the present grade of Summit street, at that corner. It was some four or five feet at the lower intersection of Monroe street. Here was a run-way for the water from the low ground, along Mud creek. This run-way was crossed on Summit street by a little log bridge,—the logs well covered with earth. Beyond this, at the east, was a bluff, some twenty feet above the present grade, and a road-way had been cut partly sidewalks to reach the top of the bluff. Here was a frame building, then occupied, but afterwards fitted up, and known as the National Hotel, and where Lyman T. Thayer began his successful career at hotel-keeping. The present Deuel block (Fred. Eaton

& Co.'s upper store), is on the same spot. It was then a commanding position having a full view of the river,—there being nothing to obstruct in either direction up or down. From this the road wound along near the edge of the bank, among stumps and bushes, and without regard to map lines of streets, to the post office, a two-story brick building, about 150 feet east of Adams street. This had been put up by Edward Bissell, for the purpose it was then used, to be about midway between the settled portions of the previously rival villages of Port Lawrence and Vistula, when they concluded to bury the hatchet of strife, and unite under the name of Toledo.

This post office building was an isolated and somewhat desolate looking affair, standing entirely alone. The nearest dwelling was a log house, directly in the present line of Summit street, at the corner of Oak, surrounded by a worm rail fence, enclosing about half an acre for a garden spot. This log house was occupied by William Andrews and family, consisting of his wife, several sons and daughters. Among the former was Samuel Andrews, of the *Blade*,—then a boy perhaps a dozen years old. The road passed between the enclosure and the river, over the lot where the Toledo mill stands, towards the corner of Cherry and Summit streets. From this to Elm street, the line of Summit street was clearly defined. The stumps had been mostly grubbed out, and several buildings were erected on both sides.

A frame building, occupied as two dwellings, stood on the west corner of Cherry street, where Wittstein's drug store is. What is now Dr. Bergen's dwelling, adjoining, was nearly finished. The frame on the corner was afterwards moved on the lot where B. Meilink and Co.'s furniture store stands, and was long occupied by the Toledo *Blade*, till it was removed to its present location. Cherry street was then the southwesterly border of the Vistula division. The entire space to the tavern building, above Jefferson street, was open and wild, except the post office building, and Mr. Andrews' log house.

On the south side of Summit street, on the corner of Vine street, was a frame building, occupied by William Tillman as a paint shop below, and dwelling above. This was the next year fitted up, by Edward Bissell, for a dwelling, and where he resided for several years. It still stands, in the same place. Nearly opposite, Richard Greenwood had a small frame dwelling—still standing. The three old stores, on the northwest side of Summit street, fronting the head of Vine street, were in course of erection. A brick outside was put on them in 1852, in which they still stand. When Toledo was made a city, in 1837, one of the offices in the second story of this block, was used for the City Council room, till changed to the present location. Scott & Richardson (Samuel B. Scott and Worden N. Richardson, both deceased), had a store a little below, towards Walnut street.

A row of stores, belonging to Edward Bissell, stood on the corner of Locust street, where George Webber's block is. In the second story of this row, Hezekiah D. Mason had his office. Judge Mason was regarded as an old resident, having come in 1834.

This row was burned in the fall of 1838, the most sickly season ever known in Toledo. The city had two fire engines, built at Waterford, New York; and, as the weather had been very dry, one of the engines (No. 1.) had to be run down the bank of the river for a supply of water, forcing it up to the other (No. 2), that was thus enabled to throw one little stream. The few men who worked the machine, at the river, were soon tired out, and the stream stopped. They sent for fresh hands to help work at the brakes, but it was next to impossible to find any men who were well enough; the almost invariable excuse of every bystander applied to, being, that he was just out from a fit of the ague, and was not able to work. The well men being fagged out, the stores were destroyed. All that could be done, was to save the near buildings.

About half way between Locust and Lagrange sts., was the Mansion House; Wm. Wilmington's residence occupies the spot. It was a story and a half frame, having a long front, and in the rear a barn-like addition, used for a dining-room below, with a double row of lodging rooms above. It was then kept by James Bourne, but soon after was taken by Daniel Segur, who continued in it till the following autumn, when the "American Hotel," on the corner of Elm st., built by Joseph R. Williams, being completed, Segur moved into the latter, which was then considered as something notable in the tavern line—and so it was, and kept well, too.

On the southeast corner of Summit and Lagrange streets, was a two-story frame store, belonging to and occupied by Dr. Jacob Clark, the sign over the door being Clark & Bennett. This corner was then regarded as about the centre of business, and perhaps the best stand in the place, till 1843, when, by the opening of the canal, business was mainly drawn towards the Port Lawrence end of the town. This old store was afterwards occupied by Ketcham & Snell, and it was here that Joseph K. Secor commenced business life as a store boy. It was subsequently taken by Elijah S. Hanks, who remained till it was burned, in 1844, or 1845.

Lagrange street was graded from Summit street (pretty steeply), so that teams could pass to the dock. Here, on the west side of the street, was the warehouse of Peckham & Co., still standing, now owned by P. H. Birekhead. Peckham & Co. did the largest forwarding business of the place, most of the steamboats coming in the river stopping at their wharf. The members of the firm were Bunnell H. Peckham, and John Berdan (Judge). Mr. Berdan was the first mayor of Toledo, elected in the spring of 1837, by one vote over Andrew Palmer, and re-elected in 1838, without organized opposition. He died in 1841. His sons, Peter and John, of the well-known firm of Secor, Berdan & Co., were then round-jacketed

boys. Peckham died in 1866, at Milwaukee, where he had lived for several years.

In the spring of 1836, two other warehouses were put up near the foot of Lagrange street, on the east side. The lower one was occupied by Bissell & Gardner (Frederick Bissell and Joseph B. Gardner). Mr. Bissell continued in business in Toledo till his death, in June, 1870. Gardner was afterwards postmaster, succeeding Judge Potter, in 1839. He removed to Buffalo, and died many years ago.

The other warehouse was kept first by Poag & Morse, then Poag & Titus, and afterwards by Robert W. Titus,—the latter still living in Toledo. John Poag went to New York about 1840, and after a few years became one of the firm of Kent, Poag & Co.,—grew wealthy, invested largely in Toledo real estate, which has turned out very advantageously. He returned to Toledo, and died in 1868.

The same warehouse (the second story,) was taken by Titus & Co., from New York, in the spring of 1848 (Avery and Walter Titus), for a dry goods and groceries jobbing establishment. They did a good business; but, trying to carry a load of debt, growing out of their New York business in 1837, proved too great a burden, and, after the death of Avery Titus, in 1841, the firm was obliged to suspend. Walter is still living in New York. These warehouses still remain, and are parts of the Novelty Works establishment.

Among the permanent boarders at the Toledo House, in the spring of 1836, were Willard J. Daniels, and William P. Daniels, with his wife and two little children—son and daughter, the former, Charles, now of Lloyd, Daniels & Dennison, and Helen, now Mrs. C. J. Lloyd. Lyman Wheeler was also there—then unmarried. He had recently bought the lot on the corner of Monroe and St. Clair streets, where the Wheeler Opera House now stands,—at that time a very uninviting spot; the swale from Mud creek crossing this lot, as well as the opposite corner where the Collins block is, and continuing thence along through the whole of the block to the Myers' corner, where it crossed Monroe street.

Wheeler had great faith in the advancement of Toledo, especially of the Port Lawrence end of the town. Caleb F. Abbott was also there,—a graduate just from Cambridge college, seeking his fortune in the west, as Ohio was then considered to be. Ralph P. Buckland (now General Buckland of Fremont), came soon afterwards, on the same errand, and remained till in the summer. James M. Comstock came about the latter part of March, 1836. His brother, Stephen B. Comstock, had been here since 1832, and was a very old settler by that time. Stephen was in fact one of the pioneers, and became interested, with Oliver & Williams, in tracts 1 and 2, which comprised what was known as Port Lawrence, and he was for some years the agent for the Port Lawrence Company, in selling lots and inducing settlements. He was also postmaster. The latter position he resigned in 1837, being a Whig, to make way for Judge Potter. Stephen died in 1853.

Until the spring of 1837, there were no sidewalks any where in the place; not even one of a single plank. Men wore heavy boots, and, in muddy weather, tucked their pantaloons inside, and waded boldly through the soft soil. It was quite an undertaking to get from either end of the town to the post office—then called "Middle-Town." It was useless to attempt wearing India rubber shoes; the adhesive character of the mud made a power of suction that would draw off rubbers almost at the first step. It was regarded as a grand improvement, when, by private subscription, a sidewalk of two planks in width was laid on the northwest line of Summit street, from the Toledo House, corner of Perry street, to the American, at the corner of Elm street.

The Erie and Kalamazoo Railroad was in course of construction, from Toledo to Adrian, under a charter from the territorial legislature of Michigan. The original plan for the road was to put down wooden rails, of oak studding four inches square, and draw the cars by horses. Even this would have been a great relief and wonderful improvement over the nearly impassable roads through the cotton-wood swamp that stretched from Sylvania to Palmyra.

The work on the road had been driven forward with much energy, and was well forward, considering how little means the projectors had to carry it on. By the time the grading was done, the stockholders became possessed of more enlarged ideas, and determined to iron the road and use locomotive power. To be sure, the Company had no money to buy the iron; and railroad bonds, and preferred stock, and the various devices by which in these days such work is got through with, were then unknown. However, by giving a liberal bonus in stock, with the obligations of the Railroad Company, endorsed by some of the directors, and other parties interested individually, the iron was obtained. But *such* iron! How the railroad men of to-day would laugh at the thin straps, $\frac{5}{8}$ of an inch thick, then spiked down on the old railroads. Yet, it was as great an improvement over the projected wooden rail, as the H and T rail over the almost hoop iron then used. In the same way, two little locomotives were purchased, and, early in 1837, a couple of old-fashioned, four-wheeled short cars, and some half a dozen freight cars of the same size, were running on the road. There was but little practical knowledge of the management of railroads, this being the first road in operation west of Utica, New York. How this road was got into operation, and kept up, without money or credit, can never be fully explained, and perhaps not entirely understood, even by the parties whose energy and pluck—with possibly some little assurance—carried it along through years of difficulty and embarrassment.* Very few of these men are now living. Among some

*John R. Osborn, Esq., furnishes the following note: "At Palmyra, a railroad had been projected, to run as far as Jacksonburg, through the village of Tecumseh. The same road which in subsequent years was completed a branch of the Michigan Southern and Northern Indiana Railroad, and is now known as the Jackson Branch.

"This road, in connection with the Erie and Kalamazoo Road, was projected and undertaken

of the conductors on the trains, were Stephen B. Comstock, Robert Jeffrey, Frederick Bissell, Charles A. King, and Munson H. Daniels.

Until the autumn of 1838, almost the entire freighting over the road was carrying provisions, as well as goods, into Michigan, principally flour and pork to feed the people, and corn and oats for horses and hogs. Michigan did not raise enough for its population, owing to the rapid increase of immigration, and was obliged to import from Ohio. But, in 1838, this immigration had fallen off, and then the road began to be used to bring out the wheat crop, which from that time was greatly increased each year. Flour and wheat were then teamed from Jackson, Marshall, Battle Creek, Constantine, and intermediate places, to Adrian, to be brought thence by rail to navigable waters, at Toledo. This was continued till the construction of Michigan State railroads cut off much of the business that had hitherto sought market outlet by this way.

The construction and continuance of the Erie and Kalamazoo railroad exercised great influence in settling the supremacy of Toledo as *the* business place at the west end of Lake Erie, over its several rival towns. The first railroad office was in a little frame building, 14x20 feet, put up by Willard J. Daniels for a barber shop, on the ground next east of Ketcham, Bond & Co.'s present

ken by the owners of the main Road, with the assistance of citizens of Tecumseh, Clinton, and other places along the route.

“On the 9th of August, 1838, the road was ready to be opened as far as Tecumseh. At the invitation of Mr. Edward Bissell, then the manager of the Erie and Kalamazoo Railroad, a large number of citizens, sufficient to fill one car, took their places for the celebration of the event. Sylvania, Blissfield, and Palmyra, each furnished additional recruits. At Tecumseh, the town was alive with excitement at the auspicious event. Among the Toledoans of the period, who participated in the celebration, were Judge Mason, Daniel McBain, C. F. Abbott, J. Baron Davis, Judge Myers, George B. Way, J. R. Osborn, J. Avery Titus, Andrew Palmer, G. Weed, and many others. At Tecumseh, the large crowd, greeted by the welcome of the people, made their rallying point at the hotel of General Joseph W. Brown, who so shortly before had marched his troops upon the banks of the Maumee river, in defiance of the pretensions of Ohio. He prepared for his guests a repast of such generous magnitude, that he was not long in winning their grateful recognitions, and, we may add, pardon for any previous unpleasantness he had occasioned to Governor Lucas and the Buckeyes.

“The usual after-dinner speeches and toasts followed, the noticeable one of which was a very eloquent and interesting speech of Judge Mason, who had prepared statistics and data to show the productiveness of the country, and the capital lying hidden within extensive and fertile districts, which were now brought into proximity with the lake, and were to pour their uncounted riches into the lap of our aspiring city. Among other things, he particularly dwelt upon the enterprise which had projected such roads in the State of Michigan, and how far in advance the people were here, than in other parts, especially of Ohio, where scarcely a railroad had yet been constructed. He stated, also, in his speech, that the Erie and Kalamazoo Railroad was the first enterprise in America, west of Utica. This enterprise, however, proved to be in advance of the times. The road was just completed to Jacksonburg, and the short distance to Tecumseh was not even ironed with the cheap strap rail of those days, and in a few years it was abandoned. Afterwards, in the year 1857, it was taken hold of by the Michigan Southern and Northern Indiana Railroad Company, and completed in the most substantial and thorough manner; and has become one of the principal avenues of trade to the city—fulfilling, at this late period, the prophecies of Judge Mason, and the expectations of the originators.”

store. A small platform reached from the rear of the office to the track, without any roof, and as much unprotected from the weather as are at this day all the stations on the Hudson River Railroad, including Albany.

For the first year, the track terminated at Monroe street, at the head of Water street, crossing the block from about the corner of John Mulhany's store to the rear of Roff & Co.'s. During 1837, the track was extended along what is now Water street, to the foot of Lagrange street, over the water the whole way, piles being driven to support it,—the line varying from 50 to 200 feet from the then line of shore. Water street was not filled in till 1843.

In 1842, the Toledo House was enlarged by the addition of another story, with great, awkward, wooden columns put up in front, but considered very grand, and its name changed to that of the "Indiana House," and was for some years, under its new name, kept by Robert N. Lawton, who had previously had charge of the American. The completion of the Erie and Wabash, and the Miami canals, had drawn much of the travel and business towards the mouth of Swan creek, making the Indiana House the better location. Much of the travel between New York, and Cincinnati, and St. Louis, was by lake from Buffalo, and thence by canal packet boat from Toledo. The "packet dock," still retaining the name in front of the present St. Charles Hotel, was then a very lively business spot. Packet lines started from this dock on both canals, generally crowded with passengers, there being no competing lines of railroad on either side. The packets had for agent at Toledo, William J. Finlay, who there began his business career.

The opposite bank of Swan creek terminated in high bluff, not far from the artesian well on Ottawa street. No improvement had then been made on that side, the trees extending to the edge of the bank. Possibly some of the ladies of Toledo who, when children, attended Miss Alice Jenks' school, may remember a May-day pic-nic, given to the scholars on the 1st of May, 1844. It was held in the woods, out of sight and hearing of the town, in a secluded spot, a few rods beyond the present Oliver House.

A small frame house was standing on the point near the site of the Wabash Railroad Car Shops. This belonged to John Baldwin, and was the only dwelling on the shore between Swan creek and John and George Knaggs.

What is now known as the "Middle-Ground," was a wild rice swamp, commencing about opposite the foot of Monroe street. The lower end was under water during the fore part of the season, till the long grass began to show itself, becoming quite thick by autumn. It became shoaler till near the Cleveland railroad bridge, where there was land barely above water, and a little further south were two fishing stations, used in the spring and autumn. But what soil there was above water, was too low and wet for any attempt at cultivation. Even then it was foreseen, by some of the residents of

Toledo, that this middle-ground would prove to be the right place for railroad purposes; but even the sanguine expectations of that day of wild speculation, did not anticipate the present business importance of the location. Even later, when it was brought before the managers of the Michigan Southern Railroad, there was strong opposition to the plan before its adoption. It was feared that the expense would be too great, and it was confidently urged that the whole could never be wanted.

In 1837, Andrew Palmer & Co. put up a warehouse, some 120 feet northeast from Monroe street, and carried on forwarding business in it for some years, the firm being a part of the time Palmer, Bush & Co. This warehouse passed into other hands, and was burned in 1853. Andrew Palmer left Toledo in 1845, for Wisconsin, where he is still living. Peter Palmer is in Lockport, and the other partner, William H. Bush, returned to New York.

Two other and larger warehouses were put up in 1838, each of them having three stories. One in the rear of B Meilink's furniture store,—this was burned in 1840. The other, then belonging to Hezekiah D. Mason, is known as the Godard warehouse, and now belonging to Young & Backus.

In 1840, the old red warehouse was built at the corner of Monroe and Water street, originally 40 feet front, but another 40 feet were added in 1842,—the whole still standing. The Daniels warehouse, at the foot of Jefferson street, dates from 1843.

The four stores on the southeast corner of Summit and Monroe streets, are the oldest substantial brick structures on either of the two streets. They were begun in 1842, and finished during the next year. The bluff at this place was 20 feet high, and had to be dug away to make room for the block. It is said there was a small military post [Fort Industry] on this bluff,—a block house,—probably as far back as the time when the British government held possession on the river, which they did as late as 1766. Soon after the digging was commenced, two skeletons were found, which, from remnants of shoes and buttons, were supposed to have been soldiers belonging to the little garrison.

In the spring of 1844, the corner store was opened by A. Ralston & Co. (Alex. Ralston and and Solomon Linsley), as a drug store. Ralston did not remain long, when the firm became S. Linsley & Co., which firm was succeeded by West & Van Stone, the present occupants,—the stand having been used in one line, for the same business, during the same period. Where Smith & Simmons now are, was leased by Charles O'Hara for a wholesale grocery. Afterwards, it was taken by V. H. Ketcham & Co. for their business, which was continued there for some years by their successors, Secor & Berdan. The Poag block on the corner of Madison street, was put up in 1849; and the Deuel block about the same time.

As early as 1832, attention was turned towards the place where the Wabash and Erie Canal and the Miami Canal, would probably

enter Lake Erie, or the Maumee river. Not long afterwards, some of the more enterprising men of Buffalo, who were engaged in the forwarding business on the Erie canal, and owning large vessel and steamboat interests on the lake, looking to the further extension of their business, became interested near the mouth of the river, where is now Manhattan. Among these parties who had planned to make Manhattan the business point, was Isaac S. Smith, of the then firm of Smith & Macy, of Buffalo. He had never seen the proposed location, till, in the year 1834, he came up to look at the prospects generally, and then, for the first time, visited the rival sites, from Maumee to Manhattan. He was not long in perceiving the generally superior advantages of Vistula and Port Lawrence, and advised his associates to look to these places as the more advisable for their purposes. Under his advice, Smith & Macy, and Pratt & Taylor, agreed to join in the purchase of property there. Henry W. Hicks, of New York, also, was joined with them equally in the project—Smith, acting for the others, sought out Edward Bissell, whose sagacity at once grasped the advantages of having such parties for coadjutors. They arranged for a purchase from Oliver & Williams of a large interest in the Port Lawrence tracts, also, and then it was agreed to unite the two opposition villages of Vistula and Port Lawrence, as one town, under the name of Toledo. From this time the growth of the place was encouraging. It was then all a forest, from near Locust street to Jefferson street—the original settlements having been on and near Lagrange street, in Vistula, and about the mouth of Swan Creek, in Port Lawrence. These woods were cut away, opening the space between the two places. The next year, 1835, the forest was cut on the low ground, back of Port Lawrence, and along the sides of Mud creek. This low ground was apparently a swamp, difficult to reclaim; and it remained much in that condition till 1846, when a partially successful attempt was made to drain it by a sewer along the line of Oak street, where is the present enlarged sewer.

Mr. Hicks had active capital, and it was used freely in buildings, and various improvements, and in giving a start generally. The project of the railroad to Adrian, received a new impetus, and was pushed ahead rapidly. The steamboats on the lakes, owned and controlled by the two Buffalo firms—Smith & Macy, and Pratt & Taylor—commenced to stop on the way to Detroit, that being as far as they were regularly run. An occasional trip, however, would be made to Green Bay and Chicago—once, perhaps, by each boat during the season. These boats, on their returns from the “Upper Lakes,”—as Lakes Huron and Michigan were called,—were always decked out with evergreens, tied to flag-staff, mast head, and bowsprit, as an indication of the far off regions they had visited.

Notwithstanding the adhesion of these firms to Toledo, there was still a strong Buffalo interest, backed by capital, that favored Manhattan, and considerable improvement was made there, in building,

wharfing, etc. This influence was kept up for some years for Manhattan, and did not fully die out till 1844, or 1845. One of the Toledo forwarders (M. L. Collins,) was given the use of a large warehouse in Manhattan, rent free,—this was in 1843,—and several canal boats were sent up from the Erie canal, to form a line for him to run there. These boats made one trip from Manhattan to Lafayette and back. Their second trip was from Manhattan and back to Toledo. They then went by river to Manhattan, for the third start. After that, Mr. Collins quit his free-rent warehouse, and returned to Toledo, with his entire line.

It was not till June, 1836, after the boundary-line dispute between Ohio and Michigan had been settled by Congress in favor of the former, by which it acquired the strip of land including Toledo and Manhattan, that Ohio went energetically at work with her canals—the Indiana portion being then nearly finished. Then came the struggle for its terminus on the river. Maumee City and Perrysburg, being settlements counting over twenty years' existence, had confidently claimed the terminus as the proper and natural one, being at the head of navigation. Manhattan urged, in favor of its location, nearness to the lake, and consequently more ready accessibility for sailing vessels, which would not be liable to the tedious delays from head winds in the narrow channel of the river, to the towns above it. At this time, most of the freight was carried in sailing vessels of 60 to 120 tons, and tugs were unknown and unthought of; so that it would often take as much or more time for sailing vessels, with head winds, or none at all, to get from or to the mouth of the river to the foot of the rapids, as for the voyage to Buffalo. Toledo held that her better harbor, deeper water,—nearness enough to the lake to be reached by sailing craft, even with head wind, at any time,—placed her ahead of Manhattan, as did the rock bar near Maumee, and the general shoaling of the river, in that direction, place her ahead of the latter place, and of Perrysburg.

Another town was started, in the early part of 1836, intended to obviate the rock bar difficulty. This was Marengo, located some three miles below Maumee and Perrysburg, and below the bar. A steam saw mill was built—streets laid out—on paper chiefly—and some houses and stores put up, and a claim boldly made for the place as combining all the advantages of the other villages. Considerable property changed owners here, on a sort of lottery venture. Many residents of Maumee and Toledo, are at this day hardly aware that such a place as Marengo ever existed on the river; and except by a few of the older ones, its once location could not be found,—there being now no sign of town or village, where its site was.

As an offset to Marengo, Stephen B. Comstock, although largely interested in the Port Lawrence portion of Toledo, immediately made a paper city on river tracts 12 and 13, near the mouth of Del-

aware creek, and some three miles up the river from Toledo, having all the public squares, market places, railroad depots etc., so easily made on maps. Drawing from the same line of history, the name of Austerlitz was bestowed upon the paper town. Strange as it may seem, there was a readiness to invest even in Austerlitz lots, then covered by a dense forest, and as bare now of any city indications as is Marengo.

On the south bank of the river, Isaac Street had a town under way. Here too was a saw mill in operation, bossed by Frederick Prentice,—a store, a tavern, and several dwellings, so that the place had the appearance of quite a flourishing new settlement. Friend Street called his town Oregon. He favored the bringing of the canal in on the bayou, near the Michigan Southern Railroad round-house, and having this bayou for the canal basin, and then making a cut from it to the river about where Mitchell & Rowland's saw mill now is. Street was patient and persevering, and held to the faith that his town would be a success, till about 1840. There remain as few signs of its location as at either Marengo or Austerlitz. Its site is now occupied by the Prentice nursery.

Many people were drawn into these wild projects, who should have been sagacious enough to have kept clear of them. There seemed to prevail an epidemic for buying town lots, that attacked many at the sight of a handsomely lithographed map, that was, incurably, proof against every remedy other than inevitable experience.

One of the objections operating strongly against Manhattan, was the fact that the channel of the river ran along near the opposite bank. So, to obviate this objection some of the believers in the theory that great cities, like New York, grew up near the entrance of rivers, made a map of Lucas City, supposed to have stood where the Manhattan Iron Works now are,—the said map being the only existence it ever knew. Yet, here, too, many lots were sold, the purchasers doubtless indulging in the Micawber-like hope that something might turn up from them.

In the struggle between the rival towns, it became necessary for Toledo and Manhattan to make a common cause, to prevent the stopping of the canal at Maumee. Some of the present citizens of Toledo had originally cast their fortunes at Maumee,—among them, General John E. Hunt, Jesup W. Scott, Samuel M. Young, Morrison R. Waite, and others. It is easy to understand how powerful were the influences which men of so much ability and energy could bring to bear in favor of their own location. Notwithstanding this formidable array for ending the canal at the foot of the rapids, the down-river parties prevailed, ending in a sort of triple compromise, locking the water in at all three of the places—Maumee, Toledo, and Manhattan, and bringing it to the two latter, on what was called the high level, that they could have the advantage of the water power for milling and manufacturing purposes. By this plan, the nominal terminus of the canal was at Manhattan, locking into the

river by side cuts at Maumee City, and at Toledo. The Toledo men were rather satisfied at this arrangement, believing that the superiority of their location would eventually absorb the whole business, and their faith in this respect has been fully justified, by the working result.

It was believed by many at the time, that money was used by the down-river parties, in this matter,—that “ring,” perhaps, bringing to bear more potent arguments than the up-river “ring” produced; but this may be placed in the category of the many charges of British gold as having been used by successful political parties, often made after election, by the defeated.

[From memoranda relating to former political parties, and conflicts, the following are selected:]

It was during Mr. Edgerton's 2d term in congress, that the Kansas-Nebraska bill, — rescinding the Missouri Compromise, was passed, he, with several other sagacious democratic members, uniting in determined opposition to the measure. They foresaw the probably disastrous effect it could not but have on their party. The party, nevertheless, adopting it as a party measure, Edgerton was not re-nominated in '54. He however, would not permit his name to be used as a candidate before a mass convention, called at Defiance in Sept., 1854 by the free-soilers and opponents of the Kansas-Nebraska bill, although urged to do so; but, like Potter, remained faithful to his political organization. The Defiance mass convention, in 1854, put in nomination Richard Mott, of Toledo, who, greatly to his own surprise, as well as that of the convention, was elected. This convention had been called for the purpose of uniting whatever free soil strength there might be found to exist in the northwestern part of the State, and with little or no expectation of overcoming the previously great democratic majority in the district. The Toledo *Blade*, then owned and edited by Joseph R. Williams, was greatly instrumental in bringing about the revolution that gave the republicans the ascendancy in the district, which is still maintained. The plan of spreading republican or free soil speeches made in Congress, was also actively kept up under the frank of the member who, in this way, flooded the district with the fullest information on the subject of slavery, and thus aided in keeping unimpaired the republican ascendancy. As has been said, the *Blade*, under the management of its able editor, was an early and earnest advocate of free soil principles, and an efficient opponent to the slave power, as then known and felt. Williams' fearless course soon gained for the paper its character as a leading exponent of radically liberal principles, and it became a power in the northwest.

Edgerton's refusal to bolt, in 1854, and his adherence to his party, were mainly the causes that procured for him the nomination in 1856. The republican ideas had, however, by that time become



W. J. Daniels

much more prevalent, and even he who had so resolutely opposed, throughout, the repeal of the Missouri Compromise, popular and able as he was, could not succeed as the candidate of the party which had repealed it. From that period, the district has rightly been counted upon as sure for the republicans, and of the most radical stripe.

In 1858, James M. Ashley was nominated and elected, and re-elected for each term, till 1868, and the loss of his election that year was owing to other than causes indicating a falling off in the republican strength, as was shown by the result of the election in 1870.

At the earlier city elections in Toledo, party lines were not much regarded, till, in 1840, the whigs called a convention as such, and put up Myron H. Tilden as candidate for Mayor. Immediate opposition was made to the movement, and another convention was called to select a candidate, without reference to politics, which nominated James M. Whitney, also a Whig, as the citizens' candidate, the democrats voting for him en masse, and some Whigs; but Tilden was elected by four votes. From that time, the city officers have been generally selected as party candidates, with fluctuating success, the Whigs generally holding the ascendancy, till 1845. From that time, the democrats, with occasional defeats, were most of the time in power, till 1861. The republican success since then, in the city, is much indebted to the German population, a large portion of whom seem to have attached themselves to the party as upholding advanced and radical views, in sympathy with their own.

WILLARD J. DANIELS.

The subject of this sketch was born in Addison County, Vermont, in May, 1813, and first visited Toledo in the autumn of 1832. When he came to the place, he was in his 19th year. He entered into the mercantile business with his brother, the late Munson H. Daniels, in a store on the corner of Summit and L'grange streets. In the following year (1833), he purchased of S. B. Co. rstock, agent of the Port Lawrence company, the east 26½ feet of Lot No. 10, in the Port Lawrence Division, for which he paid twenty-five dollars in goods—this being the first real estate purchase he ever made. On this lot he erected a store. At the same time he purchased Lot 19 for fifty dollars; also, 60 feet on Summit, and 100 feet in the rear of dock front on the river (the former being the lot recently occupied by Bronson & Mesinger, for their tobacco store) for seventy five dollars; also, about the same time, Lot 44, corner of Monroe and St. Clair streets, for fifty dollars, and many other lots, in the Port Lawrence Division, at proportionate rates. His aim, in real estate purchases, was to get as near the mouth of Swan creek as possible. In 1836, in company with his brother, R. C. Daniels, they erected a

three-story brick store on lot twelve, corner of Summit and Monroe streets—the ground now being occupied by Lenk's block.

Willard J. and Munson H. Daniels erected the first wooden store, adjoining the Toledo House. They paid \$25 for the lot, No. 10 of 26 feet front, which would now sell readily for \$26,500.

At the meeting of the Vistula and Port Lawrence interests, heretofore referred to, called for the purpose of consolidating the interests of the two towns, the question of a name for the places thus to be united, was a subject of debate. Several names were proposed, when finally Mr. Daniels suggested that of "Toledo,"—having derived some knowledge from historical reading of this old capital of Spain. There then being no city or town having this name upon this continent, was one of the strongest reasons for its adoption; and here it may be proper to insert the following from Appleton's *Cyclopædia*, Vol. XV.:

"Toledo was the ancient capital of Spain. It stands upon a rocky height, upon three sides of which the river flows in a deep and narrow channel, crossed by two stone bridges about one hundred feet in height, one of which was built by the Moors. The surrounding country is undulating, and generally barren, and the heat in summer is very great. The appearance of the city is remarkably picturesque. The cathedral, founded in 1258, stands in the centre of the town, and is one of the finest in Spain. It is of the purest Gothic style, 404 feet long, and 204 feet wide, with a spire 324 feet high. The palace of the Archbishop (who is the Primate of Spain,) adjoins the cathedral, and contains a library very rich in ancient manuscripts. The Alcazar, or royal palace, is in a very dilapidated state. The principal manufactures are woollen and silk goods, oil, leather, and the sword blades for which the town is so famous. The swords of Toledo attained great celebrity in the time of the Moors. According to tradition, Toledo was founded by Jewish colonists, in the sixth century B. C., and called Toledom, 'mother of people.' It was taken by the Romans in 192 B. C., and some portion of the walls, and an amphitheatre, erected by them, still remain. It was taken by the Goths in A. D. 467, and made the capital of Spain in 567. The Moors captured it in 711, and under them it made great advances. Alfonso VI., of Castile, and Leon, wrested it from the Moors, after a terrible siege, in 1085, when it was again made the capital of the Christian kings, and, at one time, had a population of 200,000. It afterward suffered many sieges, which, together with the removal of the Court to Madrid, have been the chief causes of its decline."

In the summer of 1834, Mr. Daniels erected a warehouse on the 100 feet dock purchase above mentioned, and in 1835-36, erected the Palmyra Mills, near Adrian, Michigan. In 1836, during the Presidential contest between Van Buren and Harrison, Mr. Daniels and Judge Potter were joint proprietors of the *Toledo Blade*, and their money saved the paper from suspension, and continued it for several months, in the local interests of the place. Subsequently the



J. Ponté

establishment passed into the hands of Fairbanks & Willard, two young printers from Detroit. Fairbanks has been, during many years, one of the editors and proprietors of the *Cleveland Herald*.

The first school house in Toledo was built in 1834, at the expense of Willard J. Daniels, Stephen B. Comstock, and Stephen Bartlett. It yet stands on the ground near the African church. The first school teacher was Mrs. Munson H. Daniels. Her maiden name was Harriett Wright, and she was a niece of Silas Wright, of New York. The first Court of Lucas county was held in this school building.

In January, 1838, Mr. Daniels married Miss Caroline Walbridge, of Toledo, who died in the fall of 1849; and in December, 1855, (having, in the meantime, in the fall of 1853, removed to Lockport, New York,) married, at Milwaukee, Wisconsin, Miss Isadore E. Hopkins.

As a member of the City Council, a director of the Erie & Kalamazoo Railroad, and in all the public schemes that affected the interests of Toledo, Mr. Daniels has taken a prominent part. He yet holds large real estate interests in Toledo, and in Lockport, New York, the city of his present residence. Although, at the age of fifty-nine, his mental and bodily vigor exhibit no signs of decay, and he appears as ready to engage in private or public enterprise as when he commenced his business career in Toledo forty years ago.

FREDERICK PRENTICE.

Joseph Prentice and family removed from Brooklyn, New York, to Ashtabula, Ashtabula county, Ohio, probably in 1814, and remained here a short time; and from thence to the mouth of Swan Creek—making the trip from Ashtabula to the Maumee with sledges on the ice; stopping at nights at Indian towns, as there were then few white settlements on the shore, between the two points.

Soon after his arrival, Mr. Prentice connected himself with the Cincinnati Company, composed of Major Oliver, Micajah T. Williams, and others, the original proprietors of the old "upper town," and took charge of their building arrangements. He erected the first warehouse [described elsewhere in the reminiscences of Richard Mott], also the first frame dwelling house in Toledo. His residence was first in the warehouse, and then into the dwelling above mentioned. The latter building was only a few rods from the former, and the ground is now occupied by the block embracing the numbers 33, 35, 37, and 39 Summit street. It was at his suggestion that the town at the mouth of Swan Creek was named Port Lawrence, in honor of the gallant naval officer who bore that name; and here it may not be out of place to mention that Swan Creek, according to the statement of Mr. Prentice, was so named by the Indians, in consequence of the numerous swan that, every spring and autumn, reveled upon its bosom.

The precise date at which Mr. Prentice reached Toledo cannot, by reason of a destruction by fire of certain manuscripts, be given; but it was a brief period subsequent to the war of 1812.

It was in the first frame house erected in Toledo, above referred to, that Frederick Prentice, on the 6th of December, 1822, was born; being the first white child born in Port Lawrence, now Toledo.

In his settlement with the company, Mr. Joseph Prentice selected the southwest portion of the tract on the east side of the river, to which he removed with his family in about 1825, and where they resided until his death, which occurred May 6th, 1845, at the age of 64 years; that day being also the anniversary of his birth. Mrs. Eleanor Prentice, his widow, remembered by the old society of the lower portion of the valley as a most estimable and exemplary lady, survived her husband about ten years.

There is not, probably, in the Maumee Valley, a gentleman whose business experience has been attended with fluctuations so marked, and yet so generally successful, as that which has characterized the business career of Frederick Prentice. During his boyhood, there were no schools nearer than the river Raisin, or Fort Wayne; and consequently his means of education, other than the instruction imparted by his mother, were very limited. At the age of thirteen years, his father became physically infirm, by reason of a sprain in the back, caused by a fall; and this misfortune imposed upon Frederick, mere boy that he was, almost the entire support of the family; but the rough life he had led made him more of a man, and better fitted for the responsibilities he had assumed, than many others whose years alone indicated manhood. As pork was \$60 per barrel, flour from \$25 to \$30, calico from 60 to 75 cents per yard, and labor only 50 to 75 cents per day, for able-bodied men, the self-imposed task of supporting his parents and himself by days' work, seemed greater than even his stout heart could bear.

Having been, from infancy, associated with Indians—an Indian woman having been his nurse—he had acquired even a better knowledge of their language than of the English. He therefore addressed himself to the business of interpreter for Indian agents and traders, and also to hunting and fishing; and from these several occupations he derived sufficient means to maintain his family in comfortable circumstances—receiving, however, the efficient aid, as Mr. Prentice says, of one of the best mothers, house-keepers, and cooks, that ever blessed a son.

As good a hunting ground as the country then afforded, was on and around the place now within the city plat of Toledo, where he states he has killed many a deer, wild turkey, and other game. The neighborhood where now stands the Oliver House, appeared especially to be a favorite haunt for deer. In these pursuits, and attending school winters, he continued, until he had attained the age of 18 years, when he engaged in the business of supplying the Toledo market, and river steamboats, with wood, and also hewn ship timber for the



John E. Stunt

New York and other markets. He also made extensive purchases of wild land, taking the timber off, and then selling, in limited tracts, to actual settlers,—a policy that proved not only advantageous to purchasers, but hastened the development of the region on the southeast side of the river, embracing a district of six or seven miles eastward and southward, within which limit more than one-half the land was, originally, or is now, held by him; and many, on that side the river, now in opulent worldly circumstances, acknowledge their indebtedness to Mr. Prentice for his forbearance, and monetary aid, at a time when his friendship was of the highest value to them.

Like most business men, who have been engaged in enterprises of considerable magnitude, Mr. Prentice, at one time of life (1857), met with financial reverses, which made it necessary that he compromise with his creditors; and although the disaster was caused chiefly by endorsements, after he recuperated, some five or six years later, he notified his old creditors that, although there had been a *legal* settlement of their claims, he felt under *moral* obligations to abandon the terms of compromise, and pay the full value of all their claims, with ten per cent. interest on deferred payments. His action in this matter, as well as a similar one on the part of Mr. William H. Raymond (now in California), afford instances of commercial honor that will constitute a bright page in the business history of Toledo. Although, within the last few years, Mr. Prentice has been highly favored by fortune; and although other commercial cities of greater present importance, offer larger and richer bounties for his enterprise; and although, from his ample means, he could find excitement and interest in travel, and sojourn in the gay capitals of the world;—he yet prefers Toledo, his native place—his old home—sanctified by early struggles, and rendered dear beyond all other considerations, by the presence of old friends, who were witnesses of the rugged pathway he travelled in early life.

Among his late purchases is a delightful home, formerly the property of the late Truman H. Hoag, situated within 200 feet of the site of the old homestead of Major B. F. Stickney. In this delightful mansion, the best now in Toledo, Mr. Prentice will probably spend the remainder of his days.

JOHN ELLIOTT HUNT.

The father of the subject of this sketch was the late Colonel Thomas Hunt, of the First Regiment United States Infantry. He was a volunteer, and took part in the battle of Lexington, and also rendered service at the battle of Bunker Hill, where he was wounded. Subsequently, under General Anthony Wayne, at the storming of the British fort at Stony Point, on the Hudson, he received a bayonet wound in the calf of his leg, and was promoted for good conduct on that occasion; and, in 1793, he received his commission from

President Washington, as Major, and afterwards, from President Jefferson, as Lieut. Colonel and Colonel of the same regiment. St. Clair maintained that, if he had had this well-disciplined and gallant First Regiment in his army, at the critical moment, his disastrous surrender would not have occurred.

Colonel Hunt was in command of Fort Defiance eighteen months after the battle of the Fallen Timbers. In 1796, he was ordered to the command of Fort Wayne, which post he held until 1798, when he was transferred to Detroit to succeed Colonel Hamtramck, after the death of the latter officer. In June, 1803, he was ordered with his regiment from Detroit to St. Louis. His regiment landed at Fort Industry [now Toledo], and passed a night here, on its route to St. Louis. Fifteen miles from the latter place he built the cantonment on the bank of the Missouri, where, after three years, he died. Himself and wife, Eunice, are buried there, at a place called Bellefontaine.

General John E. Hunt is the oldest native citizen in the Maumee Valley—having been born within the enclosure of Fort Wayne, April 11, 1798. His earlier years were chiefly spent with a senior brother, Henry Hunt, a merchant of Detroit. He was there at the time of Hull's surrender, and a witness of that humiliating spectacle. Though only fourteen years of age, no one, whether soldier or citizen, felt more deeply the insult to our country, involved in the imbecile conduct of Hull.

He was married at the house of Governor Lewis Cass, Detroit, the 29th of May, 1822, to Miss Sophia Spencer, daughter of Dr. Spencer, of Connecticut.

General Hunt has several hundred manuscript pages embodying his personal reminiscences of the Northwest, which contain historical matter of much interest, and which should be, at a future time, published. From these reminiscences, the following is extracted:

“Jack Brandy (a Shawanee Indian), while conveying Winchester, as his prisoner, to Proctor's camp, captured Whittmore Knaggs, the old Pottatomie agent, and father of George and James Knaggs. Some time before the war, Knaggs had caused Jack to be flogged for some offence, and ascertaining who had taken him, supposed, as a matter of course, that he would be slain. Jack re-assured him with promises of safety. Before they arrived at the camp, they were met by a band of Pottatomies, who, with upraised tomahawks, rushed towards Knaggs. Jack stepped between them and his prisoner—told them they must kill him before they killed Knaggs, and thus saved him from massacre.

“This same Jack Brandy, a few days before the massacre of Raisin, in conversation with Harry Hunt, of Detroit, told him, that, if occasion ever offered, he would be kind to the Yankees, and bring any that might fall into his hands safely to Detroit. This promise he so far fulfilled, as to drag from the buildings at the river Raisin massacre, a large Kentuckian, named John Green, who had been wounded in the engagement. Wrapping him carefully in his blan-

ket, he laid him in his carryall, and started on a trot for Detroit.—The next morning, Hunt saw Jack drive up in front of the town, and with one or two friends went to see him.

“‘Well, Jack,’ he enquired, ‘have you brought us some venison, to-day?’”

“‘Yes, Harry Hunt,’ replied the Indian, throwing the blanket off his captive; ‘good Yankee venison. I told you Jack Brandy cannot lie.’”

“Mr. Hunt purchased the liberty of Green, took him to his house, and afterwards restored him to his friends, who, supposing he was slain, enlisted under Harrison to avenge his death.

“Some time before the close of the war, Harry Hunt bought a fine horse, which was stolen soon after, by a band of Pottawatomies. On entering his store, a day or two afterwards, Hunt encountered Jack Brandy, who, observing the seriousness of his countenance, enquired as to the cause. On being informed, Jack replied: ‘may be me get him again,’ and mounted his pony, and started in pursuit. He soon struck the trail of the Pottawatomies, and came up with them two days afterwards, and camped with them, and told them he had a special mission to the Indians near Chicago, which had an important bearing upon the war. This pleased his entertainers, and they told him about the fine horse they had got. Jack, upon the plea of urgent business, bantered them for a trade, promising, if, on trial, the horse proved to be good, to pay the difference between him and his pony. At daylight, the horse, with saddle and bridle, was brought up for Jack to prove. He bestrode him, rode a short distance in the direction of Chicago, struck into the woods, and that was the last his Indian friends saw of him. The next day he rode into Detroit at top of speed, and surrendering the horse to his owner, repeated, most emphatically:

“‘There, Harry Hunt, I tell you once more, Jack Brandy cannot lie!’”

“The horse was afterwards sold to General Proctor for one hundred guineas, and on this beast this representative of the ‘chivalry’ of Great Britain made his escape at the Thames.

“Ottuso, the grand nephew of Pontiac, captured Captain Baker, of the 17th Infantry, at the battle of the river Raisin. On his return to Detroit with his prisoner, accompanied by his son, Wa-se-on-o-quet, he encamped the first night at Huron river. He ordered the boy to make a fire. The young man asked why the ‘Yankee dog’ could not do it?

“‘My son,’ answered Ottussa, ‘such language is wrong. This prisoner is a chief among his own people. We must treat him as we would wish to be treated, under like circumstances.’”

“Ottuso obeyed this golden rule, and took the best care of his prisoner. Baker was sent to Quebec, but exchanged in time to join Harrison’s army, and take part in the battle of the Thames.

“The day after the return of the army from the Thames to De-

troit, a band of Indians, with a white flag, was seen to emerge from the wilderness in the rear of the town. Harrison ordered Captain Baker to treat with them. He approached them, and recognized in their leader his old captor and friend, Ottuso. The meeting between them was highly affecting. Baker did not fail to repay, four-fold, the favors which had been bestowed upon him by the noble Indian."

General Hunt first engaged in the mercantile business at Maumee City, in 1816; during the year 1817 treaties were made at the foot of the rapids. His business partner was the late Robert A. Forsyth. It would surprise many, if they would meet them, to discover the number of those who are now wealthy farmers, bankers, etc., who cheerfully acknowledge that they were indebted to General Hunt for stocks of goods on credit, which gave them their first start in business life, at a time when they had no money, and could procure credit from no other quarter. His mercantile life embraced a period altogether of twenty years.

No one was more prominent than General Hunt in efforts to hasten the development of the Maumee Valley. Every scheme of importance, having this object in view, could not fail to have his powerful support. A banking and internal improvement project, originated with him in 1833, which, at the time, evinced a correct idea of the future commercial value of some point on the lower Maumee. This was a proposition to obtain, from the Territorial Legislature of Michigan, a charter authorizing a company to construct a railroad from Adrian to Toledo—conferring, also, upon the company banking powers. The General enlisted in his enterprise, Mr. E. C. Winters, then a school teacher at Maumee City, but afterwards a resident of Adrian, whom he persuaded to visit Detroit, and use his efforts to obtain from the Legislature a charter. Mr. Winters was successful in his mission, and this, really, was the origin of the Erie and Kalamazoo railroad. The Kalamazoo bank also derived its authority from this charter. It was the design of General Hunt to tap this road at a bend four miles east of Sylvania, by a branch leading into Maumee City, under the conviction that the branch would ultimately constitute part of the main line.

In 1835, having received the Democratic nomination, he was elected to the State Senate over Patrick G. Goode, his Whig opponent, in a District that gave, at the preceding election, a whig majority of 1,600. His majority in this contest was 180. In 1839, he was re-elected by a yet larger majority.

In 1849, a Democratic Convention for the Senatorial District composed of the counties of Lucas, Wood, Henry, Ottawa, and Sandusky, was called, to be held at Woodville, for the purpose of nominating a candidate for the Convention, to frame a new Constitution for Ohio. General Hunt had no wish or desire to be a candidate. On the other hand, he had freely expressed to his friends his preference for the nomination of the late D. O. Morton, of Toledo. Upon the assembling of the Convention at Woodville, General Hunt

was made chairman. The candidates presented to the Convention, were D. O. Morton, of Lucas; W. V. Way, of Wood, and Samuel Hollinshead, of Ottawa. An obstinate contest, continuing through several hours, between the friends of these gentlemen, failed to make a choice. The convention and the candidates became impatient, and anxious to conclude the business they were assembled to perform. In this temper, pervading all, I. K. Seaman, of Sandusky, without consultation, or prompting, took the floor, and moved that General John E. Hunt be nominated by acclamation. The chairman promptly declared the motion out of order, and that it could not be entertained—alleging, among other reasons, that the rules adopted by the convention for its government, prescribed that the vote for candidates should be by counties, and by ballot. Mr. Seaman appeared to falter for an instant, but General Brown, of Toledo, came to his aid—seconded his motion, and insisted that it was competent for the convention to rescind or suspend its own rules;—and that, therefore, as a Mass Convention, the chairman being temporarily deposed, he would himself put the question, “Shall General John E. Hunt be declared, by this convention, the nominee of the Democratic party, of this District, for a seat in the Constitutional Convention? Those in favor of this motion say *aye*.” And the shout of “aye” was unanimous—joined in by delegates and the late candidates alike—the only protestant being the President of the Convention, thus summarily deposed, and so unexpectedly, but flatteringly, nominated. The defeated aspirants severally pledged themselves to the support of the nominee—and one of them, Mr. Hollinshead, went so far, in the moment of his enthusiasm, as to say that his county of Ottawa would more than double its usual Democratic majority, and would give Hunt 150. Extravagant as this pledge then appeared, Ottawa *did* give the General over 200, and it occurred from the fact that an influential farmer, named Hartshorn, then a resident of Ottawa county, but regarding whose existence, or place of residence, General Hunt had no knowledge for a long period of time, happened to identify the name of General John E. Hunt as the one to whom he was indebted for having saved his life during a passage through the Black Swamp, thirty odd years previous, and he at once actively took the field, and was chiefly instrumental in producing the result in Ottawa county, above stated. The opportunity and method thus sought to discharge an old obligation, was as honorable to Mr. Hartshorn, as it was gratifying to the feelings of General Hunt.

His first Senatorial District embraced nearly one-sixth the area of the State, and the amount of local legislation demanded by this sparsely settled region, was very large, but faithfully attended to. During his service, vital measures relating to the canals, and other improvements of value to the Northwest, were before the legislature. It was on the motion of General Hunt, before the contracts for the canal construction were let, that a resolution was adopted instruct-

ing the Board of Public Works to make the Wabash and Erie canal, from its intersection with the Miami Extension canal, to its junction with the Maumee bay, sixty feet in width and six feet deep,—thus greatly facilitating navigation, and securing the valuable water power since enjoyed by Maumee City and Toledo. In 1835–37, General Hunt, as a member of the Ohio Senate, successfully exerted his influence to procure an appropriation of \$1,500,000 for the extension of the Miami Canal to the Maumee Bay; and had not this appropriation been made at that session, the probabilities are that the work would have been postponed indefinitely, as the financial revulsion that occurred a year or two later, would have defeated any proposition to undertake new enterprises. The appropriation of \$30,000 for the Western Reserve and Maumee road, which was the first bridge over the Black Swamp, also received his efficient aid.

In 1848, General Hunt was elected Treasurer of Lucas county, and in 1850 re-elected. Before the close of his second term, he was appointed by President Pierce postmaster at Toledo, and re-appointed by President Buchanan. To all his public trusts he was ever faithful, and commanded the full confidence of the people, of all parties.

One of the sources of the remarkable power exercised by General Hunt over the minds of cultivated as well as rude men, existed in his excellent social qualities. Although born and reared in a wilderness country, and his business dealings being chiefly with Indians, and semi-civilized white men, he has ever illustrated, in his transactions with mankind, the fact that he was, by birth, habit and instinct, a GENTLEMAN, in the highest definition of the word, and qualified, by his manners, to adorn any position in the most cultivated diplomatic and social circles. His physical vigor is remarkable. Time makes no visible inroad upon his features; and between the productions of the faithful artist who took his likeness thirty years ago, and the one who executed his work on yesterday, it would puzzle his old friends to detect the difference between the two.

MORRISON R. WAITE.

This gentleman was born at Lyme, Connecticut, November 29, 1816, and graduated at Yale College, in 1837. He studied law with his father, Hon. Henry M. Waite, who had been elected Judge of the Supreme Court of Errors of Connecticut, in 1833, and subsequently became Chief Justice of that Court.

The subject of this sketch removed to Maumee City, Ohio, in October, 1838, and resumed law studies in the office of Samuel M. Young, and was admitted to the Ohio bar in October, 1839. Previous to his admission, he had formed a law partnership with his preceptor, Mr. Young, which continued until the first of January, 1854. He had removed to Toledo, however, in the summer of 1850.



Foley Co.
M. R. Waite

In 1858, the existing partnership with his brother, Richard Waite, was formed.

On the 21st of September, 1840, he was married to Miss Amelia C. Warner, of Lyme, Connecticut.

Mr. Waite was elected as a Whig to the General Assembly of Ohio in the fall of 1849, in a legislative district then opposed to him in politics. This was the only political office ever held by him;—law, rather than politics, having always been his chosen field.

In November, 1871, he was appointed one of the counsel of the United States before the Tribunal of Arbitration, at Geneva, Switzerland, convened to adjust the claims of the United States against Great Britain, known as the Alabama claims—an appointment that reflected credit upon the administration that tendered it, unsought, and this selection was generally regarded by the bar and people of the Maumee Valley as a just recognition of the forensic and moral worth of one of their most eminent and cherished citizens.

If it may be granted that any of the profession were "to the manner born," as a lawyer, it may as justly be said of Mr. Waite, as of any of his cotemporaries, that he was thus created. His early predilections for the law were perhaps inherited from his father, who was one of the most distinguished jurists of Connecticut.

On the 5th of November, 1872, Mr. Waite landed at New York, on his return home from his mission. A committee, in anticipation of his arrival, had been sent forward to meet him in New York, and escort him to his home. The party reached Toledo on Saturday, November 9, and the reception ceremonies were published in the *Toledo Blade*, of that date, and are here copied:

"This morning, under a clear, beautiful sky, our city presented an appearance similar to that of a holiday, and flags and decorations streamed from many of the buildings on Summit street. The eleven o'clock train from the east, as if to tone down the enthusiasm of the people, kept the reception waiting some twenty minutes, but the delay was not a serious one. As was anticipated, the train bore the Hon. M. R. Waite and wife, with the escorting committee appointed to meet them in New York. Mr. Waite was at once conducted to an open carriage, in which he was placed with his honor, Mayor Jones, Mr. Samuel M. Young, his former law partner in business, and Jesup W. Scott. Several other carriages were filled with the committees of escort and reception, the committee appointed by the Board of Trade, and the remainder of the party from New York. They were preceded by the Walbridge Zouaves, and Toledo Cadets, headed by Milverstedt's band, and on reaching the Boody House, the columns of military faced inward, and presented arms as Mr. Waite's carriage passed between the lines.

"Mr. Waite was at once escorted to the St. Clair street balcony, of the Boody House, from which the party looked down on a vast concourse of people, who had assembled in the streets below. The

assembly was then called to order by General Lee, who announced the order of exercises, and requested the quiet attention of the audience, 'except when they felt like shouting, when they were to shout!'

"Mayor Jones then presented himself, and spoke as follows:

"Mr. WAITE: In the name and on behalf of all the citizens of Toledo, I extend to you a cordial welcome home.

"A little less than a year ago, when it was announced that you, sir, a citizen of our city, had been selected as one of three distinguished counsel to present our long disputed claim against Great Britain for arbitrament before one of the most learned and august tribunals the world had ever seen, we naturally felt a just pride in so distinguished an honor. If, sir, we were proud of the selection, with how much greater satisfaction do we hail the achievements which you and your illustrious associates have won in that great trial for the honor and glory of our country, and the cause of human peace everywhere.

"The proceedings of that great tribunal have attracted the attention of the whole civilized world, and constitute an epoch in history; and we believe that it will exercise a potent influence for good in all coming time, in substituting reason against force, peace against war. This conflict, in which you have borne so distinguished a part, will become one of the landmarks of our Christian civilization, and we may safely leave the verdict to the impartial judgment of mankind.

"Our city is justly proud of the intellectual achievements, which you, as one of her sons, have gained in that great contest, and again, in her behalf, I bid you welcome back among your old friends and neighbors. Thrice welcome home!"

"As soon as the applause which greeted Mr. Waite, as he stepped forward, had subsided, he replied briefly to the Mayor's address of welcome. The following is a synopsis:

"He thanked them for their kind reception. A little less than a year ago, they had bidden him God speed on the mission he had then undertaken. More than once, since that time, he had asked himself, 'will the friends I left, be my friends when I return?' This demonstration convinced him that his friends were still here, and that they had by no means forgotten him.

"It was not expected that he would enter into any detailed statement of the proceedings at Geneva. The Tribunal there assembled had rendered an honest judgment, which had been reached after a patient and careful examination of the facts, by men willing and anxious to do right. In time, Great Britain herself would acknowledge its justice. It was not surprising that she should now manifest impatience. She had been charged with a neglect of her international obligations, and upon the trial it had been found that the charge was true.

"He believed that a great step had been taken towards the settlement of national disputes by arbitration; a long stride towards

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Respectfully

Yours

H. Conant

the era of universal peace. We might not live to see the day when there would be no more war, but he thought we might witness the time when, before resorting to the power of the sword, nations would at least attempt to settle their disputes by peaceful arbitration. Great Britain was the first to consent to be tried by such a Tribunal, upon a charge of neglect in the performance of her duties as one of the family of nations, and the United States the first to seek redress in this way for such a wrong. The world would give them each full credit for the example which they, in the midst of their power, had thus put forth for the imitation of others.

“After giving expression to the satisfaction he felt in being once more with his neighbors and friends, and again thanking them for the cordial reception given him, Mr. Waite withdrew inside the hotel, where a lengthy season of hand-shaking closed the proceedings.”

Mr. Waite is now in the prime of life, and of useful activity; and it may be reasonably assumed that higher honors than even those he has yet attained, await him in the line of his profession.

DR. HORATIO CONANT, OF MAUMEE CITY.

Was born at Mansfield, Connecticut, the 25th of November, 1785. He received the degree of A. B., in 1810, at Middlebury College, and in 1813 the degree of M. A. He was engaged two and a half years, as tutor in the College. He studied anatomy at Malone, New York, with Dr. Waterhouse. In 1815, he visited Detroit, and spent the winter with his brother, a merchant; and, in 1816, with Almon Gibbs, opened a stock of goods on the north side of the river, opposite Fort Meigs. At this period, the country on both sides of the river was known as Fort Meigs. Continuing mercantile business about one year, he commenced the practice of medicine; and, although at different periods he held several official positions, such as Judge of the Court of Common Pleas: postmaster, collector of the port, justice of the peace for nearly half a century, and the office of county clerk after the organization of Lucas county, he made his profession his chief business. His professional visits extended up the Maumee river to Defiance, embraced all the country below: north to the river Raisin, and east and south to the Portage river, and Blanchard's fork; and on one occasion as high up the Maumee as Fort Wayne. In one instance, in making a horseback trip to Defiance, he swam no less than eight streams. At Defiance he left his horse and purchased a canoe, in which he floated down to his home.

When he first came to Maumee City, in 1816, there was one physician in practice, a Dr. Barton, who only remained about one year.

In December, 1817, he married Mrs. Eliza Forsyth, widow of Captain Forsyth. In 1828, Mrs. Conant died, and, in 1832, Dr. C. again married Mrs. Eunice Upton, who is yet his wife. The doctor now,

at the age of 87 years, is probably the oldest citizen of Lucas county; and of all his professional cotemporaries, in practice in 1816-17, whether in Ohio, Indiana, or Michigan, and then known to him, not one is now living. His life has been one of remarkable activity, and although in the discharge of professional duties, in the early settlement of the country, when streams were without bridges, and the roads in bad condition, he encountered many exposures and perils, his general health is yet good. He has witnessed the transformation of the country from a rude wilderness, to a state of high cultivation, and important commercial marts grow up in places where, when he first visited them, were only the abodes of Indians, wild beasts and fowls.

Former pages afford evidence that Dr. Conant was among the most public-spirited citizens, who aided in planting white settlements and civilization in this then wilderness country. As he is the oldest physician, he is also the oldest living merchant in the valley.

JESUP W. SCOTT.

Jesup Wakeman Scott was born on a farm in Ridgefield, Connecticut, February 25, 1799;—nearly all his ancestors being of the New Haven Colony stock, and embracing the Wakemans, Smiths, Banks, Benedicks, Bradleys, Lobdells, Jesups, etc. His advantages for education were poor up to the age of 15, when he commenced teaching and study; and, at the age of 20, he had gone through preparatory studies for entry to the junior class of Union College, Schenectady, New York. Afterwards, while teaching in Richmond Academy, Augusta, Georgia, he studied Greek and law, and, at the age of 23, was admitted to the bar of that State. In 1822, he attended Judge Gould's Litchfield school, and heard a course of law lectures.

In 1823, he opened a law office at Chesterville, South Carolina, and in 1824 married his cousin, Susan Wakeman, of Southport, Connecticut. In 1825, he removed to Lexington, South Carolina, where he became a law partner of John Belton O'Neall, a distinguished advocate, and Speaker of the lower House of the Legislature of South Carolina, and afterwards, up to 1862, Chief Justice of the State. In December, 1825, Mr. Scott reported the great debate in the House of Representatives, between Judge Smith and his friends, advocating resolutions in favor of State rights, and the upholders of Calhoun, in support of national views of Constitutional powers. For a short time, Mr. Scott performed some editorial labor for the *Columbia Telescope*, then the organ of Colonel William C. Preston, and President Thomas Cooper, representing the State Rights party. But his sympathies were with Calhoun and his doctrines, and he could not serve the other party. His friends then



J. W. Scott

procured for him the position of Deputy Treasurer of the State, which he held for several years, keeping his law office in the State House.

In 1828, O'Neill having been made Judge, and nullification clients not liking to support a northern union lawyer, Mr. Scott, with habits and disposition better fitted for study and reflection than for the performance of duties usually devolving on the practical lawyer, closed his office, and accepted an appointment as teacher in the State Female College, in Columbia; and when in the pleasant performance of the duties of this post, his mind, at intervals, was active in the study of the natural positions for future cities, to grow up in the then almost unpeopled interior of our country. While pursuing this field of investigation, he addressed a letter, dated "Columbia, So. Ca., 10th July, 1828," now nearly half a century ago, to General John E. Hunt, then postmaster at Maumee, in which he said:

"I wish to obtain all the information in my power respecting your section of country, with a view of making it my future residence."

His only means of knowledge of the country, were the imperfect maps in use at that time. On this subject he became somewhat enthusiastic, believing that he foresaw, beyond others, the prospect for future great cities, in positions then nearly or quite unknown. Transportation by water, being then the only cheap way, he expected the Ohio and Mississippi valleys to dominate the great commerce of the interior, at Cincinnati and St. Louis, or Alton. The Erie and Welland canals, afterwards, opened up lake navigation, and were aided by canals in Ohio and Illinois,—thus changing the current of trade from the rivers to the lakes, and demonstrating that the lake borders would achieve supremacy, instead of the river borders in city growth. Then he believed in and wrote favoring the great positions made by the extensions of lakes Erie and Michigan inland, and so commanding large territories. From the head of lake Erie, navigable canals reached to the Ohio river at Cincinnati and Evansville, embracing a distance, on both lines, of nearly seven hundred miles. From the head of Lake Michigan, a canal connected its navigation with that of the Mississippi, through the Illinois river. These channels were expected to concentrate a great part of the commerce southward and northwestward of the lake termini, in Toledo and Chicago; but soon it was discovered that railroads might come in successful competition with these water channels; and it was the sudden concentration of these, in Chicago, radiating thence over the fertile prairies, that sent Chicago ahead, beyond all precedent; and a like concentration at Toledo, surrounded, on its land side, by acres, when reclaimed, more fertile, gave promise of a like marvelous growth to this city.

In the light of these facts and experiences, and after maturely studying the progress of cities, the world over, and the direction and concentration of city growth towards and in a narrow climatic

zone, Mr. Scott put forth the results of his studies and convictions in a pamphlet designed to prove that the greatest city of the future would grow up on our continent, in its interior; and, probably, where Toledo, or Chicago now forms its nucleus. This great result, he claimed, would come within 100 years.

Mr. S. removed with his family to Perrysburg in May, 1833; and in December of that year, he, with Henry Darling, established, in that place, a weekly newspaper, the first in northwestern Ohio, entitled, "*Miami of the Lake.*" It was intended to represent all that new part of the State; but a change of proprietorship and editors occurred in 1835, and it became local in the interests of Perrysburg, and changed its name. In his first number, issued December 11, 1833, referring to the Maumee Valley, Mr. Scott said:

"Of this section we shall endeavor to make our journal a faithful and impartial representative organ;—in effecting which, it will become our duty to disabuse the public mind at the east, if our sheet shall have the fortune to circulate there, of the numberless false impressions in regard to this section, with which it is imbued. This we shall endeavor to do, by giving, as far as we are able, a faithful picture of the country, neither brightened by the false glare of undeserved praise, nor darkened by the sombre hues of causeless reproach; of which, we regret to say, the supposed interests of rival points of trade have occasioned it to receive an unwonted share."

From 1832 to the present time, Mr. S. has, first in his own paper, the *Emigrant's Guide*, and, afterwards, in the *Hesperian*, *Hunt's Merchants' Magazine*, and in the *Toledo Blade*, of which, for several years, he was editor and proprietor, and in *DeBow's Review*, written extensively on the subject of the internal and exterior commerce of our country, and the prospective growth of its cities. Of the chief of these cities he early forecasted, with now-recognized accuracy, their rapid growth and relative importance. Finally, their future so loomed up, in his imagination, that he confidently anticipated the time when, in less than a century, the greatest city of the world would be in the interior of our country.

In June, 1832, Mr. Scott purchased seventy acres, in what is now, and is likely to remain for years, the centre of Toledo. This, with other purchases, based on his faith in the growth of the city, so increased in value as to make his pecuniary condition sufficiently favorable, to allow time for investigation in his favorite department of knowledge of which the law of growth of modern cities, forecasting their future, has been the favorite. But his greediness for knowledge has led him into other fields, in which he has revelled without exploring any with exhaustive thoroughness. He has now, in his 75th year, completed papers for a permanent gift of one hundred and sixty acres of land, well situated for great future value, intended to give educational advantages not offered by our public schools, and designed to enable students of both sexes to earn an independent support.

This bequest, one of the most generous ever made by any resident of an Ohio city, is thus explained in the Toledo Morning *Commercial*, of October 24, 1872 :

“ A TOLEDO UNIVERSITY—MUNIFICENT DONATIONS FOR AN IMPORTANT EDUCATIONAL INSTITUTION — SOMETHING FOR TOLEDO'S FUTURE.

“ It has for some days been known to us, that our worthy fellow citizen, Jesup W. Scott, Esq., was maturing the plan of a movement which promised much for Toledo and the cause of education ; but we thought best to defer mention of it until it should assume definite and complete shape. This was reached yesterday afternoon, and we take the earliest opportunity to present the facts to the readers of the *Commercial*. The plan is for the establishment of an institution of learning, to be known as ‘The Toledo University of Arts and Trades,’ and to embrace the objects more particularly set forth in Mr. Scott's deed of trust.

“ The Trustees of the corporation met on the 23d of October in the Boody house, His Honor, Mayor Jones, in the chair, where they organized, by the choice of Hon. Richard Mott as President, and Colonel D. F. DeWolf, Superintendent of Public Schools, as Secretary.

“ Jesup W. Scott, Esq., being present, then delivered to the Board of Trustees the deed of trust of 160 acres of land, described therein, and located about three miles from the post office, together with a plat of the same, which were formally accepted and adopted by the Board on the conditions therein set forth.

“ A committee was appointed to draft by-laws and plan of work, and to call a meeting of the Board when ready to report.”

The following is a copy of Mr. Scott's deed of trust :

Know all men by these presents: That we, Jesup W. Scott and Susan Scott, in consideration of one dollar paid to us by the grantees hereinafter named, and of other considerations hereinafter expressed, do hereby convey to William H. Scott, Frank J. Scott, Maurice A. Scott, William H. Raymond, Chas. W. Hill, Richard Mott, Sarah R. L. Williams, and Albert E. Macomber, Trustees of the “Toledo University of Arts and Trades,” and, by virtue of their offices, the Superintendent of Public Schools of Toledo, the Mayor of Toledo, and the Governor of the State of Ohio and their successors, forever, the following described land, to wit : The west half of the southeast quarter ($W \frac{1}{2} S E \frac{1}{4}$) and the east half of the southwest quarter ($E \frac{1}{2} S W \frac{1}{4}$) of section four (4) in township three (3), in the United States Reserve of twelve miles square, at the foot of the Rapids of the Miami of Lake Erie, with the privileges and the appurtenances of the same.

To have and to hold, to the aforesaid grantees, as trustees, and their successors forever ; we hereby covenanting that the title so conveyed is unincumbered, and that we will warrant and defend the same against all claims whatsoever.

This conveyance is made to the said Trustees in *trust*, for the following objects and purposes, and subject to the following conditions, to wit : To establish an institution for the promotion of the Arts and Trades and the related Sciences, by means of lectures and oral instruction ; of models and representative works of art ; of cabinets of minerals ; of museums instructive of the

mechanic arts; and of whatsoever else may serve to furnish artists and artisans with the best facilities for a high culture in their respective occupations, in addition to what are furnished by the public schools of the city. Also, to furnish instruction in the use of phonographic characters, and to aid their introduction into more general use, by writing and printing; and, also, to encourage health-giving, invigorating recreations. All the advantages of the institution shall be free of cost to all pupils who have not the means to pay, and all others are to pay such tuition and other fees and charges as the Trustees may require, and be open alike to pupils of both sexes.

All the income from lessees of the lands herein conveyed, shall, after paying necessary charges and improvements, be expended by said Trustees to accomplish the objects herein stated. The Trustees shall plat and sub-divide the land hereby conveyed according to the annexed map, which shall be a part of this deed, and they shall dedicate the streets and open grounds to public uses not inconsistent with the uses of the trust, and shall lease, as opportunity offers, the lots thereon upon the terms following, to wit: For an annual rental of not less than four (4) per centum, nor more than six (6) per centum upon the fairly appraised value of the lots so leased; payable quarter-yearly. Said leases shall be for a term of five (5) years, renewable at the option of the lessee for an indefinite number of years, from time to time, at the end of each five years, on the basis of the appraised value at the commencement of each term of five (5) years.

The Board of Trustees shall prescribe the plans of all buildings to be erected upon the leased lots, and shall require that all dwelling houses be located not less than twenty (20) feet from the streets. The central plat five hundred (500) feet in diameter, is designed for the erection of buildings for the use of the University, to be built in sections, as funds may be acquired for that purpose, the front of which shall not be nearer than twenty (20) feet to the avenue.

The said Board of Trustees shall have power to fill by vote of a majority of its members (not less than five remaining), all vacancies by death or otherwise. If it shall be reduced below five, the Governor of Ohio is authorized to make appointments to fill up to that number.

In the division of the blocks into lots, each lot in the rectangular blocks should be, as far as practicable, twenty (20) feet wide, and those of the irregular blocks as near that size as may well be made.

In Witness Whereof, The said Jesup W. Scott and Susan Scott, have hereunto set their hands and seals, this twenty-first day of October, in the year one thousand eight hundred and seventy-two (1872).

JESUP W. SCOTT [SEAL].

SUSAN SCOTT [SEAL].

[Here follow the witnessing of the signatures, and the ordinary acknowledgment.]

The *Commercial* concludes its account as follows:

“It will be noticed with what propriety the memories of distinguished scientists, artists and educators are thus associated with the institution which is designed to supply more ready facilities for the objects which they promoted at so much disadvantage. This is the more fitting, since, but for the success attained through their great labor and self-denial, such an institution could not have the promise of the appreciation requisite for its success. May the merits of its graduates be found worthy of like recognition by future generations.

“The site of this institution is near the junction of the Air Line, Old Line, and Detroit Branch of the Lake Shore and Michigan



F. L. Nichols

Southern Railway, where large improvements are being made, and still more important and extensive ones are in progress. With the improvements there contemplated, an early demand for leases of University lots may be expected."

From the infancy of Toledo, when it was engaged in a doubtful struggle for commercial supremacy, with rivals long since disappeared from the arena of strife, Mr. Scott has been conspicuous and self-sacrificing in every wisely-directed effort to advance the interests of his chosen city.

It may with entire truth be stated, in concluding this notice, that no pen has hitherto been employed with anything approaching the vigor and effect in furthering the material interests of Toledo and the Maumee Valley, as the one in the hands of Mr. Scott. His logic in support of his favorite theories regarding the future of the interior city of this continent, attracted the attention of sound thinkers not only in this country, but in Europe; and not only Toledo, but Chicago, Detroit, and other Lake cities, have gathered strength, population and wealth from his labors. His life has been one of uninterrupted activity and usefulness; and years after he shall have passed away, his comprehensive, statesman-like mind, and the valuable services he has rendered the country, will be more fully appreciated than they are to-day, by a posterity who shall rejoice in the realization of his sagacious predictions.

FRANCIS L. NICHOLS

Was born in Herkimer co., N. Y., July 11, 1805; in January, 1830, at Fairfield, same co., was married to Miss Jeannette, daughter of Amza Bushnell, a pioneer of that country, and a brother of whom was among the first settlers of the North Western Territory at Marietta, in 1787. Judge Nichols removed to the Maumee Valley in January, 1836, and engaged in mercantile business at Manhattan, then a flourishing village, with flattering prospects of rapid growth.

Manhattan, Washington, Oregon and part of Adams, were at that time included in the township of Port Lawrence. Judge Nichols was elected and served as one of the Trustees of Port Lawrence, and, after its separate organization, of Manhattan township.

At the session of the Ohio Legislature, 1841-42, Mr. Nichols was elected one of the Associate Judges of Lucas county, which position, being poorly paid he resigned April, 1844, in order to accept the more lucrative office of Clerk of the Court of Common Pleas, and of the Supreme Court of said county.

His seven years' official service in these offices, then filled by the old Judges, closed with the expiration of the first Constitution of Ohio, and since the present organic law came in force, was re-elected in 1854, by the people, Clerk for the constitutional term of three years.

Judge Nichols then retired to his little farm—a delightful situation upon the banks of the Maumee river, which he cultivated,

combining the beautiful with the useful, in his operations, until the revolt of the Southern States occurred; and then, although past military age, he enlisted as a private soldier, offering his services to the country without regard to personal hopes of promotion or profit. If he did not meet the foe, and acquire the soldier's laurels in the field, it was because they did not approach and offer battle; and if he failed to advance and meet the enemy, it was for the reason that he was not ordered to do so. The friends of Judge Nichols are not ashamed of his military record, as the motives that dictated his engaging in the service were not to make money or secure tinsel for his shoulders, but to contribute, so far as he was able, to restore peace, union, and equal and exact justice to all men, of whatever persuasion, color, religion or politics.

In real estate operations, in which he has been engaged during the past several years, Judge Nichols has been successful, and lived to see his "little farm" embraced within the corporate limits of the city of Toledo; and few families in the city enjoy a higher degree of happiness and tranquility than do Mr. and Mrs. Nichols at their pleasant home.

[Consulting the convenience of printers, and for the purpose of facilitating the issue of this work, it is determined here to pass to the other Ohio Counties of the Valley, and to reserve for concluding pages the remainder of the matter relating to Lucas County.]

FULTON COUNTY.

This county, possessing a soil equal in fertility to any in North-western Ohio, was organized in 1849. It has no points of ancient historical interest. Its progress in population and wealth, has been very satisfactory.

The following are the census figures: In 1850, population 7,781; in 1860, 14,043; in 1870, 17,789.

Wauseon, the county seat, in 1860, contained a population of 378, and, in 1870, a population of 1,474.

Delta, in 1870, had a population of 753; and Archbald, of 373.

Wauseon has a first class newspaper, the NORTH-WESTERN REPUBLICAN, published by Messrs. A. B. Smith & Co.

HENRY COUNTY

Was formed April 1, 1820, and named from Patrick Henry, the celebrated Virginia orator in the revolutionary era. "The notorious Simon Girty," says Henry Howe, "once resided five miles above

Napoleon, at a place called 'Girty's Point.' His cabin was on the bank of the Maumee, a few rods west of the residence of the late Elijah Gunn. All traces of his habitation have been obliterated by culture, and a fine farm now surrounds the spot."

The following, from the brave and accomplished mind of the late William Hubbard, may be here appropriately introduced:

AT GIRTY'S ISLAND.

BY WM. HUBBARD.

It was once asked: 'Who ever thought of blaming Hercules?' It is quite as pertinent to inquire: 'Who ever thought of praising Simon Girty?' So far as he knows, the writer of this was the first to venture a word in his behalf. Girty had been taken prisoner by the Indians in early youth, and became attached at once to the red men, and to the wild life they led. That he should abide with them, and fight for them, is not to be wondered at. We hear much of his cruelty; but he was rivalled, at least, if not surpassed, in barbarism by his Christian foes. He was neither better nor worse than the average fighter of that day on either side. Kenton, for instance, was a fugitive from justice, a stealer of Indian horses, and withal a pretty rough sort of person. The Wetzels were murderers, with malice prepense, and nothing better. Even Colonel Crawford, on his last fatal march, bore the black flag into the Indian country, and proclaimed his purpose to spare neither age nor sex. Girty was not so merciless as he has been represented, by those to whom his name was a word of terror. He rescued Kenton from the stake, and it is believed that he tried to save the life of Crawford, though he might well have been excused for any strenuous effort in that behalf.

'Girty's Island' is seven miles above Napoleon, and comprises, as we are informed, about forty acres. The soil is remarkably prolific, and an extremely dense growth of vegetation is the result. Girty's cabin was on the left bank of the river: and it is said that when he was apprehensive of a surprise, he would retire to the island, as the tiger to his jungle, with a sense of almost absolute security from his pursuers:

A dense, wild mass of wood and vine,
And flowers and fruits in season,
And strong-armed oaks, this isle of thine
Was called so for good reason.
The hounded deer its covert sought,
In life's last faint endeavor;
And here the wild fowl's nest was wrought,
Where hunter found it never.

Thy heart was like this isle of thine,
Uncultured, unattended;
Where wholesome fruit and poisonous vine,
Grew up and strangely blended--

Where refuge never was denied
 To any suffering seeker,
 And succor waited for the side
 That needed it—the weaker.

Men named thee Outlaw, Renegade,
 Who seemed to have forgotten
 Assassin Wetzel's bloody trade—
 The Night of Gnadenhutten—
 The barbarous vaunt of Crawford's men,
 The Huns of old time shaming!—
 All this must have forgotten been,
 While thee so fiercely blaming.

No Knight in the chivalric age,
 Espoused cause more deserving,
 Or bore in tent or battle's rage
 A fealty more unswerving;
 No feeble race by Might opprest,
 E'er had more gallant warder
 Than thee, wild Warrior of the West,
 Grim Chieftain of the border.

Thy death, heroic as thy life,
 Made whole its perfect seeming,
 To perish in the fateful strife—
 Thy cause lost past redeeming.
 The world thenceforth could offer thee
 No further deeds of daring,
 And life would but a burden be
 Too onerous for bearing.

Oh, great-souled Chief!—so long malign'd
 By bold calumniators,
 The world shall not be always blind,
 Nor all men be thy haters.
 If ever on the field of blood,
 Man's valor merits glory,
 Then Girty's name and Girty's fame
 Shall shine in song and story.

NAPOLEON, Ohio, August, 1871.

The following were residents in Napoleon in 1837: Judge Alexander Craig, James G. Haley, General Henry Leonard, James Magill, John Powell, Hazell Strong, George Stout, and John Glass.

There were three small frame houses, the others being made of logs. The first house erected in the place, was a log cabin, 12 by 14 feet, and was offered to the public by Amos Andrews as a tavern.

On the usual road, on the north side of the river, between Maumee City and Fort Wayne, thirty-five years ago, after leaving the former place the first house the traveller would meet would be at Waterville, six miles above Maumee City, where he would find five or six dwellings. Passing up seven or eight miles farther, he would reach the tavern of Mr. Tiehean, a half-breed Indian. The next house, eighteen miles above, would be in a group of three or four, standing at Providence; thence he would reach the hospitable house of Samuel

Vance, occupying the site of a farm which was found by Wayne's army in a high state of cultivation, in 1794; and which was then known as Prairie du Masque, and now as Damascus. This point would bring the traveller twenty-seven miles above Maumee City. The next house, about two miles above Damascus, was a tavern and trading post, owned by John Patrick. Three miles above this, the traveller would reach Napoleon, where he would discover the settlers above enumerated.

It had been the design to devote several pages to the pioneers of Henry county,—their reminiscences, etc.,—much of value on this subject having been furnished by Hon. James G. Haley, in an address delivered at Napoleon, March, 1869; but these already over-crowded pages will not now admit the execution of the design.

The development of the material resources of the county has been rapid during the last several years. In 1823, the tax valuation of Henry county, amounted to \$208; in 1871, to \$3,905,972.

The population of the county in 1830, was 262; in 1840, 2,503; in 1850, 3,434; in 1860, 8,901; in 1870, 14,028.

Napoleon, the county seat, was platted in 1832, and the first dwelling, a log cabin, erected on the plat that year. Its advance in population and wealth, during the last ten years, has been highly gratifying to the real estate owners of the town. In 1850, the population of the township of Napoleon amounted to 566; in 1860, the population of the town, to 918, and in 1870, to 2,018.

Some of the leading interests of Napoleon, and which will afford a general idea of its present moral and business condition, are here given:

Five church buildings: Presbyterian, Methodist, Catholic, Episcopal, and German Lutheran. The Swedenborgians have also a church organization. There are two well-conducted newspapers,—*The North-West*, by L. Orwig & Co., and the *Napoleon Signal*, by P. B. Ainger; two banks—the First National, organized February, 1872, and that of Sheffield & Norton (William Sheffield, and J. D. Norton), a private institution, and the oldest, established in 1866. The senior member of this firm is a pioneer of the Northwest, and, when in practice, a successful lawyer, and one of the best business men on the river, having held responsible official positions, near thirty years ago; and Mr. Norton had achieved an established reputation in commercial circles in Cleveland, before his removal to Napoleon. The institution is upon solid basis, and commands the confidence and deposits of the public. A suit of offices, including burglar and fire-proof vaults and safes, in Vocke's block, Perry street, were completed in the spring of 1872, and are equal in elegance to some of the most attractive in the largest cities.

In manufactures, there are, in Napoleon, a shingle factory, planing mill, stave factory, ashery, 2 grist mills, 2 saw mills, handle factory, tannery, woollen mill, 2 foundry and machine shops, 4 wagon, and 1 carriage do, 7 blacksmith do, 3 tailor do, 2 boot and shoe do, 4 carpenter do, 2 harness do, 1 brewery, and 1 distillery.

Also, 4 hotels, 4 dry goods stores, 6 family grocery do, 3 hardware do, and 2 drug do. Wauseon has also an immediate prospect for one or more new railway lines.

WILLIAMS COUNTY

Was formed April 1, 1820, and organized in April, 1824. It was named from Daniel Williams, one of the three captors of Major Andre, in the war of the revolution. The erection of Defiance county, in 1845, detached from old Williams the portion of territory embodying its first settlement, and which is invested with the early historical matter that gave it value and interest. When the county seat was removed from Defiance to Bryan, in 1840, there was not an inhabited dwelling on the place now occupied by this flourishing town. A native forest, of immense trees, bearing evidence of the natural wealth of the soil, covered the ground. The first Court House and offices were built of logs.

The first Federal census was taken when the county embraced the present territory of Williams, Defiance, Paulding, and part of Henry. It then contained, in 1820, a population of 387; in 1830, 4,465; in 1840, 8,018; in 1850 (having meantime lost the townships included within Defiance county), 16,633; and in 1870, 20,991.

In 1839, the real and personal valuation for tax purposes, amounted to \$30,532, and the taxes to \$3,526. Number of acres on the duplicate, 861, and their value, \$8,258.

The following are the present valuations of lands, Bryan city lots, and chattels in Williams county, as obtained from the Auditor's books, by Robert N. Patterson, Esq., and affords gratifying evidence of the progress of the county:

Total number of acres of land in county, outside Bryan.....	265,702
Total value of land in county, outside Bryan.....	\$4,673,800 00
“ chattels “ “ “.....	1,587,038 00
“ lots and parcels of land in Bryan.....	478,685 00
“ chattels in Bryan.....	297,046 00
Total value in county.....	\$7,036,569 00

The lawyers taxed in 1839, were, Horace Sessions, Curtis Bates, Amos Evans, and William Semans; and the physicians, Jonas Colby, G. W. Crawford, James M. Gillespie, Oney Rice, Jr., and Nathan G. Sales.

The first session of the County Commissioners of old Williams, was held at Defiance, December 6, 1824—the Commissioners being Benjamin Leavell, Cyrus Hunter, and Charles Gunn; and their clerk, John Evans.

At this session, authority was granted for opening a road “on the north side of the Maumee river, commencing at the east line of Henry county, and running from thence on the best and most eligi-

ble ground opposite Defiance, Williams county, and to cross the river opposite Jefferson street, in said town of Defiance."

The name of Auglaize township was changed to that of Defiance.

The County Auditor at this time was S. S. Smith; Assessor, Samuel Vance, and Sheriff, William Preston.

The first Court of Common Pleas was held at Defiance, April 5, 1824, by Associate Judges Pierce Evans, Robert Shirley, and John Perkins.

John Evans was also appointed clerk *pro tem.*, and gave the necessary bond. He was also appointed by the Court Recorder for the County of Williams.

The Court fixed the following as the rates of ferriage across the Maumee and Auglaize rivers: For a footman, $6\frac{1}{4}$ cents; man and horse, $18\frac{3}{4}$ cents; loaded wagon and team, \$1; four-wheeled carriage and team, 75 cents; loaded cart and team, 50 cents; empty cart and team, sled or sleigh and team, $37\frac{1}{2}$ cents; horse, mare, mule, or ass, one year old or upwards, $6\frac{1}{2}$ cents; neat cattle, per head, 4 cents; hogs and sheep, per head, 2 cents.

The Court granted a license to Benjamin Leavell to keep a ferry across the Maumee and Auglaize rivers, at Defiance, upon his paying into the County Treasury the sum of one dollar and fifty cents, for the term of one year.

At the May term, 1824, the Court granted Benjamin Leavell a license to vend merchandise at his residence in the town of Defiance for the term of one year, upon his paying into the County Treasury ten dollars.

At the May term, 1825, Rodolphus Dickinson was appointed by the Court Prosecuting Attorney.

Among the old settlers within the present limits of Williams county, are Philetus S. Gleason, who removed from Tompkins county, New York, to Springfield township, in 1835, where he opened a small farm, upon which he resided two years. He is now engaged in business in Bryan.

In the same year, John Kintigh removed from Westmoreland county, Pennsylvania, to Tiffin township, then Williams county. His brother-in-law, Isaac Evans, now of Bryan, accompanied him.

Also, in 1835, Henry Miller, removed with his family from Richland county, to Jefferson township, where he opened a farm, and continued upon it until a few years prior to his death, which occurred in 1863.

John Miller, a brother of the above named, also from Richland, commenced opening a farm in Brady township, during the same year. He is now a resident of Pulaski township.

Messrs. Hood, Thompson, and Joseph Bates were settlers in 1834. Mr. Thompson resides on the farm in Jefferson township, that he first opened.

Collin and David Thorp settled in the county in 1836.

M. B. Plummer, now of Bryan, who removed to the county in

October, 1841, and settled near the village of Pulaski, says that Isaac Perkins (of Edgerton), is the oldest resident now of Williams, having been in the county about 55 years. Mr. Plummer also says that there are few persons living in the county who inhabited it 32 years ago. He still finds, however, Albert Opdyke, George W. Myers, Isaac Perkins, Jacob Youse, Jacob Over, John Kaufman, William Yates, P. W. Snow, John and Jefferson Miller, Turner Thompson, Samuel Beerbower, John and Hiram Opdyke, Elijah Perkins, Jabez Jones, senior and junior, John B. Jones, Andrew Smith, Stephen Doughten, A. J. Tressler, William Wyatt, James Oliver, and George Buchler.

The following were the officers of Williams county in 1872:

Lewis E. Brewster, Clerk of Court; P. Smith, Prosecuting Attorney; Simeon Gillis, Auditor; Melvin M. Boothman, Treasurer; H. L. Walker, Sheriff; Robert D. Dole, Recorder; James Paul, Surveyor; H. S. Kirk, Coroner; Eli Booth, D. Farnham, and F. W. Stocking, Commissioners.

Bryan, the seat of justice of Williams county, is, in several respects, one of the most desirable inland towns in the Valley for residence. Among its chief advantages, is the abundant supply of pure water, readily and cheaply obtained from Artesian Wells, which have been discovered from analysis of eminent chemists, to contain properties of medicinal value.

The town was surveyed and platted by Miller Arrowsmith, in July, 1840,—it having become an incorporated village, by an act of the Legislature, passed March 7, 1849.

Pulaski township, in which Bryan is located, contained, in 1840, a population of 279; in 1850, 760; in 1860, 2,258, and in 1870, 5,831. The relations of population, business, and wealth existing between Pulaski township and Bryan, are so intimately associated, that it is deemed proper to combine the census returns.

Bryan contains four church edifices—Presbyterian, Baptist, Methodist, and German Lutheran—and seven congregations. In addition to well-conducted schools, the Normal Academy, under the management of C. W. Mykrantz, is in very successful operation.

Two banking institutions—one National, and one organized under State laws—are prosecuting a safe and sound business.

Two newspapers are well sustained—the Bryan *Democrat*, by Robert N. Patterson, and the Bryan *Press*, by P. C. Hayes.

In manufacturing, the city contains a hub and spoke factory; foundry and machine shop; stove factory; two grist mills; three saw do; sash and blind factory; flax mill; shingle and handle factory; three cooper shops; three wagon and carriage do; pump and cistern factory; brewery, ashery, tannery; two cigar manufactories; three cabinet and four blacksmith shops.

The city has also three hotels; six dry goods, five grocery and provisions, four clothing, four boot and shoe, and three drug and medicine stores; three harness shops; five meat markets; seven millinery shops, and two livery stables.

In 1872, the amount paid at Bryan for timber, amounted to \$40,000, and for flax straw, \$20,000.

O. T. Letcher & Co., in 1871-72, paid for domestic produce, \$145,000. Other firms paid out an aggregate equaling this amount. This firm of O. T. Letcher

& Co., which controls chiefly the produce trade of the Bryan market, was established in 1860, when the whole payments for domestic produce would scarcely exceed \$75,000. By business skill and fair dealing, they have obtained full confidence of farmers and commercial men, and their business is increasing with the rapidly advancing wealth of the country. The senior member of the firm, Mr. William Letcher, is a pioneer of the Maumee Valley, and first established himself in business at Fort Wayne, in 1841.

One dry goods firm (Ashton & Co.) made sales, in 1871-72, of goods amounting to \$100,000, and disbursed an equal amount for produce—a sum equivalent to the entire business of the town in 1856, when the house commenced business. Its first year's sales, including produce transactions, did not exceed \$25,000. This fact illustrates the vigorous growth of the town.

One of the best agricultural townships in the county, is that of Brady, embracing the town of West Unity. The population of Brady, including West Unity, was, in 1840, 351; in 1850, 1,128; in 1860, 1,826; and in 1870, 2,218.

Madison township, which includes Pioneer, had a population in 1850, of 227; in 1860, 966, and in 1870, 1,865.

Edgerton, a new town on the Air Line road, in St. Joseph township, had a population in 1870, of 690.

Stryker, in Springfield township, on the Air Line railway, returned, in 1870, a population of 671.

DEFIANCE COUNTY.

In matter of historical interest, connected with the early settlement of the West, the site of the old Fort Defiance, or Fort Winchester, as sometimes known,—as the reader will have discovered in preceding pages,—was the scene of stirring and important events. Like Fort Wayne, it was a favorite point with the savages. Rev. O. M. Spencer, who, during his boyhood, in 1792, was a prisoner among the Indians, and spent most of his captivity at Defiance, says that “from this station I had a fine view of the large village more than a mile south, on the east side of the Auglaize, of Blue Jacket's town, and of the Maumee river for several miles below, and of the extensive prairie covered with corn, directly opposite, and forming together a very handsome landscape.” On his expedition against the Indians on the Maumee, two years later, General Wayne, also, in a communication to the War Department (which will soon follow), refers to “the extensive and highly cultivated fields and gardens, as showing the work of many hands.”

The late Chief Richardville, often asserted to Judge Borden and others, of Fort Wayne, that Pontiac was born at Fort Defiance,—one of his parents being a Miami, and the other belonging to the Ottawa tribe of Indians.

According to Heckowelder, “the Miami of the Lake, at the junction of the Auglaize with that river,” was the place of abode and refuge, in 1781, for a remnant of the Moravian Christian Indians, after the massacre on the Muskingum.

From manuscript prepared by Mr. Holgate, of Defiance, and designed as a contribution to the Maumee Valley Historical Society, the following is extracted regarding the captivity of John Brickell, of Pittsburg, who, during his boyhood, in February, 1791, was captured near his home, and, after a painful and tedious march, reached Defiance in May, 1791, and was adopted by

Whing-wy-pooshies, or "Big Cat," a Delaware Indian, in whose family he lived until June, 1795; when his captors surrendered themselves and their white prisoners to the commandant at Fort Defiance. During his residence among the Indians, two very important military events occurred—the defeat of St. Clair, in 1791, and the victory of Wayne, in 1794; and it was probably one of the results of the latter event, added to the neglect of the British to supply them with food and clothing, that the Indians sought terms with the Americans. During his residence of five years among the Indians, young Brickell had become so deeply attached to them and their customs, that he hesitated to accept the proposition to leave them, and to return to his own family. Mr. Brickell states that when intelligence of the approach of St. Clair's army reached the Indians at Defiance, the women, children, and such valuables as could be transported, were conveyed down the river, while the able-bodied men went to resist the white invader.

In reference to Wayne's campaign, Mr. Brickell says: "In the month of June, 1794, two Indian men, a boy and myself, started on a candle-light hunting expedition up the Blanchard. We had been out about two months, and returned to the towns in August, and found them entirely evacuated, but gave ourselves no uneasiness, as we supposed the Indians had gone to the foot of the Maumee rapids to receive their presents from the British, as they were in the habit of doing. We encamped on the lowest island, in the middle of a corn field. Next morning an Indian runner came down the river and gave the alarm whoop, which is a kind of yell they used for no other purpose. The Indians answered, and one went over to the runner, and immediately returning, told us the white men were upon us, and we must run for our lives. We scattered like a flock of partridges, leaving our breakfast cooking on the fire. The Kentucky riflemen saw our smoke, and came to it, and just missed me as I passed them in my flight through the corn. They took the whole of our two month's work—breakfast, jerk, skins and all. Wayne was then only four miles from us, and the vanguard pressed us close. The boy and myself pursued the trail of the Indians till we overtook them. Two or three days after we arrived at the rapids, Wayne's spies came boldly into our camp and fired upon the Indians. Their names were Miller, McClellan, May, Wells, Mahaffy, and one other whose name I forget. Miller received a wound in the shoulder; May was chased to the smooth rock in the bed of the river, where his horse fell, and he was taken prisoner; but the others made their escape. May was taken to camp, and identified as an old prisoner who had made his escape, and on the next day (the one preceding the battle) he was tied to a tree and his body riddled by fifty bullets. On the day of the battle, I was about six miles below with the squaws, and went out hunting. The day being windy, I heard nothing of the battle, but met some Indians on the retreat, one of whom told me they were beaten. Many Delawares were killed or wounded—among the former the one who took May. He was much missed, being their only gunsmith. Our crops and every means of support being cut off, we had to winter at the mouth of Swan creek, where Toledo now stands. We were entirely dependent on the British, and they did not half supply us, and the Indians became exasperated at their conduct. It was concluded to send a flag to Fort Defiance, in order to make a treaty with the Americans; and reaching that place, we found the Americans ready to treat, and an exchange of prisoners was agreed upon. Nine whites were exchanged for nine Indians. I was left, there being no Indian to give for me. Patton, Johnston and Mrs. Baker were three of the nine; the names of the others I have forgotten.

"On the opening of spring we all went up to Defiance, and arriving on the shore opposite, saluted the fort with a round of rifles, and they shot a cannon thirteen times. We then encamped on the spot. On the same day, Whing-wy-pooshies told me I must go over to the fort. The children hung round me crying, and asked me if I was going to leave them? I told them I did not know. When we got over to the fort, and were seated with the officers, Whinwy-poo-shies addressed me in about these words: 'My son, these are

men the same color with yourself, and some of your own kin may be here, or they may be a great way off. You have lived a long time with us; I now call upon you to say if I have not been a father to you—if I have not used you as a father would a son?" I replied: "You have used me as well as a father could use a son." He replied: "I am glad you say so; you have lived long with me; you have hunted for me; but our treaty says you must be free. If you choose to go with the people of your own color, I have no right to say a word; but if you choose to stay with me, your people have no right to speak. Now reflect on it and take your choice, and tell us as soon as you make up your mind." I was silent a few minutes, during which time it seemed as if I thought of almost everything—of the children I had just left crying—of the Indians I was attached to, and I thought of my people, which I remembered, and this latter thought predominated, and I said: "I will go with my kin." The old man then said: "I have raised you; I have learned you to hunt. You are a good hunter; you have been better to me than my own sons. I am now getting old, and cannot hunt. I thought you would be a support to my age; I leaned upon you as on a staff; but now it is broken; you are going to leave me and I have no right to say a word; but I am ruined." He then sank back, in tears, to his seat. I heartily joined him in his tears—parted with him, and have never seen or heard of him since."

After his return from captivity, Mr. Brickell settled at Columbus, Ohio, and became one of its most esteemed citizens and honored Christians.

Rev. O. M. Spencer, already quoted from, thus describes, in his narrative, the site upon which Fort Defiance was, two years afterwards, erected.

On this high ground, extending from the Maumee a quarter of a mile up the Auglaize, about two hundred yards in width, was an open space, on the west and south of which were oak woods, with hazel undergrowth. Within this opening, a few hundred yards above the point, on the steep high bank of the Auglaize, were five or six cabins and log houses, inhabited principally by Indian traders. The most northerly, a hewed log house, divided below into three apartments, was occupied as a warehouse, store, and dwelling, by George Ironside, the most wealthy and influential of the traders on the point. Next to his were the houses of Pirault [Pero], a French baker, and McKenzie, a Scot, who, in addition to merchandizing, followed the occupation of silversmith, exchanging with the Indians his brooches, ear-drops, and other silver ornaments, at an immense profit, for skins and furs. Still farther up were several other families of French and English. Fronting the house of Ironside, and about fifty yards from the bank, was a small stockade, enclosing two hewed log houses, one of which was occupied by James Girty (brother of Simon), the other, occasionally, by McKee and Elliott, British Indian agents, living at Detroit.

Brief extracts from the following copy of the letter of General Wayne to the Secretary of War, have been made in preceding pages; but its historical and local value, and the high estimate given the place as a military point, authorizes its full insertion here:

HEADQUARTERS, GRAND GLAIZE, }
14th August, 1794. }

SIR: I have the honor to inform you that the army under my command took possession of this very important post on the morning of the 8th instant—the enemy, on the preceding evening, having abandoned all their settlements, towns and villages, with such apparent marks of surprise and precipitation, as to amount to a positive proof, that our approach was not discovered by them, until the arrival of a Mr. Newman, of the Quartermaster General's Department, who deserted from the army near the St. Mary's, and gave them every information in his power, as to our force, the object of our destination, state

of provisions, number and size of the artillery, etc., etc., circumstances and facts that he had but too good an opportunity of knowing, from acting as a field Quartermaster on the march, and at the moment of his desertion. Hence, I have good grounds to conclude, that the defection of this villain prevented the enemy from receiving a fatal blow at this place, when least expected.

I had made such demonstrations, for a length of time previously to taking up our line of march, as to induce the savages to expect our advance by the route of the Miami villages, to the left, or towards Roche de Bout, by the right; which feints appear to have produced the desired effect, by drawing the attention of the enemy to those points, and gave an opening for the army to approach undiscovered by a devious route, *i. e.*, in a central direction, and which would be impracticable for an army, except in a dry season, such as then presented.

Thus, sir, we have gained possession of the grand emporium of the hostile Indians of the West, without loss of blood. The very extensive and highly cultivated fields and gardens, show the work of many hands. The margins of those beautiful rivers, the Miamies of the Lake, and Au Glaize, appear like one continued village for a number of miles, both above and below this place, nor have I ever before beheld such immense fields of corn, in any part of America, from Canada to Florida.

We are now employed in completing a strong stockade fort, with four good block houses, by way of bastions, at the confluence of the Au Glaize and the Miamies, which I have called *Defiance*. Another fort was also erected on the bank of the St. Mary's, twenty-four miles advanced of Recovery, which was named Adams, and endowed with provision and a proper garrison.

Everything is now prepared for a proper move to-morrow morning, towards Roche de Bout, or foot of the rapids, where the British have a regular fortification, well supplied with artillery, and strongly garrisoned, in the vicinity of which the fate of the campaign will probably be decided; as, from the best and most recent intelligence, the enemy are there collected in force, and joined by the militia of Detroit, etc., etc., possessed of ground very unfavorable for cavalry to act in. Yet, notwithstanding this unfavorable intelligence, and unpleasant circumstances of ground, I do not despair of success, from the spirit and ardor of the troops, from the generals down to the privates, both of the legion and mounted volunteers.

Yet, I have thought proper to offer the enemy a last overture of peace; and as they have everything that is dear and interesting now at stake, I have reason to expect that they will listen to the proposition mentioned in the enclosed copy of an address, despatched yesterday by a special flag, who I sent under circumstances that will ensure his safe return, and which may eventually spare the effusion of much human blood.

But, should war be their choice, that blood be upon their own heads. America shall no longer be insulted with impunity. To an all-powerful and just God I therefore commit myself and gallant army, and have the honor to be, with every consideration of respect and esteem,

Your most obedient and very humble servant,

ANTHONY WAYNE.

A resident of Monroe, Michigan, has recently communicated to the newspaper press the following:

Among the many interesting documents bearing on early history, and events of a past generation, which have been brought to life recently, is the original record of "General Orders," issued by General Winchester during the march from Kentucky to the River Raisin, from early in September, 1812, to January 20, 1813,—and which was no doubt left behind when the army retreated. It was found, and for many years remained in the family of Colonel John Anderson. It is a weather-stained volume, bearing unmistakable signs of frequent battles with the elements. The paper is yellow with age, but the writing is

perfectly legible, the ink in most places being as black and brilliant as though written yesterday. Through the courtesy of Mr. Anderson Wing, the present possessor, I am enabled to make a few extracts. The army left Kentucky in August, 1812. Most of the men were clothed in their linen hunting shirts, and very few provided with woollen clothing—as a consequence suffering severely with cold before their supplies reached them. General Harrison joined the army on October 3d, as will be seen by the following order :

CAMP AT DEFIANCE, }
October 3, 1812. }

GENERAL ORDERS.

I have the honor of announcing to this army the arrival of General Harrison, who is duly authorized by the executive of the Federal Government to take command of the Northwestern Army. This officer is enjoying the implicit confidence of the States from whose citizens this army is and will be collected, and possessing, himself, great military skill and reputation, the General is confident in the belief that his presence in the army, in the character of its chief, will be hailed with unusual approbation.

J. WINCHESTER,
Brigadier General U. S. Army.

The narrative of the march of the army through Ohio, is very interesting, and contains many details of the hardships and privations of the little army, through woods and streams, snow, ice and mud, the sleds and baggage vans often being drawn by the men. Occasional desertions took place, and these offenses were severely punished. One young man, Frederick Jacoby, was sentenced to be shot for sleeping upon his post while on sentry. An order was issued by J. Winchester, Brigadier General, dated at Camp Defiance, on the 9th of October, 1812, instructing the officer of the day in all necessary preparations for the execution of Jacoby, which were duly made, and the army drawn up to witness the first scene of this kind. The young man was placed at the distance of about twenty paces from the platoon of men constituting the firing party. They were waiting in painful suspense the order to fire, when a reprieve from the General was received, and the fortunate young man released. The effect was not lost upon the command, and no further cases of a similar kind ever were known.

The weather began to be very cold (November 1), and the supplies which were ordered from Philadelphia had not made their appearance. The General endeavored to appease the clamors of the soldiers by issuing the following order :

FORT WINCHESTER, }
November 1, 1812. }

GENERAL ORDERS.

With great pleasure the General announces to the army the prospect of an early supply of winter clothing, amongst which are the following articles, shipped from Philadelphia on the 9th of September last: 10,000 pairs of shoes, 5,000 blankets, 5,000 round jackets, 5,000 pairs of pantaloons, woollen cloth to be made up, besides the under clothing for Colonel Wells' regiment, 100 watch coats, 5,000 blankets, and 10,000 yards of flannel, 10,000 pairs shoes, 10,000 pairs wool socks, 10,000 of wool hose.

This bountiful supply evinces the constant attention of the government to the comforts of its armies, although the immense distance this wing hath been detached into the wilderness, has prevented its receiving those comforts in due season, owing to causes not within the control of human-foresight, yet a few days and the General consoles himself with the idea of seeing those whom he has the honor to command clad in warm woollen capable of resisting the northern blasts of Canada, either from the bellows of Boreas, or the muzzles of British cannon.

J. WINCHESTER, BRIG. GEN.,
Commanding Left Wing N. W. Army.

Some of the punishments inflicted were of a very ridiculous nature, and calculated to hurt the pride, especially, of the prisoners. As an instance:

CAMP WINCHESTER, }
28th October, 1812. }

SPECIAL ORDERS.

* * * * *

James Givins, private in Captain Croghan's Company, charged with sitting down near his post, apparently asleep, with his gun out of his hands, last night, October 25, 1812, found guilty, and sentenced to receive ten cobs *on his bare posterior*, well laid on, with a paddle four inches wide and one-half an inch thick, bored full of holes.

Thomas Clark, charged with altering his uniform without leave, sentenced to a reprimand on parade.

J. WINCHESTER, BRIG. GEN'L.

The records close at a date when they begin to be the most interesting, just before the arrival of the army at the River Raisin, the last entry being as follows:

CAMP MIAMI RAPIDS, }
HULL'S ROAD, Jan., 1813. }

GENERAL ORDERS.

As ordered yesterday, the line of march shall be kept well closed, every officer in his proper place, and no non-commissioned officer or private suffered to straggle from the lines except from urgent necessity, and then with leave to return to his place. Perfect silence is enjoined during the march, being in the immediate neighborhood of the enemy.

J. WINCHESTER, BRIG. GEN.,
Commanding Left Wing N. W. Army.

The *Defiance Democrat*, of May, 1860, in a notice of "Our Old Apple Trees," has the following:

Defiance has been famed for the possession of a monstrous apple tree. Strangers have seldom failed to visit it, to measure its proportions, and speculate upon its age and origin. It stands on the narrow bottom, on the north side of Maumee, and nearly opposite the old fort. It has never failed, in the knowledge of present settlers, in producing a crop of very excellent apples. One large branch, however, has of late years been broken off by the storms, and which has much marred its proportions. The remainder is yet healthy and prospering.

Before the town was laid out, there were many trees equally thrifty, and not less in size, in this vicinity. Their origin is variously conjectured. The most probable is, that they were planted by French missionaries and traders, during the French dominion on the lakes, and cared for afterwards by the Indians, trappers and traders.

Thomas Warren, of this vicinity, who came here about fifty years ago, informs us that these apple trees stood in a row, about fifteen feet from the edge of the bank, and extended from the point up to the bridge, and that they were then in excellent bearing condition. These trees are now all gone, as well as the ground they stood on. The continual wearing away of the bank, from ice, freshets, and frosts, has amounted, in that time, to about twenty-five feet.

On the Maumee bank, extending from where the canal now empties, up to the residence of T. J. Cole, was another row of similar trees—the most of these standing on the Wasson property. These, also, are all gone, except one in the rear of Mr. Cole's house. These died from various causes—cattle, cultivation, and malicious, or mischievous boys.

Chance trees stood also over most of the present town plat, but not of so large a growth—probably volunteers. Some of the smaller ones were taken

up and removed by the early settlers. Samuel Kepler, another early settler, started his orchard with trees of this kind. On the small bottom, on the north side of the Maumee, opposite Defiance, were quite a number of trees extending up as far as the county bridge; some of these were on the towing path, and others in the way, so that they were cut down, or died. The old tree so famous, is, perhaps one of this row. Standing further in from the bank, and, being private property, it has been saved from the general destruction.

At the so-called "Orchard Hollow," eight miles up the Maumee, was also quite a number of these old trees, and probably were of like origin and age. They were on the highland, on the south side, and immediately opposite the old Indian Delaware town, on the bottom, now the property of Chas. Speaker. It is remarked by Parkman, in his *Jesuit and Pioneer History*, that the missionaries and traders always fixed their stations on high grounds, overlooking the Indian towns; and the selection of the high grounds at Defiance, and at Orchard Hollow, was in accordance with this general rule. None of these trees are yet in existence, at the last named place. The fruit of all these trees was better than that of the present so-called natural trees—grew larger, and had more agreeable taste. The stocks of the trees were more like those of the forest, higher to the branches, longer in the limb than the grafted trees of the present day—which, as compared with the Indian trees, are mere overgrown shrubs. The few trees of large growth at Ottawa, Charloe, and Fort Brown, were probably planted by the Indians themselves.

In early days, the Indians, before the whites obtained property in the land, guarded carefully these old trees. The fruit they claimed for themselves, and distributed to the remotest sections of their tribes a share. Probably associations of historic interest, of days of larger population and greater power, or of kindly regard for the French missionaries, by whom they were introduced, gave an extraordinary value to these old trees, in the estimation of these untutored sons of the forest.

No trees of similar age are known to have existed on the Maumee, below Defiance. It was upon the upper waters of the river, that the Indians had their chosen seats, and here those who, from benevolence or trade sought their acquaintance, must come.

After the extinguishment of the Indian title, the United States lands at Defiance were surveyed by Capt. James Riley, whose name had become noted for having suffered shipwreck and captivity on the deserts of Africa.

The following were the boundaries of the three school districts as laid off June 5, 1826, by John Evans, Arthur Burrows, and John Perkins, Township Trustees: District No. 1, to include the town of Defiance, and all the settlers within one mile of Defiance district. No. 2, all the settlers on the Auglaize, from Robert Shirley's to Isaac Carey's, and all the settlers between the Auglaize and Maumee rivers, embraced within one mile of Defiance. No. 3, to include all the settlers on Bean creek, and all the settlers on the north side of the Maumee, above the mouth of Bean creek, in said township.

District No. 1 contained eleven, District No. 2 thirteen, and District No. 3 fifteen householders.

It is much to be regretted that these rapidly accumulating pages require the omission of many notes relating to the pioneer history of Defiance, and the counties which follow. Two or three delightful days were passed, during the summer of 1872, under the hospitable roof of Samuel Kepler, who was then in good health, but who died December 10, of pneumonia, at the age of 79 years, nine months, and seven days. Mr. Kepler came to the Maumee Valley in 1821, and entered a tract of land east of Defiance. On the 2d of December, 1827, he married Miss Rachel, daughter of Robert McKinnis, of Hancock county, Ohio—being the first white couple

married in that county—the ceremony being solemnized by Wilson Vance, Esq. Mr. McKinnis resided on the Blanchard, six miles below Findlay.

Mr. and Mrs. Kepler had lived together happily for near half a century, and raised a family of six daughters and two sons.

Thomas Warren, of Defiance says: "My brother-in-law, Montgomery Evans, established himself in business, as an Indian trader, farmer, and real estate dealer, in Defiance, in 1818, or 1819, and occupied one of Winchester's block houses as a residence, during a period of about two years. He had been a soldier in the war of 1812, having enlisted in Chillicothe, in a company of rangers.

"With a young adventurer named Parmenas Wasson, I first visited Defiance in 1822. On our route hither from Delaware county, which led through Sandusky, Tymochtee, and Fort Findlay, I passed through the Indian village then known as Ottawa Town, where we found many Indians assembled, and, as they were intoxicated, we pressed forward, and reached a crossing at Powell's creek, where we remained over night. Returning after a brief visit to the country, we passed through Ocanoxa's village (now Charloe), Forts Brown, Jennings, Amanda, Wapaukonnetta, and St. Mary's."

Joshua Hilton, with his family, consisting of his wife and eight children, —seven sons and one daughter,—removed to the Maumee river, December 3, 1822. Mr. Hilton had purchased his land the spring previous, and planted a crop of corn. The cabin he erected was the second known to have been occupied by white settlers, between Fort Wayne and Defiance—the first having been built by Mr. Rogers, five miles below Fort Wayne. Brice Hilton, of Brunersburg, at the age of 65 years, is the only member of the original family now in the Valley—the only sister, Mrs. Philbrick, residing near Cleveland, and his only surviving brother, Horace Hilton, being a citizen of Kansas.

During the fall and winter of 1822-23, the following named families became occupants of lands between Defiance and Fort Wayne: Thomas Driver, Mrs. Hill (widow) and family, Benjamin Mullican, Thomas Warren, Peter Lumbar, Samuel Hughes, William Gordon, Oliver Crane, Samuel Reynolds, Samuel Gordon, Henry Hughes, Dennison Hughes, and Mr. Quick, (the last named a bachelor and Indian trader).

During the following year (1823-24), Richard Banks, William Banks, Thomas Banks, Frederick W. Sperger, James Shirley, Gad Bellair, Gen. Horatio N. Curtis, Mr. Snook, and his sons, John, Willson, W. N. and Peter, and two families named Champion, removed to the Valley.

Moses Heatley removed from Miami county, Ohio, cutting, a considerable portion of the distance, his own road-way for the passage of his ox team, drawing his family, bed, and goods, in the fall of 1824, and settled on Blodgett's Island, Auglaize river, three miles above Defiance. His family consisted of his wife and two children—only one of whom, J. B. Heatley, now survives, he having been a resident of Defiance and vicinity 48 years.

Dr. Jonas Colby, a graduate of Dartmouth College, N. H., removed to Defiance in 1832, and is the oldest physician in practice on the Maumee river. The incidents of his early adventures in swimming over the swollen streams of the country, to reach his patients, would form a chapter of courage and peril that his professional cotemporaries of later years have not been under the necessity of encountering. His co-practitioners in early days, were Drs. Conant and White, of Maumee City, Dr. Peck, of Perrysburg, and Dr. Thompson, of Fort Wayne.

Edwin Phelps, William A. and S. R. Brown, James S. Greer, Wm. Traverse, John and David Taylor, Dr. John Paul, Hugh J. and David W. Marcellus, Dr. George W. Crawford, Elijah Shipley, William and John B. Semans, Rev. Sanford C. Parkes, E. F. Lindenberger, C. L. Noble, Rev. Wm. B. Stowe, (who organized the first Presbyterian Church in Defiance) Rev. E. R. Tucker, Curtis

Bates, (lawyer and State Senator,) Orlando and Alvaro Evans, (now of California,) Albert G. Evans, Allen Braucher, S. A. Sanford, Wm. Wall, E. C. Case, Charles V. Royce, Benjamin Brubaker, James Cheney, N. M. Landis, Wm. D. Haymaker, Geo. B. Way, S. H. Greenlee, John H. Kiser, Jehu P. Downs, C. C. Waterhouse, Addison Goodyear, Sylvester Medberry, G. W. B. Evans, and William Carter, in addition to others heretofore and hereafter mentioned, were also early residents of Defiance. Among its early and enterprising business men, was Sidney S. Sprague.

Rinaldo Evans, son of Judge Pierce Evans, occupies the old homestead, on the opposite side of the river, below Defiance.

Lost Creek, since changed to Farmer, was among the first townships settled by whites—the first inhabitant, Nathan Farmer, having removed to the township in 1833. Miller Arrowsmith, in a communication which appeared in the *Defiance Democrat*, in 1871, gives his recollections as follows :

My first visit to the township was in the fall of 1834. At this time, Nathan Farmer and John Heckman lived on Section 1, and Kee'm Leonard had raised a cabin on Section 2, on lands afterwards owned and occupied by Collin Tharp. A hunter had lived on the east side of Section 9, and — Findlay had lived in a hut on Lost Creek, in Section 12. But few entries of land had been made in the township.

The next year a number of emigrants bought and moved on their land, of whom were Oney Rice, sr., Dr. Oney Rice, jr., John Rice, Jacob Conkey, Widow Hopkins, W. G. Pierce, Randall Lord, and Lyman Langdon. These were from St. Lawrence county, New York; Levinus Bronson and William Powell, who were from near Cleveland, Ohio; Isaac and William Wartenbe, David Comstock, James Crane, Nathan Smith and William Mann, who were from Muskingum county, Ohio; Thomas Dew, from Hocking county; Elijah Lloyd and Darius Allen, whose homes in the east are not now recollected. I think that Isaac, Elisha and Collin Tharp came this year from Allen county, Ohio.

About this time the township was organized and named Lost Creek. At the first election, there was not an officer in the township authorized to administer an oath. The people met and selected the Election Board, and one of their number swore a Clerk, who in turn qualified the other members of the Board. Many of the citizens had not gained a residence, but they extended, by common consent, the elective franchise to all the male population over twenty-one years, and from their number elected their officers. Dr. Nice was afterwards elected a Justice of the Peace, and continued to fill this office for many years, administering justice in its mildest form.

A good story is told of his administration in these early times. The first settlers were not rich; their lands were to be cleared, fenced and cultivated, before they could realize returns from their labor. The Defiance merchants sold goods and groceries on credit, adding heavy profits. The settlers made debts from necessity, which in most cases became due before their farms were yielding a profit to meet their payments for goods. The result was that the merchants sent their accounts to the Justice for collection, and one amongst them was up on himself. He notified the parties, who confessed judgment and entered bail for stay of proceedings, not forgetting to give bail on the docket for the amount claimed from the Justice.

The first marriage might have been noticed in a newspaper published then in Perrysburg :

“Married, September 10, 1834, by Jesse Haller, Esq., of Defiance township, Kee'm Leonard, to Elizabeth Ice, all of Lost Creek township.”

The first death in the township, was that of the hunter in Section 9. The coffin was made by Obadiah Webb, who lived on the east bank of Bean creek, opposite to the farm now owned by Lyman Langdon. The coffin was lashed to a pole, and carried by Abraham Webb and William Kibble, on their shoulders, to the hunter's camp, a distance of nearly thirteen miles on a direct line,

and their route was through the woods without a path to guide them. They crossed Bean creek at dusk, and with a pocket compass to guide them, and a hickory bark torch to light their way, they set out with their burden on their lonely route, and reached the hut at 3 o'clock in the morning. He was buried on the northwest quarter of Section 10.

Exceptions were taken to the name of the township, and it was changed to that of Farmer. This was changed at the instance of the citizens, because they thought it more appropriate, and it was also designed to perpetuate the name of the first settler.

Of the voters at the first election, Elisha Tharp is the only one now living in the township. Some of them have removed to other localities.

Our place of voting was near the centre of Section —, where a log cabin had been built for this purpose, and was also used for a school house. Some years ago, a graveyard was located at this place, and many of the pioneers have been gathered, one by one, to this place of burial, where their names are recorded on neat marble monuments."

MILLER ARROWSMITH.

Mr. Arrowsmith was born in Champaign county, Ohio, March 14, 1808, and was married in the same county July 1, 1832, to Miss Celinda Caraway, also a native of the same county. Mrs. A. died at Defiance, August 10, 1847.

The first visit of Mr. Arrowsmith to the Maumee Valley, was in June, 1833. He then bought land near Defiance, on which he settled in October following. Judge John Perkins was then County Surveyor, and, from age, and being engaged in other pursuits, he did not wish to perform the work of the office, and appointed Mr. Arrowsmith deputy County Surveyor, the duties of which office he discharged with accuracy and fidelity, during a period of fifteen years. He is one of the oldest surveyors in North Western Ohio.

The General Assembly of Ohio, at its session of 1845-46, elected Mr. Arrowsmith a member of the State Board of Equalization; and he proved one of the most efficient members of that body. From 1848 to 1852, he was Auditor of Defiance county; and Postmaster at Arrowsmith's, during a period of about fifteen years. Excepting minor offices, those enumerated fill the measure of his public life. Mr. Arrowsmith might have continued in office, and filled a larger space in the public eye, but his tastes and inclinations led him, in 1852, to engage in agriculture, and in this favorite pursuit, on his well cultivated acres, and among books and friends, in Farmer township, he is spending the evening of his days. He is now sixty-five years of age, and in full possession of physical and mental vigor. The pioneers of the Valley are ever specially welcomed under his hospitable roof.

THE LATE HORACE SESSIONS.

This gentleman, whose moral, social, and professional qualities were widely known and highly valued, throughout the Maumee Valley, was born in Painesville, Ohio, April 16, 1812, and removed to



Truly Yours-

W. A. Arrowsmith



Yours very truly
W. Sessions

Defiance in 1833. He was married to Miss Lucia C. Candee, January 3, 1854, at Watertown, New York, and died at Adrian, Michigan, June 6, 1868. Mr. S. left no children living,—two having died in infancy, and one daughter at the age of five or six years. After his decease, his widow returned to her former home, at Watertown, New York; but within the last two years removed to Painesville, where she now resides.

A meeting of the bar, held at the Court House, Defiance, on the 15th of June, 1868, at which William C. Holgate,—who, during a period of more than a quarter of a century, was his intimate associate and friend,—was made chairman, and Edwin Phelps secretary, will convey an idea of the esteem in which Mr. Sessions was held by his professional brethren. Upon accepting the position tendered him, Mr. Holgate addressed the meeting as follows :

Brethren of the Bar :

Horace Sessions is gone! The Allwise Being, who rules and governs the affairs of men, has taken him to himself. He died at Adrian, Michigan, on the 6th inst., where he had stopped off to visit a friend, as he was returning from the Republican National Convention, at Chicago, which he had been attending as a delegate. I was present at his death, and with other friends and citizens of our town, accompanied his remains to Painesville, in this State, where, on the 9th, they were interred, in a beautiful cemetery, near the tomb of a loved little daughter, and of a father, a mother, and other relatives.

Our relations with him, and his worth, require something more than the usual resolutions of respect and sympathy.

Being the first lawyer that ever settled and stayed here, he may truly be called the father of the Defiance Bar. He was also a pioneer of our valley, and the son of a noble patriot of our country, and pioneer of our State. In 1794, under Anthony Wayne, his father was in the great battle that first secured the white man possession of, and title to, the lands we occupy, and he helped to construct the fort which gives our town its name. In 1800, he settled on a farm near Painesville, and there, on the 16th day of April, 1812, Horace Sessions was born. He was a vigorous, stout boy, delighting in agricultural pursuits, and in watching the habits and caring for the animals reared upon the farm. But, at the age of twelve years a great misfortune befel him. He was taken down with a severe illness, resulting in a fever sore that racked his constitution, shattered his nervous system, producing untold pain, and crippling him through his whole life. His father, dying in 1827, left him a poor, crippled boy, and a widowed mother and sisters in destitute circumstances. Finding that he would be unable to procure a living by the manual labor incident to farm work, he reluctantly relinquished his favorite calling, and cast about to see what he could do to make a living for himself and his destitute relatives. He chose our profession.

Being admitted to the bar, at the age of twenty-one, he first went down the Ohio and Mississippi, as far as Vicksburg, without finding a satisfactory location, when, returning, he came to the Maumee Valley, and, arriving at our town in 1833, he began the first practice of his profession. Defiance, at that time, was the county seat of Williams county, and to it was attached several other counties for judicial purposes. Though the field was entirely open, there being no other lawyer here, professional business was very limited. But Horace Sessions was poor, he had a mission to fulfill, and he would not be idle. In addition to his professional duties, he wrote in the county offices, and taught in the district school.

I see several present here, who, like myself, have had a life-long business acquaintance with him; mine, perhaps, has been the longest, and of the most

intimate character. Thirty-three years ago, accompanying my father from the State of New York, on a tour of exploration to the Wabash, with an eye to a settlement at Fort Wayne, we spent a week or more, as we were passing, at Defiance. During that week, I first became acquainted with Horace Sessions, and I have often since thought that acquaintance fixed my destiny in the choice of a future home, and brought me, a year later, to come here to live. At the time, he was occupying a room in the second story of the brick building on lot 58, of the original plat of Defiance, which building was the Court House, and, I may add, the school house, and also "the meeting house" of the village. In the same room was kept the offices of the county. He invited me to occupy the room with him, and continue the study of the law, which I had before begun. His bed was in the same room, and this we occupied together. From that time to the time of his decease, whilst a generation of men have passed from earth, we continuously occupied an office together.

From the time he came here, each summer he would go to the home of his aged mother, consoling and comforting her with his presence, and giving that material aid that relieved the wants of herself and family. And glad was I, the other day, whilst assisting at Painesville in the performance of the last duties to the deceased on earth, to hear an aged and eminent statesman of that place say: "Mr. Sessions has been very generous with his father's family; he has ever most bountifully provided for them."

And here let me say, his generosity was not confined to his relatives alone. In all his dealings, he was liberal. Every charitable enterprise and good cause he helped on. He was industrious, temperate, and frugal in all his habits. He cut his own wood at his office for years. He built his fires at his house. He sought property only to make himself independent, and to do good; and in this God bountifully blessed him, as He will ever bless any man of like industry, temperance, carefulness, frugality, and honesty of purpose.

As a lawyer, to understand, digest, and bring to a successful issue delicate, intricate and complicated business matters, Horace Sessions had few or no superiors; and I believe that no party, selecting him as their counsellor, ever had occasion to regret their choice.

He was warm in his friendships, social in disposition, hospitable, unostentatious and mild in his manners. He was uniformly the same unruffled Horace Sessions, yesterday, to day, and to-morrow. Though unobtrusive and mild, within him was a heart, he has said to me, that never had a sensation of fear; which statement his truthfulness leaves me no reasons to doubt. It is a part of the history of that country, that his father "was the bravest man that ever lived on Grand River." Truly can we say, as we look back on the battle of life he has fought, Horace Sessions was a brave son of that brave man.

To him the summons came suddenly. His sickness was brief and severe. Loving hearts and willing hands did all that could be done to stay the dread approach of the destroyer. Confident that the trying hour had come, he calmly approached the grave, "like one who wraps the drapery of his couch about him, and lies down to pleasant dreams."

On motion, a committee of five, consisting of William Carter, Edwin Phelps, Hamilton Davison, William D. Hill, and Henry Newbegin, were appointed to draft resolutions expressive of the feelings of the members of this bar, which committee, through their chairman, Hon. William Carter, reported the following:

WHEREAS, By a dispensation of an all-wise Providence, our late associate and brother, Horace Sessions, has been removed from our midst by death, it is, by the Bar of Defiance county, as expressive of the great loss they have sustained,

Resolved, That, in the death of Horace Sessions, the Bar of Defiance county has lost one of its oldest, ablest, most useful and worthy members, and this community one of its most worthy citizens.



Very Truly

W^m. G. Holgate

Resolved, That we sincerely deplore the loss of our departed brother and associate, and shall revere his memory as one whose professional life was without blemish, and worthy of imitation.

Resolved, That our heartfelt sympathies are extended to the widow and relatives of the deceased.

Resolved, That these resolutions, together with the proceedings of this meeting, be published in the Defiance papers, with a request that the same be copied in the several papers published in the Maumee Valley, and at Painesville, Ohio.

Resolved, That a copy of these resolutions be furnished by the Secretary to the widow of the deceased.

On motion, the resolutions were received, and unanimously adopted.

It was also resolved that the proceedings of this meeting be presented by the chairman to the Honorable Judge of the Court of Common Pleas of Defiance county, at its next session, with the request that the same be entered upon the journal of said court.

WILLIAM C. HOLGATE, *Chairman*.

E. PHELPS, Secretary.

It may be added that intelligence of the death of no member of the old bar of the Maumee Valley, produced a feeling of more general and profound sorrow among his professional brethren, than that occasioned by the loss of Mr. Sessions.

WILLIAM C. HOLGATE.

Curtis Holgate, residing at the time in Utica, New York, accompanied by his son, the subject of this sketch, William C. Holgate, made a visit to the Maumee Valley in the spring and summer of 1835. On this trip he visited Manhattan, Toledo, Perrysburg, Maumee City, Napoleon and Defiance, Ohio, and Fort Wayne and Huntington, Indiana. The journey was made on horseback from Maumee City—(the horses being procured of Dr. Conant)—and purchases of land made as follows:

June 8, 1835, of Isaac Huli, 89 acres in secs. 23 and 24, T. 4, R. 4, on north side of the Maumee, opposite Defiance, on which was situated the town plat of Williamstown; and which purchase included the unsold lots of this town and five in Defiance.	§2,500
June 19, of Ignatius Byrnes, 95 64-100 acres, on the south side of the Maumee, in Indiana, near the Ohio State line.	500
June 25, of Judge Benjamin Leavell, an undivided part of 395 23-100 acres, which embraced the town plat of Napoleon, and lands adjacent—(Horatio G. Phillips, of Dayton, and Elmathan Cory, of New Carlisle, Clark county, Ohio, owning the remaining two-thirds of said property).	2,500
June 25, of same, 117 95-100 acres, on the west side of the Auglaize, south and adjacent to Defiance, in sections 25 and 26, and now being a part of the town.	2,500
June 25, of same, one undivided half of 189 98-100 acres of sections 23 and 24, and adjacent to the Maumee and Auglaize rivers, and which included the original town plat of Defiance—all which was deeded, except the lots then disposed of—Horatio G. Phillips owning the other undivided half.	7,500

October 17, 1835, of Dr. John Evans, part of the southeast qr., N. W. qr., sec. 26, T. 4 N., R. 6 E., 50 acres, which is now within the corporate limits of Defiance, and on which is situated the Hub and Spoke factory, etc.....	2,730
Total.....	\$18,231

Previous to this, about the year 1832, Mr. Holgate purchased several town lots in Fort Wayne, and located about one thousand acres of land near the same place, in Indiana; and near the time of making the above described purchases, at Defiance, he invested some \$7,000 in property at Manhattan. His Napoleon interest was sold and deeded to Horatio G. Phillips, in July, 1839. He moved his family to Defiance, consisting of his wife, Eliza, daughter, Juliet, and two small children, Frances M. and A. Hopkins Holgate, and began boarding with Lyman Langdon, on Saturday, October 7, 1837. On Monday, 27th of November, of the same year, he moved into a house on lot 101, old plat of Defiance. Mr. Holgate died on the 15th of January, 1840.

William C. Holgate was living at Defiance at the time of the arrival of his father;—having established himself there the year after the trip of 1835 was made, arriving on Monday, 2d of May, 1836—and has uninterruptedly made that town his home to the present time. He was born at Burlington, Vermont, November 23, 1814; graduated at Hamilton College, New York, in the summer of 1834; and the same College conferred upon him the degree of A. M., in 1841. He commenced the study of law in the office of Willard Crafts, Esq., in Utica, immediately after leaving College, and continued a student in his office up to the date of leaving for Defiance, in April, 1836. At the latter place, he entered the law office of Horace Sessions, Esq., continued his studies, and was admitted to the bar of the Supreme Court of Ohio in the summer of 1838. George T. Hickeox, Clerk of the Court, dying about this time, he was appointed to succeed him, which position he resigned in the spring of 1839, when he received the appointment of prosecuting attorney for the county of Williams, and began as such his first practice of the law.

Mr. Holgate drafted the bill erecting the county of Defiance, in January, 1845, and, through his persistent efforts, and in face of a well-organized and powerful opposition, the bill became a law, on the 4th day of March of the same year. He was active in the organization of the first agricultural society for the county, in 1848, and in getting up its first annual fair, in October, 1851. For the projection and construction of roads, affording encouragement to manufacturing and kindred enterprises, and the care of all public interests affecting the town and county, he was ever vigilantly engaged. He suffered much from the bilious derangements incident to the climate in the first settlement of the country, being prostrated upon beds of sickness more than half of the time.

In the years 1851-52, the business prospects of Defiance seemed likely to be lost, on account of the projection and construction of railroads passing her on all sides, threatening to destroy her existing trade, and future business prospects. Foreseeing the danger, Mr. Holgate's efforts, during these years, were unremitting in the work of securing for Defiance a railroad, that the town might be spared the destruction that menaced it. Probably it was on account of enfeebled physical condition, resulting from over-work and the illness referred to, that his system broke down in 1853, and he sank in a state of congestion almost apoplectic. Unable to read or write for the greater part of the succeeding twelve years or more, he was compelled to give up the law practice, which he has never resumed. Though now comfortable, and capable of transacting much business, Mr. Holgate has never entirely recovered from the congestive attack mentioned.

In March, 1864, when the two sections of land that had been granted to the town some fourteen years previously for the Defiance Female Seminary, had been forfeited for want of payment, and a bill was on its passage requiring the Auditor to sell the same, Mr. Holgate, volunteering his services, made a visit to Columbus and secured the passage of an act authorizing the lands still to be deeded on payment. The amount delinquent Mr. Holgate advanced from his own private funds, Mr. Sessions sharing the advancement with him, and so secured and saved to the town these 1,280 acres and their growing avails.

In all important schemes devised to promote the best interests of the town and county of his residence, Mr. Holgate has been ever diligent and prominent. On the 5th of January, 1851, he was married to Miss Mary Hillrick, who died June 6, 1865, leaving two children, W. Curtis Holgate, aged 18, November 29, 1872, and Fanny Maud Holgate, aged 16, October 2, 1872.

According to the recollections of Frederick F. Stevens, who was a resident of Putnam county, in 1825, and removed to Defiance in 1826, the following persons were then residents on the Auglaize below the mouth of the Blanchard: Mr. Frazee, Thomas and Silas McClish, William Bishop, Mr. Kavanaugh, Christopher Sroufe, Abel Crossley, Robert Foster, Isaac Carey (opposite the present town of Junction), Elias and Nathan Shirley, Abram and John Hudson, John Oliver, James Hudson, and Robert Shirley, senior and junior, who were living upon a farm part of which is now within the corporation of Defiance.

Defiance county was erected March 4, 1845, and its territory was composed of eight original townships, taken from Williams, three from Henry, and a half township from Paulding. W. C. Holgate, Esq., prepared the following exhibit of the population of this territory from the census returns of 1840: From Williams county: Defiance, 944; Delaware, 201; Farmer, (now Farmer and Mark) 281; Hicksville, 67; Tiffin, 222; Washington, 93; Milford, 175. From Henry county: Adams, 188; Richland and Highland, (the latter then unorganized) 542. From Paulding county: The north half of Auglaize, 100. Total population of the territory in 1840, which formed the new county, and which had not been materially increased at the time of its formation in 1845, 2,218.

The first federal census of Defiance county was returned in 1850, when it exhibited a population of 6,966; in 1860, 11,886, and in 1870, 15,719.

The twelve townships returned, severally, in 1870, the following enumerations of inhabitants: Adams, 1,226; Defiance, 3,615; Delaware, 1,160; Farmer, 1,184; Hicksville, 1,287; Highland, 946; Mark (in 1851, taken from Farmer), 595; Milford, 1,555; Noble, 867; Richland, 1,194; Tiffin, 1,080; Washington, 1,016.

The county has erected a Court House, one of the best, as regards style of architecture, interior arrangements, and cost considered, in the State.

The value of the public property of the county, is estimated at \$205,000, free of incumbrance, except a debt of \$5,000, on account of new Court House. The County Infirmary pays an annual surplus into the Treasury exceeding \$1,000. There is probably no county in Ohio that, from its organization, has been under more judicious financial management. The taxable valuation of the county in 1845, was \$484,004; in 1871, \$4,792,797.

The first officers of the county, after the organization of Williams, and whose offices were then located at the then county seat, at Defiance, have been heretofore stated. Those now in office are the following: Probate Judge, J. J. Greene; Clerk, Edw. Phelps; Prosecuting Attorney, Silas T. Sutphen; Sheriff, J. B. Hootman; Coroner, John H. Kiser; Auditor, John H. Conkle; Treasurer, Asa Toberen; Recorder, Lewis Neill; Surveyor, D. H. English; Commissioners, Wm. R. Maxwell, Adam Wilhelm and Isaac Garver.

The town was laid out in November, 1822, by Benjamin Leavell, of Piqua, and Horatio G. Phillips, of Dayton, and acknowledged by Charles Gunn, J. P., April 18, 1823, and recorded the 28th of the same month in the records of Wood county, by Thomas R. McKnight, Recorder. The county seat of Williams was established at Defiance, on condition of a donation by the proprietors of one-third of their lots, and erecting a jail, in 1825. Benjamin Leavell, in 1835, sold his whole interest in the town and vicinity of Defiance, to Curtis Holgate. In the winter of 1839-40, the action of the commissioners removed the county seat to Bryan.

The several towns, during the three decades, exhibited the following census results:

Defiance, population in 1850, 890; in 1860, 932; in 1870, 2,750.

Brunersburg, in 1850, 169; in 1860, 194; in 1870, 185.

Evansport, in 1850, 165; in 1860, 218; in 1870, 191.

It will be discovered that Brunersburg and Evansport have retrograded, while the population of Defiance exhibits results that must be most gratifying to those interested in its progress. Of the five largest cities of Ohio, Toledo made the greatest advance during the last decade; and of the eight lesser, Defiance is first—exceeding, indeed, in ratio of growth, any city in Ohio.

The late Secretary of State, General Sherwood, in his analysis of the per cent. of increase made by eight of the smaller cities, during the period between 1860 and 1870, gives the following results: De-

fiance, 195; Youngstown, 192; Akron, 184; Canton, 114; Springfield, 80; Portsmouth, 67; Steubenville, 65, and Newark, 43.

Commercially, Defiance is most favorably situated, being at the confluence of two important rivers, which bear upon their surface large values of timber, and also possessing the advantage of two canals, which guarantee, during seasons of navigation, not only cheap freights, but also afford most valuable water power. Added to these are the Toledo, Wabash & Western Railway, which has a repair shop at Defiance, and the Baltimore, Pittsburg & Chicago Railway Company are now constructing their trunk line through the town. The appearances and probabilities indicate that the federal census of 1880 will exhibit a per cent. of growth, as compared with the returns of 1870, fully equal to that of the decade to which Gen. Sherwood calls attention in his report.

The value of exports of ship timber from Defiance, it is claimed, exceeds that of any town in Ohio.

In the town there are eight churches—2 Methodist, 1 Catholic, 1 Presbyterian, 2 Lutheran, 1 Baptist, and 1 Universalist; two newspapers—the *Defiance Democrat*, by J. J. Greene, and the *Defiance Express*, by F. Brooks; one public and three private schools.

The banking facilities have grown from a small and modest beginning, some ten years since, to their present magnitude and usefulness. The business was first instituted by Ahira Cobb and Virgil Squire, under the firm name of Cobb & Squire. Mr. Cobb, being a heavy capitalist, and extensive business man, of Cleveland, his time was necessarily given to that city, while the banking business, at Defiance, was conducted by Mr. Squire, who, from his long experience of 30 years in active mercantile life, was eminently fitted to judge of the wants and needs of business men, and in whose hands the bank speedily assumed growing and enlarged capabilities,—so much so, that, in the course of a few years, it demanded an extended basis, and was, January 1, 1872, re-organized under the National Banking act, by Mr. Squire and his son Edward, who, during the year previous, had, by experience and observation, become thoroughly qualified for the discharge of their several duties. The new bank was chartered as the "Defiance National Bank," with a paid up capital of \$100,000—the father and son being chosen, the one President, and the other cashier, with a Board of Directors composed of some of the most prosperous business men of the town, as follows: Henry Kahlo, Virgil Squire, James A. Orcutt, Joshua P. Otley, William Lauster, John Crowe, and Edward Squire. Judging from results thus far, a highly remunerative and exceedingly prosperous career can safely be predicted for this bank.

Among the important industries of the town, is the Defiance Manufacturing Company, which organized and commenced business on a small basis, January 1, 1870, and, in the year ending 1871, the sales had reached, including those made by their newly-established branch at Logansport, Indiana, \$150,000, and had given employment to 150 men. About the close of January, 1872, a fire destroyed the shops and machinery, involving heavy loss; but the Company, undismayed by the disaster, have re-built, and are again in operation with increased facilities, and are now enabled to produce daily, of spokes, 15,000; of lumber wagon hubs, 100 set; and of bent work, a proportionate amount—constituting it the most extensive manufacturing establishment of its character in the Maumee Valley. The business is managed by Henry Kahlo, President; E. P. Hooker, Secretary, and John Crowe, Superintendent.

In other industries, the town has also two grist, one saw, one planing, and one woollen mill; one stave factory; one stove foundry; three furniture factories; one carriage, and two carriage and wagon shops: six black-

smith do; one machine do; two harness do; one marble do; ten boot and shoe do, and three millinery do. Four hotels; three livery stables; five dry goods, three clothing, one agricultural machine, three drug, and three family grocery stores; thirty-two family groceries and saloons; five meat markets; one news depot; three jewelers; two cabinet sales rooms; three tobacconists; three brick yards; one brewery; two insurance agencies, representing fifteen companies.

The town of the county next in importance to Defiance, is Hicksville—these two being the principal points in the county which will be upon the line of the Baltimore and Ohio railroad, now being constructed. At Hicksville, also, the Fort Wayne and Detroit road will cross the B. and O. road. As regards health, no town in the Maumee Valley exceeds Hicksville. Its supply of pure water, from Artesian Wells, is abundant for all uses.

PAULDING COUNTY,

Formed April 1, 1820, was named from John Paulding, a native of Peeksville, N. Y., and one of the three militia men who captured Major Andre, in the war of the revolution, and who died in 1818. The county was organized in 1839.

The population of the county in 1830, was 161; in 1840, 1,034; in 1850, 1,766; in 1860, 4,945, and in 1870, 8,544.

The returns of the census of 1870, exhibited the following as the census of the several townships:

Aug'laize, 788; Benton, 404; Blue Creek, 163; Brown, 1,140; Carryall, 1,087; Crane, 1,688; Antwerp, 717; Emerald, 717; Harrison, 304; Jackson, 556; Latty, 294; Paulding, 448; Washington, 957.

General Horatio N. Curtis is an old resident of the county. In a communication to the *Antwerp Gazette*, he states that he made his second visit to the county on the 10th of March, 1825. "At this time, Defiance was quite a small village, containing one small store, one tavern, and some five or six families. Isaac Huli kept a store on the north side of the Maumee, opposite Defiance, and had an extensive trade with the Indians.

"Among the first settlers of what is now Delaware township, in Defiance county, were Montgomery Evans, William Snook, Thomas Warren, and Samuel and Dennison Hughes, who settled there in 1823-24. Soon after, Gavin W. Hamilton and Jacob Platter moved in. The first death that occurred, was Andrew, son of Jacob Platter.

"The two first justices of the peace, were Oliver Crane and Montgomery Evans. The next township organized was Crane, which extended south and west from Delaware township to the State line. The township derives its name from Oliver Crane. Among the first settlers of what is now Crane township, were Oliver Crane, William Gordon, Ephraim Seely and Samuel Reynolds, who settled in 1823-24. Samuel Gordon and Dennison Hughes moved to the township in the early part of 1825. The first justices of the peace elected were Thomas P. Quick and H. N. Curtis. The first marriage in what is now Crane, was solemnized by Oliver Crane, who joined in holy wedlock a Mr. Young to Miss Sherry.

"About this time, Brown township was organized. This township was up the Auglaize, south of Defiance. The first settlers there were Shadrack Hudson, Isaac Carey, John Kingery and Christopher Sronfe. The township took its name from a small fort or stockade that was built by a part of General Harrison's army during the second war with Great Britain. It occupied the point

at the junction of the Big and Little Auglaize rivers. A part of the pickets or pallisades were still standing, and seen by the writer in passing down the Auglaize river in the spring of 1825. This was called Fort Brown, and was, I think, so marked upon the early maps of the country.

"The next township organized was Carryall, which took its name from a large rock in the middle of the Maumee river. It was so called by the French on account of its resembling a vehicle of that name. This stone is about one mile above the village of Antwerp. Carryall township lies west of Crane. Among the first settlers were William Banks, Reason V. Spurrier, David Applegate and Thomas Runyan, who settled there in 1827-28. The first marriage that took place was that of Phillip Murphey to Miss Nancy Runyan, and was solemnized by H. N. Curtis, then justice of the peace, in October, 1830. The three townships last named are now within the limits of Paulding county.

"The first Associate Judges were Nathan Eaton, John Hudson and Gilman C. Mudgett, who met in the fall of 1839, and appointed H. N. Curtis, Clerk *pro tem.*, and Andrew J. Smith, Sheriff. The first Court was held in the spring of 1840, Hon. Emery D. Potter presiding, in the then flourishing village of New Rochester, at that time containing some twenty families, and the most suitable place in all the county to hold a Court. (There is now scarcely a mark of all its former greatness remaining.) From there the Court and county business were removed to Charloe, in 1841—the county seat, meantime, having been established at that point, and continuing there until removed to its present location. The bounty on wolf scalps in the early settling of the county, together with the large quantities of furs and peltries taken by the trappers and hunters, formed quite a revenue, and assisted much in paying taxes, and in procuring the common necessities of life.

"This county, in early time, was one of the favorite hunting grounds of the Indians, and they yielded their right of dominion to the 'chemocoman,' or white man, with reluctance. It was noted for the abundance and fine quality of the furs and peltries taken within its limits.

"I recollect, while acting as Clerk of the Court, to have had candidates for marriage frequently pay me my fees in raccoon skins for granting the marriage license. One case I well recollect, of having been called upon to marry a couple; and having done so, the gentleman informed me that he had nothing to pay me for my services. I told him, all right; but in the fall they gathered and sent me a fine lot of hickory nuts as compensation for my services.

"The first trading house in the county was opened by Thomas P. Quick in 1826, for the purpose of obtaining furs and peltries from the Indians. The first citizen's store in the county was opened in the fall of 1829, by the writer. The first white man that settled in the county was John Driver, a silversmith, who made broaches and ear-rings for the Indians."

Among the early settlers at Charloe, were John Taylor, (now of Perrysville,) John W. Ayers, George H. Phillips and A. H. Palmer; and at the Junction, Capt. Dana Columbia, Dr. Henry Marcellus, and Capt. Thomas Lough.

General Curtis was well acquainted with the Indian, Oceanoxa, with whom he frequently had business transactions. He was chief of a band numbering about six hundred, his town occupying the present site of Charloe. He was a large, powerfully-built Indian, but advancing years had made inroads upon his constitution. He was naturally ugly, and when intoxicated, malicious. On one occasion, visiting the store of General Curtis for the purpose of trading, and being under the influence of liquor, he was describing, in a ferocious manner, his ancient feats in scalp-taking. This fighting of his old battles against white women and children over again, upon his own premises, was not agreeable to the General, and in a moment of excitement he advanced upon the Indian and knocked him to the ground.

William and John Moss, brothers, and natives of England, visited Paulding county in 1834, and established themselves as residents the year following. The patent for the land entered at the Piqua Land Office, for the N. E. Qr. of

Sec. 26, T. 2 N., R. 3 E., (now Jackson township,) bears date May 11, 1835; and that for the land of his brother John being on Sec. 24 adjoining, bears the same date. These brothers were probably the first white settlers in that Section of Paulding county, excepting, possibly, one family on the Little Auglaize, named Earl.

VAN WERT.

This county was formed April 1, 1820: and, like Williams and Paulding, named from one of the captors of the unfortunate Andre—Isaac Van Wert. The county, at the time of its formation, had few white inhabitants, and until 1836 was attached to Mercer county for civil purposes.

The first Court was held at Willshire, October 3, 1837, by Associate Judges Joshua Watkins, Benjamin Griffin, and Oliver Stacey.

The first session of the Commissioners was a special one, also convened at Willshire, on the 29th of April, 1836.

At the time of its organization, Van Wert consisted of twelve townships, only four of which, namely: Pleasant Ridge, Willshire and Jennings, were organized.

“Davis Johnson settled in Harrison Township, 5 miles north of the town of Willshire, in April, 1836. At that time, in Willshire, were the following families: James Majors, Sr., and William Majors, Jr., (the latter having no family,) and the following sons of the former, part of whom had families: David, Robert, Jonathan, George, James, Jr., and William, Jr.; Charles Mount, (merchant,) Henry Reichard, (merchant) Wm. Case, (the first Co. Treasurer,) Daniel Cross, (blacksmith,) Thorn, Harper, and Wm. Purdy. At this date there was not an inhabitant north of him to the Maumee River. Willson, (first surveyor,) and Ansel Blossom, then the oldest settler resident of the town, who came to Willshire in 1819. On the St. Mary’s, ten miles above Willshire, were the families of John, Jacob, and Peter Bolenbacher, and Solomon Harzaek. At the Presidential election of 1836, there were 15 votes polled in the township of Willshire, which then embraced all Van Wert county, and Black Creek township, Mercer county. At the election, held October, 1837, a ticket was formed, regardless of party interests, on the morning of the election, and received the unanimous vote of the electors.

“The first public sale of lots in the town of Van Wert was made on the 17th of June, 1837.

Mr. Johnson continued on his first homestead, which he yet owns, though having at several elections been chosen to the office of County Surveyor, until 1854, when he removed to Van Wert, where he continues to reside.”

William Johns removed to Harrison township in October, 1837, and in 1839 to Pleasant township, until his death, which occurred December 4, 1871. In the first years of his residence he was connected with the Indian trade—buying chiefly for the Hollisters, of Perrysburg.

Jacob Goodwin removed to the present township of York, in December, 1834. “Peter and John K. Harter came to the neighborhood about the same date. Washington Mark, John Rich, and Benjamin Griffin, had preceded him a few months, and were then the only inhabitants of Jennings Prairie. The only survivors of those named above are Peter Harter and myself. Mr. Harter is one of the most advanced in years among the early pioneers of Van Wert county.”

Joseph Gleason removed to Pleasant township, Van Wert county, in August, 1837, and in December, 1839, to the town of Van Wert, where he yet resides. “In 1837 there were only two families in Van Wert—those belonging to Daniel

Cook and John F. Dodds, with whom came William Parent. The families of James G., John, Adam, Thomas, Robert, and Hugh Gilliland, William, John, and James Young, Hill, John Poole, William Priddy, John Mark, Peter Wills, David King, and Oliver Stacey, were living east of town, on or near "the Ridge;" and on Jennings Prairie resided Washington Mark, Benjamin Griffin, John K. and Peter Harter, Jacob Goodwin and John Case. West, on the Ridge, were the families of James and Samuel Maddox, William Miller, George Baney, and William Bronson.

There were no residents in the north part of the county. On a trip to Defiance as late as 1840 or 1841, he found no settlement between Van Wert and the mouth of the Little Auglaize.

Dr. P. John Hines, the first physician, and yet living, removed to the town in 1838. The Gillilands, the Hills, and John Mark, came in the year 1835. The first named family and Peter Wills cut 20 miles of the track for the road known as the Bucyrus and Fort Wayne road, commencing about 4 miles west of Van Wert. The road followed the Indian trail.

Elias Evers removed to the township now known as Union, in October, 1839.

The following were the inhabitants of the town of Van Wert in 1842:

J. M. Barr, S. Engleright, Wm. Parent, Joseph Gleason, Samuel Clark, E. R. Wells, Thomas R. Mott, William Thorn, Daniel Cook, David Fisher, Thomas R. Kear, John W. Lown, (who removed to Van Wert in June, 1840,) Isaac Doherty, Robert Gilliland, Dr. P. John Hines, David Richey, Jacob Thorn, John Roach, George McManama, Thomas Thorn, Samuel Parent, James Graves, William Caton, William and Jacob Stripe, Joshua and Isaiah Shaffer, George Cress, William Fronfield and Reuben Frisbie.

The nearest water mills were at Fort Wayne and Piqua; though there was a horse mill at which corn and buckwheat were ground on Jennings Prairie, and another in Union township, Mercer county. Little wheat was then raised. The "arm-strong," or hand-mill—the stones being "nigger heads," and turned by hand—would, by dint of hard labor, turn out a peck of corn meal during the day, and found a place beside a hand-loom in nearly every household.

Population of Van Wert county in 1830, 49; in 1840, 1,577; in 1850, 4,793; in 1860, 10,238; in 1870, 15,823.

In 1871, the tax valuation of real and personal property amounted to \$5,665,623.

The first officers elected were, Clerk, Ansel Blossom; Recorder, same; Sheriff, Wm. Major; Recorder, Charles Mount; Commissioners, Jesse Atkinson, Joshua Goodwin, and William Priddy; Assessor, John Kuth.

The following are the county officers in 1872-73: A. W. Baker, Probate Judge; Julius A. Gleason, Auditor; George W. Day, Clerk; James L. Price, Prosecuting Attorney; John Seaman, Treasurer; Abraham B. Gleason, Sheriff; P. C. Conn, Recorder; James W. Rimer, Surveyor; A. N. Kront, Coroner; Samuel Miller, Abijah Goodwin, and Abraham Balyeat, Commissioners.

The town of Van Wert was laid out on the 30th of March, 1835. George Marsh, James Watson Riley, and Peter Aughinbaugh being the original proprietors. The last addition, by Judge Wm. L. Helfenstein, was made on the 29th of August, 1840.

Population of the town in 1850, 268; in 1860, 1,015; in 1870, 2,625. Valuation of real and personal estate, in 1871, \$866,991.

The St. Louis and Toledo Railway will cross the P. F. W. and C. R. W. at Van Wert, passing through Kalida to Ottawa.

An error having occurred in stating the population of Delphos, page 461, it is here re-stated: In 1850, 374; in 1860, 425; in 1870, 1,667. The taxable basis in the Van Wert portion of Delphos amounting to about one-third the part included in Allen county, was, in 1872, \$142,089.

Willshire is the oldest town in the county, having been founded in 1822 by Capt. Riley, who was prominently identified with the early history of North Western Ohio, and who made the first survey of United States lands in the Maumee Valley. In 1872, Willshire had a population of 268.

In Van Wert there are nine churches—1 Presbyterian; 1 M. E.; 1 English and one German Lutheran; 1 Baptist; 1 Disciple; 1 Catholic; 1 Evangelical Protestant; and one African M. E. A new public school building, at a cost exceeding \$40,000, has been erected within the last two years, which the State Superintendent of Schools pronounces the best, considering its cost, erected within the last ten years.

Fully six hundred thousand dollars are invested in the following named manufacturing industries: 5 stove factories; 1 foundry; 2 steam flour mills; 2 planing mills; 1 saw-mill; 4 brick yards; 1 hub and spoke factory; 1 woolen mill; 3 cabinet factories; 2 wagon and 2 carriage factories; 2 harness shops; 2 marble shops; 1 lumber yard, selling pine dressed lumber; 1 broom-handle factory; 1 tile factory; 7 shoe and 3 tailor shops; 1 ashery; 1 brewery; 1 flax mill; 1 cheese factory and 2 cooper shops. Eighteen steam engines are working within and directly outside the corporation.

The banking business is in the hands of the First National and the Van Wert County Bank.

The Van Wert *Bulletin*, J. H. Foster, editor, and Van Wert *Times*, W. H. Clymer, editor, are issued from establishments well supplied with material for executing superior job printing. There are also 4 hotels; six general merchandise stores; 13 grocery and provision stores; 2 produce warehouses; 4 drug stores; 2 clothing stores; 7 boot and shoe stores; 1 dress-maker and 3 milliners; 2 jewelry stores; 2 hardware stores; 2 tin and stove stores; 3 livery and sale stables; 6 sewing machine depots; 1 fancy furnishing store; 2 tobacco and cigar stores.

PUTNAM.

This county, formed April 1, 1820, was named from Gen. Israel Putnam, an officer of historical fame connected with the American Revolution. Until 1834 it was attached to Williams county for judicial purposes.

Frederick F. Stevens, who originally settled in Putnam county, but removed to Defiance in 1826, says: "On the Blanchard, in 1825, one mile above its mouth, resided John Ridenour, and at the junction of that stream with the Auglaize, Andrew Craig, who claimed to have been the first white settler in Putnam county. Excepting these two, there were no white families on the Blanchard below Findlay. Henry Wing had previously settled near the mouth of Blanchard, but abandoned his place, and removed to Defiance. Sebastian Sroufe was on the Auglaize, one mile above Blanchard's Fork, and Wm. Bowen $1\frac{1}{2}$ miles above Myers' Mill, or 'Kilkannon's ripple;' and yet above these, on the Auglaize, Elias Wallace, James J. Martin, Daniel Sullivan, David Murphey, (who also claimed to have been the first white settler in Putnam county;) Rufus Carey, ($2\frac{1}{2}$ miles below Fort Jennings,) and a Mr. Harris, then the only inhabitant at Fort Jennings. Yet above the Fort were Mr. Hill, Joseph Sutton, Wm.

Cochran, Josiah Closson, John Welch, Daniel and Wm. Sunderland, Thos. and Wm. Berryman, and Samuel Washburn.

John Lang made a publication in the *Delphos Herald*, containing the following statement :

“The Indians remained in this neighborhood, their last encampment being at Sulphur Springs, until the year 1831, and below Fort Jennings as late as 1839. Settlements were made at Fort Jennings in 1831, when Von der Embz, John Wellman, and others, settled there, and were soon after joined by Henry Joseph Boehmer. Disher, Peters, Raabe, Rader and Shroeder, ‘squatted’ on Jennings as early as 1832.”

Judge George Skinner, who removed to Kalida in 1839, and is yet a resident in that neighborhood, says : “David Murphey was the first white settler in this county—residing in a house he had built of poles at the mouth of Blanchard. The first house built was by two men and one woman, a mile above the mouth of Blanchard. The first county Court was held in the house of Christian Sarber, half a mile south of Kalida—Wm. L. Helfenstein presiding as Judge, and the family table serving as Judge’s and Clerk’s desk, bar table, etc., and the Judge making use of the bed for a seat. The jury held their private consultations in the woods. John Sarber, Christian Sarber, and Ezra Hicks, members of the first grand jury, are yet living.

“The third order issued by the Auditor read as follows :

“To the Treasurer of Putnam county, Ohio : Pay William Treat three dollars and eighty cents for services as pack horse in running the Napoleon road.”

“On the Court record of 1836, I find this entry : ‘The Court appoint James Taylor Clerk *pro tem.*, in place of Daniel W. Gray, resigned.’ William (Commodore) Phillips obtained a renewal of his tavern license. Marriage licenses were granted to David Stoufer and Elizabeth Nicewarner, John Armstrong and Elizabeth Strain, Christian Lugibill and Catharine Stoufer.

“Jennings creek took its name from Col. Jennings, who led a body of men there from Fort Recovery and built a stockade at the junction of that stream with the Auglaize. Col. Jennings died and was buried here. Ottawa river was named from the Indian tribe who had their hunting grounds along its course. The name of Hog Creek had its origin in the fact that, during the war of 1812, some white men living near Piqua undertook to drive a lot of hogs to the military garrisons on the Maumee; and having reached this stream, which they found much swollen, and becoming alarmed at the hostile movements of the Indians, they undertook to force their stock across, some of which reached the opposite shore, another portion perished in the waters; but the most remained upon the first bank, and all were left to their fate by the owners, who made a rapid retreat homewards. The surviving hogs multiplied and replenished the wilderness. Hence the name of ‘Hog Creek,’ or ‘Swinonia,’ as Count Coffinberry, under a poetic inspiration, designated it.

“Sugar Creek derived its name from the maple orchards which supplied the Indians at Charloe with their sugar; Plum Creek, from the annual wealth of wild plums that its rich bottoms supplied, ‘without money and without price;’ and Cranberry, from the numerous marshes that bore that fruit in its vicinity. Riley and Deer Creeks were named by the Government Surveyor, Capt. James Riley; and Blanchard, by an Indian trader, who was the first white settler upon its margin.

“The first store in the county was established by an Indian trader on Section 16, Liberty township. The first general muster was held at Ottawa, in 1839, at which all the able-bodied ‘sovereigns’ of the county were gathered, with plenty of ‘corn dodgers,’ music and whiskey.”

Among the veterans at Gilboa, on the Blanchard, were Andrew, Thomas R. and William McClure, John P. Flemming, Otho and John Crawfis, Elisha and Isaac Stout, Nathaniel M. Creighton, Joseph Hickerson, Matthew Chambers, Abraham Hardin, Samuel and Jesse Hall, Wm. B. Thrapp, Colonel Milton C. Ewing, Stanberry Sutton, Dr. Hiram Alford and Dr. H. Luce.

At Croghan Post Office, which place was afterwards Shannon, and now Bluffton, Allen county, were the families of Daniel W. Goble, Mr. Viers, John Amstutz, John Carnahan, John McHenry, John Steiner, Josiah and Budd Gaskill, and Hugh Lee.

At Pendleton were Joseph Patterson, Dr. H. Day, Mr. Kilheffer and Mr. Hamilton; at Columbus Grove, Capt. Fred. Fruchey, John Bogart and Mr. Turner; at Ottawa and vicinity, Dr. C. T. Pomeroy, Wm. and Jonathan Y. Sackett, Wm. Henderson, George Agner, Moses Sutton, John Race, James Clark, Christian Huber, Wm. Galbreath, James F. Adgate, Dr. C. M. Godfrey, Michael Row, Samuel Runyan, John and David Cox and Wm. Williams; at Glandorf, Rev. John W. Horstman, Henry Ridenour and Ferdinand Breidike, who settled in 1833, and in the same year, in the neighborhood, John F. Kahle, the first German naturalized in Putnam county. At an early date, also, were Gasper and Wm. Schierloh, Henry Unverfert, B. H. Kemper, Lewis Baker, and Messrs. Bookhold, Oskamp and Mohrman.

On the Blanchard, below Glandorf, were W. Leemaster, Henry Wing, John Snyder, Nutter Powell, John P. Simons, Solomon Carbaugh, Joel Wilcox, Dilman Switzer, John Ridenour, Wm. Bell and Mr. Shank.

At Kalida and neighborhood the following were among the early residents: Winchton and Orville Risley, Francis H. Gillett, Dr. Moses Lee, James Wells, George J. Wichterman, James H. Vail, Jacob Bean, Robert McCreary, Robert and Isaac McCracken, Hugh and Willie Crawford, Sheldon Guthrie, Clark H. and Levi Rice, Col. J. White, Capt. Thomas Coulter, George Skinner, Alonzo A. Skinner, James Thatcher, J. S. Spencer, Wm. Monroe, James and Andrew J. Taylor, David Ayers, Wm. Phillips, Richard Lee, Jesse Hight, Ezra Hicks, Adam Sarber, John Parrish, Joseph Nichols, Hugh Hughes, Evan R. Davis, Henry Moneysmith, John Ayers, James Rodgers, and several families named Guy.

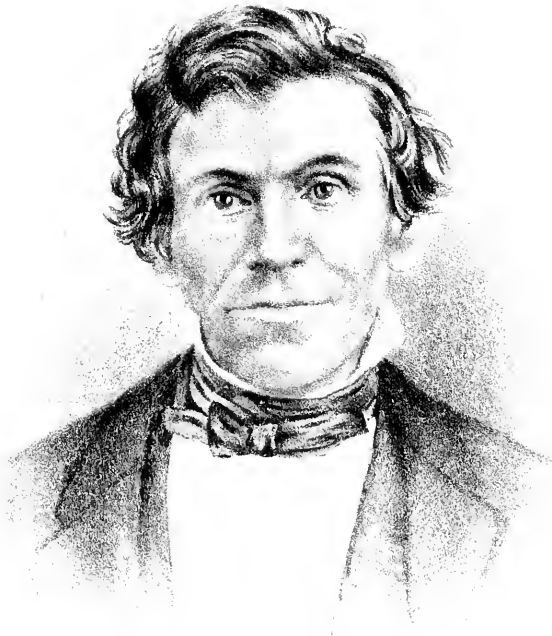
On and near Hog Creek, above Kalida, were Benjamin Clevinger, and his sons, Joseph, George, Jacob, Eli, James, Samuel and John; Col. John Kuhns, Jenkins Hughes, John Guffey, James Nicholas, Mr. Rhoades and John Gander.

Below Kalida, and on Hog Creek and the Auglaize, were James Hill, Rufus Carey, Wm. H. Harris, Elias Wallen, Wm. Bowen, David Murphy, Daniel and Jackson Sullivan, Thomas Carder, Obed Martin, Rev. P. B. Holden, Rev. John Tussing, Henry Pence, Wm. and Daniel Thatcher, Samuel and Peter Myers, Ellison Ladd and Mr. Rhoades. The early inhabitants in the neighborhood of the junction of Hog Creek with the Auglaize, by reason of the eccentricities of some of them, were generally known as the "Auglaize rangers."

In Greensburg township the first white inhabitant was Henry Wing, who removed to it in 1825. At the first election held April, 1835, Wm. Bell, Abraham Crow and Joshua Powell were elected Trustees; Frederic Brower, Clerk; Nutter Powell, Treasurer; and Frederic Brower, Justice of the Peace. At this election eight votes were cast. F. Brower is the oldest resident now living in the township, having settled there in 1833.

Liberty township was settled in 1835—Alexander Montooth being the first white male inhabitant. Then came, a few months later, C. Hofstaeter; Nicholas McConnel; Samuel, James and John Irvin; Mr. Krebs and Oliver C. Pomeroy. In the succeeding years came L. Hull; Jacob Sigler; Henry Knop; George Hagle; Robert Lowry; James Woodell; George Bell; and James McKinnis. Pete Arm, one of the head of the Tawa tribe of Indians, opened a small stock of goods on Section 16—he being the first merchant.

The township was organized in the spring of 1837—Nicholas McConnel, Hugh S. Ramsay and John E. McConnel being among the qualified electors, and voting. A. T. Prentiss, who furnishes these notes, opened a school in the township, in the winter of 1839-40. The first church was the Associate Presbyterian, of Poplar Ridge, organized by Rev. Samuel Willson—Nicholas McConnel and James Strain being ruling elders. The first settled minister was Rev. Samuel McLane, who took charge of the church in 1843, and remained until 1848, the period of his death. The first church building, and



Respectfully
Seth Pinn

the first established cemetery were upon the lands of James McKinnis. The town of Medary was laid out in 1845, by S. Medary, Dr. Wm. Trevitt, J. W. Watters and J. M. Palmer; Leipsic, in 1852, by John W. Peckinpaugh. Before the opening of the Dayton and Michigan road, the average prices current for produce at Leipsic were, for wheat, per bushel, 37@50c.; corn, 15@20c.; oats, 12@20c.; flour, per hundred lbs., \$1½@2; pork, per lb., 2@3c.; honey, 8@10c.; butter, 4@6c.; eggs, 3@6c. per doz., and other articles of farm products, except fruits, in proportion."

Among the first lawyers in Putnam county, were F. H. Gillett, W. L. Birge, A. A. Skinner, John Morris, E. T. Mott, and, later, B. F. Metcalf and James Mackenzie.

The old physicians were Drs. Moses Lee, P. L. Cole and Andrew McClure, of Kalida; Drs. Alford and Luce, of Gilboa; Drs. Godfrey and Pomeroy, of Ottawa; Drs. Cooper and Dewees, of Franconia and Dr. Day, of Pendleton.

Wm. Galbreath aided in the erection of Fort Meigs—was present during the two sieges—and witnessed, from the pallsides of the Fort, (May 5, 1813,) the disaster which occurred to the forces of Col. Dudley; and three days afterwards was with a force which crossed the river to bury the dead; but the bodies were so advanced in decomposition, that it was impossible to execute their mission. The wolves, eagles and buzzards held their hideous feasts during several days and nights. Mr. Galbreath removed to Putnam county in 1834.

Oliver Talbert, one of the old residents of the county, was at the surrender of Hull at Detroit, in 1812.

The author of this work was formerly a citizen of Putnam county, and at one time Representative in the General Assembly of Ohio; and, it may not be improper to state, originated the proposition to reduce the valuation of the State Canal Lands, and secure their sales, in restricted quantities, to actual settlers.

George Skinner made Kalida his residence in April, 1839. During this period he has served as Associate Judge, had charge of the settlement of numerous estates, and probably made surveys of more acres of land in the county than any other person now living, and has discharged these several duties satisfactorily to the public and to all parties in interest.

Dr. C. M. Godfrey, born in Adams county, Pennsylvania, June 17, 1816, established himself in Ottawa, Putnam county, in 1837—studied medicine in the office of Dr. Pomeroy, and commenced the practice of his profession in 1840. Directly after he became a resident, Dr. Godfrey took a leading part in every proposition made to hasten the development of the resources of the county. He was elected County Treasurer in 1842, and re-elected in 1844; Presidential elector on the Cass and Butler ticket in 1848; appointed Trustee of the new Lunatic Asylums in the State in 1854, and re-appointed in 1855, and was elected a member of the Ohio Senate in 1861. Dr. Godfrey is a good specimen of the race of self-made men who were so largely instrumental in giving a high character to the business and social life of the places of his residence.

CLARK H. RICE.

The name of this honored citizen, as one of the old residents of Putnam county, has been elsewhere mentioned. Mr. Rice was born November 19, 1804, in Essex county, New York, near Lake Champlain; and in 1812, with his parents, removed to Richland county, Ohio. He was married December 6, 1832, near Perrysville, Ashland county, Ohio, to Miss Catharine Mowers, who still survives him.

Mr. Rice removed to Kalida in June, 1839, and engaged in mercantile business, in which he continued during a period exceeding twenty years. From here he removed to Ottawa in November, 1868, and established the banking house of C. H. Rice & Co., and

remained in this business until the time of his death, which occurred September 27, 1870.

It may with entire truth be stated that no man has lived in the Maumee Valley who left a more honorable business record than Mr. Rice; and although successful in worldly accumulations, his kindred and friends honor the stainless name he left, and esteem it a legacy of higher value than his wealth, considerable as that was. With him, his word and his bond were convertible terms, and both would command unlimited credit wherever he was known.

It will not be deemed improper or uncalled for here, inasmuch as a professed "history" of the part Ohio soldiers bore in the late civil war, has failed to render justice to the military record, among others, made by Brig. Gen. A. V. Rice, son of the above, to briefly recapitulate the part the latter acted in that conflict. Gen. Rice was born at Perrysville, then Richland county, Ohio, in 1836—graduated in the class of 1860, at Union College, Schenectady, New York;—was a law student until the war between the States happened; when, to aid in the preservation of the Federal Union, he offered his services as a private soldier, with old school-mates and acquaintances, under the three month's call of President Lincoln. April 29, 1861, he was elected Second Lieutenant of Company E., 21st Reg., Ohio Infantry; May 16, elected Captain, and served as such in the campaign of Western Virginia under Gen. J. D. Cox, until the muster out of his regiment, in August, 1861.

During the month of September, 1861, he recruited a Co. for the 3 year's service, and was mustered in as Capt. Co. A., 57th Ohio Infantry, which Regiment he largely assisted to recruit and organize. On the 8th of February, 1862, he was appointed Lt. Col. by Gov. Tod, at the instance of his friends, and on the unanimous recommendation of the Officers of his Regiment. He accompanied his command to Paducah, Ky., when it was made a part of what is proudly spoken of as "Sherman's Division."

At the ever memorable battle of Shiloh, Miss., April 6th and 7th, 1862, he commanded his Regt., as Lieut. Col., which was in the thickest of the fight, losing one-third of its men,—he being wounded by concussion of a shell above him, and knocked off his horse during the engagement.

In the advance and siege on Corinth, Miss., he took an active part in all the battles, and commanded his Regiment in such a manner as to elicit the encomiums of his superior officers. He was constantly with and followed the fortunes of Sherman's Army, during the summer and fall of 1862; and at Chickasaw Bayou, Miss., in Sherman's effort to reduce Vicksburg, assumed command of his Regiment, during the different engagements there from Dec. 27, 1862, to Jan. 2, 1863. On the last day, under instructions from Sherman, he commanded the rear guard of the evacuating army. He was with his Regiment at the battle of Arkansas Post, Ark., Jan. 10th and 11th, 1863, and within 70 steps of the enemy's works, under orders to charge the same at the time of the surrender. He worked on the "Canal" at Vicksburg from Jan. 21st to Feb. 12th, 1863. In March he commanded the 1st Brig. of the 1st Div. 15th A. C. in the "Black Bayou Expedition"—an effort of Gen. Sherman to reach a point on the Yazoo river above Haine's Bluff, and thus invest Vicksburg. In this expedition his Brigade, by its prompt and energetic movements, relieved one gun-boat under Porter, and a part of the 2nd Brigade, which were surrounded by the enemy and in a most perilous condition.

On the 30th of April, he took his command to Snyder's Bluff, on the Yazoo river, and assisted in making the diversion against that point, which enabled Gen. Grant to capture Grand Gulf, Miss. By rapid marches his command circled round Vicksburg, by the way of Richmond, La., and Grand Gulf, Miss., and reached Baker's Creek, Miss., in time to engage in the battle of Champion Hills, May 16, 1863. He led his command in the engagement at Big Black

river, May 17th, and pushing on to Vicksburg, was in the first assault on that place after its investment on the 19th of May, 1863. On the 22nd of May he led his command in the terrible charge of the enemy's works at Vicksburg, in which he was severely wounded, his right leg broken by a shot below the knee, and a minnie ball received in his thigh. These wounds kept him out of active service till January, 1864.

For his actions in the various campaigns about Vicksburg, Gen. Sherman recommended him for promotion as Brigadier General. In the meantime, May 16, 1863, he was appointed Colonel of his Regiment.

He was again with Sherman on his most notable campaign of 1864 against Atlanta, taking part in the different battles of Sugar Valley, Resaca, Dallas, New Hope, Big Shanty and Little Kenesaw, from the 5th of May till the 27th of June, 1864, when, at the assault on Little Kenesaw, he received three wounds almost simultaneously—the first resulting in amputation of the right leg above the knee; the second badly shattering his left foot, and the third raking his head sufficient to bleed him freely.

For his action at Resaca, Georgia, May 14, 1864, he again received an impromptu recommendation from the general officers for promotion to Brigadier General for "gallant conduct on the field, under their personal observation;" but the appointment was not made till May, 1865.

His terrible wounds at Little Kenesaw kept him out of the service till April, 1865, when he again joined his army at Newburn, North Carolina. He passed, with his command, in the great review at Washington May 24, 1865, and in June took them to Louisville, Ky., where he was assigned to the command of the 3rd Brigade of the 2nd Division of the 15th A. C.—which he took to Little Rock, Arkansas, June 24, 1865. The same was mustered out, August, 1865.

Gen. Rice was honorably discharged, January 15th, 1866, having given his best energies, and nearly 5 years of the best part of his life, together with a part of his physical being, to the service of his country. He was married to the eldest daughter of the late Judge Metcalf, Lima, Ohio, October, 1866, and now lives in his old county of Putnam, at Ottawa, and succeeds his honored father as the head of a prosperous banking institution.

The population of Putnam county, in 1830, was 230; in 1840, 5,189; in 1850, 7,221; in 1860, 12,808; and in 1870, 17,081. In 1852, the tax valuation of real and personal property amounted to \$1,109,954; in 1862 to \$3,115,499; and in 1872, to \$5,386,908.

Notes regarding the progress and prospects of the several towns are very reluctantly omitted.

HANCOCK,

With many of the other counties heretofore named, was formed by the legislative enactment of April 1, 1820, and named from John Hancock, first President of the Revolutionary Congress. The organization of the county was made in April, 1828—the only voting place being Findlay, and seventy-two being the whole number of votes cast. A very clear view of the early history of the county is embodied in former pages.

"From Urbana the army, on the 16th of June, 1812, moved, on its march towards the foot of the Maumee Rapids, as far as King's Creek, and from this point opened a road as far as the Sciota, where they built two block-houses, which they called Fort McArthur, in honor of the officer whose regiment had opened the road. To this Fort the whole army came on the 19th, and on the 21st Colonel Finley was ordered to open the road as far as Blanchard's fork, whither the army, excepting a guard left at Fort McArthur, again followed on

the 22nd. Here, amid rain and mud, another block-house was erected, which was called Fort Necessity. From this point the army soon after moved to Blanchard's fork, where Colonel Finley had built a block-house, which was called in honor of that officer."—*American State Papers*.

Squire Carlin says of the condition of the old fort, in 1826: "The pickets next the river were in a good condition of preservation; but travellers who had camped in the fort had chopped off the tops of many of those enclosing the other three sides, for firewood. Within the enclosure was a block-house yet standing, and two small houses which had probably been used for barracks. The pickets inclosed about one acre of ground."

Regarding the siege of the fort, during the war, the reader is referred to the letter of Major Oliver, pp. 159-160.

Joseph Gordon was the first mail-carrier—concluding his twenty year's service about 1840. In an editorial notice of Mr. Gordon, published in the *Findlay Courier*, January 23, 1847, Wm. Mungen said:

"Few, indeed, have constitutions sufficiently strong to endure such labor, for such a length of time. To think of carrying a weekly mail, ninety miles through a wilderness, under the scorching rays of a summer's sun—through the chilling winds and rains of winter—and that, too, for a mere pittance, is enough to make a person shudder. It is to such men as Mr. G., to our hardy pioneers, who were ready to encounter all kinds of toil and privation, that Ohio owes her present state of prosperity and advancement. For such men we cannot but cherish sentiments of respect:

"Joseph Gordon was born in Allegheny county, Pennsylvania, on the 29th day of January, A. D. 1784. In the year 1801, when but 17 years old, he commenced carrying the mail, on horseback, from Russellville, Kentucky, via Bowling Green, to Glasgow, a distance of eighty-five miles, once in two weeks, for which he received twelve dollars per month. In 1802 he took a contract to carry the mail from Shelbyville, Ky., to Nashville, Tennessee. In consequence of the route being changed, he carried this mail only two months. From that time till October, 1804, he carried it from Shelbyville to Russellville, Ky. In October, 1804, he commenced carrying the mail, on horseback, from Wheeling, Virginia, to George Beymer's in this State, semi-weekly, a distance of fifty miles, with a led horse and a heavy mail on each. In 1805 and 1806, until the stages commenced running, he carried it from Wheeling, Va., through St. Clairsville, Zanesville, and New Lancaster, to Chillicothe. In February, 1823, he commenced carrying the mail from Bellefontaine, Logan county, to Perrysburg, Wood county, a distance of eighty-one miles through a wilderness, there being but one family residing in Hardin county, and but one Post Office on the route, and that at this place. Now there are eleven Post Offices on the route, which produce about three thousand two hundred dollars per annum. Mr. Gordon was the only contractor on this route from February 7th, 1823, to December 31st, 1839. Since 1839 he has carried the mail semi-weekly from Bellefontaine to this place, a distance of fifty-five miles."

Mr. Mungen also contributes the following:

"For a long time what goods were purchased and brought here came via the Maumee, Auglaize and Blanchard, to Findlay, from Perrysburg, the head of navigation on the Maumee. The furs and such articles of sale and commerce as the new country furnished went there by the same route. The vessels used in the transportation of these articles were *pirogues*, or the bodies of large trees hollowed out by the axe and by fire.

"Sometime about 1834, Michael Price, William Taylor, John McKinnis, his father, Robert McKinnis, and one or two others not now remembered, who had been on a trading trip to Perrysburg, were returning with goods, &c., and having got up into Blanchard a few miles above its mouth, and landed, discovered a large bear running past them. They gave chase, overtook or intercepted it, attacked and killed it with the poles they used to propel their pirogues, after a

serious and dangerous combat. They had no gun in the fight, their guns being in the boats when Bruno made his appearance."

The same gentleman furnishes the following list of early settlers :

"In 1818, came Wilson Vance; and in 1822, John P. Hambleton and Robert McKinnis and his sons Charles, Phillip, James and John, and son-in-law, Jacob Poe; and on Blanchard, below Findlay, in 1827, were John Fishel, and his sons, Michael and John, and son-in-law, John Magee; and prior to 1830, Geo. Shaw, Wm. Downing; John, Richard and Lewis Duke; from 1830 to 1835, Wm. and John Moffit, Wm. Birkhead, Thomas Hobbs, Daniel Cusack, Isaac Corner, John Povenmire, John Byall, James Jones, John Fletcher, John Lytle and George Chase; from 1835 to 1840, James Jones, Absolom Hall, John Price, Thos. Cook, Solomon Lee, Rich'd and Wm. Watson, Johnson and Robt. Bonham, Wm. Fountain, Robert L., Isaac and John Stroter, Rev. Geo. Van Eman, Wm. Ebright, Van Burson, Thos. Cook, Moses Predmore, Nathan Frankes, Thomas and John Jones, John Smeltzer, B. McClish, Enos Haddox and A. C. Worden.

"At Findlay and neighborhood, from 1825 to 1830, were William Taylor, James B. Thomas, David Egbert, Squire Carlin, Ebenezer Wilson and Ab'm. Huff; and, during the period from 1830 to 1835, there appeared Wm. Burns, Chas. Thomas, Wm. Gillespie, Wm. Marvin, Alden Wisely, Leonard Baumgartner, Jacob Baker, John Moore, John Graham, Wm. Roller, Cornelius Poulson, John Shoemaker, Moses McAnelly, John Huff, Aaron Swihart, George Hollenbach, Wm. S. Birkhead, John Bergman, Charles Thomas, John Burman, John Franks, Valentine Karns, Peter Wyant, John Edington—and, (dates being mostly uncertain,) Josiah Elder, George Fahl, Godfrey Wolford, Jacob Shaffer, John Lafferty, John Rose, Nathaniel Miller, Jacob Shoemaker, Michael Misamore, Peter and Joseph George, (1827,) Elisha Brown, Joseph Twining, Chas. Van Horne, Andrew Morehart, Uriah Egbert, Daniel Alspach, Stephen Lee, John Beach, Aquilla Gilbert, (1828,) Mordecai Hammond, John and Henry Orwick, Henry Treace, Robert Russel, John Vanatta, John D. and Henry Bishop, Lower Walters, John Seothorn, Elijah Woodruff, Joshua Hartman, Robert Crawford, A. Keel, G. W. McClelland, Wm. Cameron, Wm. W. Hughes, Henry Oman, Nathaniel Stout, Simon Crist, Isaac Smith and Moses Elza. And again, between 1830 and 1835, came Samuel Huntington, John Kempfir, John Stump and John Fenstermaker; and, between the years 1835 and 1840, the following named persons became residents: Robert Sherrard, James, John and Amos Cooper; James Barr, Alfred and Isaac N. Davis; John and Joseph Radabaugh; Robert Barnhill, Emanuel Longbrake, Adam Kramer, John Bergman, John Schoonover, Henry Kamps, Charles Henderson, Archibald Wilson, H. B. Thomas, Silas Leonard, Christopher and James Wiseman, Peter Glothart, Mordecai Haddox, Elihu Dennison, Frederick Dudduit, Abraham W. Beales, Abraham Schoonover, Joshua Smith, Geo. Van Eman, Joseph Johnson, Daniel Fairchild, Joseph Lash, Grafton Baker, John P. Ebersole, Wm. Fox, Jacob Hissong, Samuel Heller, Thomas Kelley, Caleb Roller, Francis Renfern, Sr., Paul Matthias, Thomas Watkins, James McConnel, and Samuel Morehead. And also at an early date came C. W. O'Neal, John Morrison, James M. and Charles Coffinberry, M. C. Whitely, Dr. Bass Rawson, John Mungen, Abel F. Parker, Parlee Carlin, Robert Bovard, John Reed, Jacob Ewing, John Fairchild, Phineas Mapes, George Downing, Christian Barnes, (and his sons, John, Abney, Jacob, Elijah and Gamaliel,) Jacob Rosenberg, Benj. Huber, Dr. Jacob Carr, Judge M. C. Whitely, Jacob Crumley and others."

Drake Taylor, with part of his family, (including his two sons, Stephen and Henry D.,) removed to the farm 2 miles below Gilead, (now Grand Rapids,) in November, 1828. The families then at the head of the Rapids were Edward and Robert Howard and William Pratt; and between these and Mr. Taylor's place were Joseph Keith and a Mr. Laughrey. On the north side, at Providence, resided Peter Manor, the only inhabitant on that side between Waterville and Prairie du Masque, where Samuel Vance, Mr. Scribner, (father of Edward Scribner, now of Napoleon,) and Mr. Bucklin, resided. There was a

settler opposite Damascus, on the south side, named Delong, and below him, on the same side, were Jacob Brown and Amos Pratt, who lived about two miles above Grand Rapids. Returning to the north side, and above Mr. Patrick, resided the families of Elijah Gunn, senior and junior; and above them, at the place now called Florida, lived Jesse Bowen and Mr. Hunter. Opposite, at Snaketown, were the families of Messrs. Mayhew and Hunter.

From the place above mentioned, Mr. Taylor and part of his family removed to the twelve mile reservation above Waterville, (being the first white settlers on that reservation.) Henry D. Taylor is now a resident of Hancock county.

Wilson Vance, before mentioned, may be regarded as one of the fathers of Findlay. He first came to the place as representative, under a power of attorney, of the one-fifth interest of his brother, Joseph Vance, subsequently Governor of Ohio. The family of Wilson Vance made the seventh household of Hancock county. As an honest man, and prominent leader in all good works, his memory is held in high esteem by the old citizens of Findlay and of North Western Ohio.

John Eckles, with his wife and three sons, settled in Cass township, Hancock county,—removing from Westmoreland county, Pennsylvania—landing at the place above named on the 17th of April, 1836. Mr. Eckles and his three sons, namely: Charles J., James M., and Cyrus L., are yet living—all at Findlay, except James M., who is a resident of Fort Wayne.

Robert Hurd, who came to the county in 1839 or 1840, laid out the town of Arlington, in 1841.

Dr. Osterlin, representative in 1871-73 in the Ohio House of Representatives, settled in Findlay in 1834, and John Adams about the same time.

The first white settler in the county of Hancock was a single man by the name of Tharp, who was at Findlay during the war, and remained until after its close, with several of the garrison, and engaged in the Indian trade. A family whose head was Benjamin Cox, settled in 1818.

The first term of the Court of Common Pleas was held November, 1829—Ebenezer Lane, President, and Abraham Huff, Robert McKinnis and Ebenezer Wilson, Associate Judges. Only one case appears upon the docket.

The record of the first session of the Commissioners bears date March 2, 1829. At this time John Long, Charles McKinnis and John P. Hambleton appear to have been the acting Commissioners, and the following persons filling other county offices: Assessor—Don Alonzo Hamblin, (whose bill for the assessment of the county for 1829 amounted to nineteen dollars and seventy-five cents;) Auditor—William Hackney; Surveyor—William Taylor.

At the session of June 5, 1831, the Commissioners sold to the Reverend Peter Monfort Lots Nos. 105 and 148 in the village of Findlay for forty-three dollars and twenty-five cents. The taxable valuation of these lots for 1872 amount, with improvements, to \$1658.

Edson Goit removed to Findlay and opened a law office in August, 1832. He was the first lawyer who settled in that place. The second was John H. Morrison, who came to Findlay about the year 1834, having removed from Bucyrus, where he had served as Prosecuting Attorney and Treasurer of Crawford county. The third was Chas. W. O'Neal, who is yet in practice, and about the fourth Attorney was the late Jude Hall.

Edwin F. Jones, now of Chillicothe, Illinois, communicated to the *Findlay Jeffersonian*, in 1872, some reminiscences of Hancock county, from which the following is extracted:

Mr. Jones visited the county in May, 1827—was a guest at the house of Wm Hackney, and afterwards of John P. Hambleton. In company with Mr. and Mrs. Hambleton they made a visit to "the fort," $1\frac{1}{2}$ miles below—crossing Lye and Eagle Creeks on trees and tops fallen from either side. He was introduced to Wilson Vance, "the head centre, and a gentleman in deed and truth, and chief agent of the town proprietors." In the town Mr. Jones also met John C. Wickham, (school teacher,) Joseph and Wm. De Witt and Squire Carlin.

“Sometime in 1828, Wm. Taylor made his appearance there, and gave Mr. Riley the job of building him a house, 16 or 18 by 32 feet, Mr. Riley furnishing the materials and finishing it off in different compartments for about \$330. Sometime after, Mr. Taylor moved on, with his amiable wife, Margaret. Mrs. Taylor was a native of Bedford county, Pa. They were a great accession to Findlay, and would have been an honor to Washington City. Mr. Taylor brought on about \$800 worth of dry goods and groceries, which he put up in one end of his house. In the fall of 1823, Mr. Joshua Powell and wife and sons, Eli and Nutter, and one daughter, settled on a donation lot, and built a hewed log house back in the brush. They were an honest and industrious family. Sometime after Mr. Powell bought land up the River and left his house. In October of that year, we had a great accession to Findlay in the arrival among us of Dr. Bass Rawsor, one of God’s noblemen, and his kind lady and little daughter Hattie. They took up their abode in Mr. Powell’s house.

“In 1829 or 1830, we were favored with another accession of Robert L. Strother, with his mother and sister, Malinda Strother, afterwards wife of Joseph C. Shannon.”

At an early day the facilities for intercommunication were of a limited character. There was but one really passable road—leading from Bellefontaine to Perrysburg, perhaps better known as “Hull’s trace,” having been the route he pursued in his march to Detroit. By-paths, blazed through the woods, were about the only things to be relied upon. Of course there was little home market for any thing. There was scarcely ever a surplus raised, and those who had wheat to sell would haul it to Maumee or Sandusky City and there sell it for from 40 to 60 cents per bushel; hogs were driven to Detroit and sold there.

In 1839 the railway fever broke out and took shape in the form of an appropriation of \$100,000 by the County to the Bellefontaine & Perrysburg railway company, but the enterprise vanished into air—and but few people are aware that such an enterprise was ever contemplated.

The first real impetus its growth received was by the building of the branch road between Findlay and Carey, in 1850-51. By means of it Findlay became a desirable market and reached out for trade in every direction. Subsequently the Lake Erie & Louisville road was completed from Fremont to Findlay, giving competition in freights, and materially benefitting the town.

The Fremont and Indiana railroad was put in running order from Fremont to Findlay in 1861, but owing to the embarrassments of the company, the road was not completed further until 1872.

This road was sold in 1861, and a new company organized under the name of the Fremont, Lima and Union railroad company. In 1865 the Fremont, Lima and Union and the Lake Erie and Pacific railroad companies were consolidated under the name of the Lake Erie and Louisville R. R. company.

The census returns for the several decades from 1830 to 1870, inclusive, exhibit the following results:

Population of Hancock county in 1830, 813; in 1840, 9,986; in 1850, 16,751; in 1860, 22,886; in 1870, 23,847.

The original proprietors of the land upon which Findlay was built, were Elnathan Cory, of Clark county, Joseph Vance, (subsequently Governor of Ohio,) of Champaign county, Maj. Wm. Oliver, of Cincinnati, and Wm. Neil and John McIlvaine of Franklin county; but the three last named disposed of their interest, and on the 26th of September, 1829, the town was platted and recorded by Joseph Vance and Elnathan Cory.

In 1826 the post-office paid to Wilson Vance, postmaster, a commission for his services, amounting to \$3,18, or 79½ cents per quarter. The office now pays the postmaster a commission of nearly \$2,000 per annum.

The population of the town in 1850 amounted to 1,256; in 1860, to 2,467; in 1870, to 3,315.

The assessed valuation of real and personal property in 1871, amounted to \$1,035,529.

It would have been gratifying could more space have been devoted to the pioneer men and times, and present resources of Hancock county; but historical matter of much value, and not hitherto published, regarding its earlier history, are embraced in preceding pages.

LUCAS COUNTY.

Resuming and continuing now, from the interruption explained on page 578, the concluding sheets of this volume will be devoted chiefly to Lucas county—commencing with the reliable contribution of Sanford L. Collins, whose official and other trusts were ever executed with fidelity to public and personal interests, as all the old citizens of Lucas county will gladly bear witness.

H. S. KNAPP, Esq.—MY DEAR SIR: As per request, I send recollections of the early settlement of Toledo. My residence there was from December, 1831, to February, 1833, in the employ of Lewis Godard, Esq., of Detroit, whose interest, under his instructions, both in merchandise and real estate, I closed out, in February, 1833, then returned to Detroit. During this time, however, I had, in connection with Mr. Godard, purchased lands at Ten Mile Creek, afterward Tremainville, to which place I came from Detroit in July following, erected a store, went to New York for goods, returned in October, and commenced improvements in land clearing, selling goods, &c., at which place I have since resided.

The resident heads of families, January 1, 1832, embraced within the limits of what was then Port Lawrence township, comprising what is now the city, Washington township, Manhattan, Oregon, and a part of Adams township, were as follows: In the city limits, north side of the river, Major B. F. Stickney, William Wilson, Wm. Riley, (brother of Capt. James Riley, the old sea navigator,) Hiram Bartlett, Dr. J. V. D. Sutphen, Michael T. Whitney, James M. Whitney, Harman Crane, (father of C. A. Crane, Esq.) Noah A. Whitney, Sen., and Peter Bertholf.

In what is now Washington township, were Major Coleman I. Keeler, Deacon Samuel J. Keeler, (father of Salmon Keeler, Esq.) Charles G. Keeler, Noah A. Whitney, Jr., Milton D. Whitney, Eli Hubbard, Cyrus Fisher, John Phillips, P. J. Phillips, John and Joseph Roop, Capt. A. Evans, W. R. Merritt, Charles Evans, Peter, David and Wm. Lewis, Caleb Horton, Samuel Horton, widow Holmes, Wm. Sibley, Andrew Jacobs, Christian Roop, Philip and Abel Mattoon, Dr. Wordon, Wm. Wilkinson, Moody Mills, John Leybourn, Peter Corno and Alexander Bernard.

In what was afterwards Manhattan, were Tibbles Baldwin, Francis Loveway, Joseph Trombley, N. Guoir, and Peter, Robert, Alexander and James Navarre.

In Oregon were Joseph Prentice, (father of Frederick Prentice, Esq.,) Ebenezer Ward, Robert Gardner, Mr. Whitmore and Mr. Crane.

In what is now Adams, were Ezra Goodsell and Oliver P. Stevens.

The winter of 1831-32 was employed by Capt. Hiram Brown and Capt. John and Tibbles Baldwin in establishing a fishery on a large scale—using a seine near the place now covered by the T. T. and Eastern Railway, that swept the river from shore to shore.

The commencement of Toledo, starting out with two names, Port Lawrence and Vistula, may, I think, fairly be dated January 1, 1832, at which time Capt. Samuel Allen and Otis Hathaway came on from Lockport, N. Y., to commence improvements in accordance with a contract made with Major Stickney in September or October previous. Mr. Lewis Godard, of Detroit, above mentioned, and also a former Lockport man, (and the father of A. Godard, Esq., of

your city,) came down and made a farther contract with Major Stickney for some three acres of ground, to be selected after the same should have been platted, under which agreement Mr. Godard was to send here a stock of goods, which goods were sent in the month of December, 1831, under my charge, I being then in his (Mr. Godard's) employ, and were put up in an old deserted block-house, which Philo Bennett, also from Lockport, had put in condition for their reception, having come down from Detroit for that purpose, and who became a settler here, purchasing the tract on the opposite side of the river, next below the Yondota plat.

This block-house into which the goods were placed, was built by William Wilson, Esq., (afterwards Judge Wilson.) at the time that the town of Port Lawrence was first originated by the Cincinnati Company, in 1816—and had been so long deserted that it was perfectly surrounded with an undergrowth of timber of considerable size.

Why I say that the commencement of Toledo may fairly be dated on the 1st of January, 1832, is, that the contractors, with Major Stickney, were then on the ground to commence the performance of their contract. Mr. Godard, on his part, had sent the stock of goods, which were then opened and for sale. These demonstrations on the part of Messrs Allen, Hathaway & Godard, in the way of town building, as well as their presence, were made the occasion of a grand ball to be held in the old log warehouse then standing at the mouth of Swan Creek, occupying a portion of ground now in use by the Messrs Roff, for their hardware store. This building, together with the old block-house, now occupied for the store, were about all that existed of the improvements of the Cincinnati Company in their attempt to build up a town here in 1816.

The old log warehouse, at this time, notwithstanding its antiquity, was really a building of great convenience. While a portion served for what was then considered a comfortable dwelling, occupied by Capt. John Baldwin, the upper part afforded the room for the grand ball upon the occasion before referred to, and which was participated in by the citizens generally (old as well as young) of old Port Lawrence township, as well as with fair representations from Maumee, Perrysburg, Bay Settlement and Monroe; and as, upon all occasions of this kind in the then new settlement of the country, the best of feeling was manifested, especially among the residents of old Port Lawrence, who seemed to think that a new order of things was about to be inaugurated; that improvements they had so long and so anxiously waited for were now about to be commenced.

The Vistula part of the city was then laid off and platted, and the clearing of the plat of brush and timber commenced; also, the putting in of a long line of docking in front of the property at the foot of Lagrange street, extending down toward Elm street some 40 rods or thereabouts. This line of docking was built upon the ice, and notwithstanding its great weight, it being some nine feet high, it did not break through until the ice began to give way in the spring; and of course, while kept up by the ice, presented a very formidable appearance; so much so, that it attracted the attention of our enterprising neighbors of Perrysburg, who came down upon the ice with a large party to pay their respects to the new proprietors and witness the new mode of building docks without piling. After examining carefully, they said it looked very well, but thought it would disappear with the ice in the spring, and perhaps the same might be the case with many of the new inhabitants in the coming months of July and August, with fevers and agues, which they most assuredly would have.

The spring came, and contrary to the predictions of our Perrysburg neighbors, the dock did not disappear, but became greatly displaced; and so with the new settlers, they did not disappear, but had any amount of shaking.

After the opening of navigation that year, an attempt was made on the part of the proprietors, in connection with Mr. Godard, to make an arrangement with some one of the boats then running in the regular line from Buffalo to Detroit, to come in here on her up trip, thereby having one boat a week. In

this, however, they did not succeed, but made an arrangement with the steamer "Pioneer" to run between here and Sandusky, meeting the regular boats at Sandusky, and bringing passengers and immigrants destined for the Maumee Valley and Southern Michigan, direct to Vistula. To aid in this matter, Two Stickney was sent as the agent of the proprietors to Buffalo, to change the tide of immigration or immigrant travel, so far as it was possible, to this route, by giving the necessary assurance that a boat would be in readiness at Sandusky to take them to Vistula. Under this arrangement, the steamer "Pioneer" performed a few trips, and then abandoned it, as not paying. During this time, however, the fine schooner "Eagle," with its gallant Captain, David Wilkinson, made her regular trips from Perrysburg to Buffalo. Also the regular weekly trips of the steamer "General Gratiot," Captain Arthur Edwards, from Detroit to Maumee, touching at Vistula, and affording a communication with Buffalo by way of Detroit.

During that spring and summer, (1832) there came, as settlers, Capt. Samuel Allen and family, Otis Hathaway, (did not bring his family,) Munson H. Daniels, Daniel Washburn, C. G. Shaw and family, Oliver Stevens and family, James Maddox, Stephen B. Comstock, Philander Wales, Dr. Fassett, (who, with Stevens, Wales and Maddocks, and other families, settled on the opposite side of the river,) and Richard Greenwood, I think, came in that year. Oliver Spaulding and Daniel O. Comstock, came in the fall.

Among the improvements that were made that year, and the most important in the way of building, was the erection of a store under instructions from Mr. Godard, on the S. E. corner of Summit and Lagrange streets, being on the property embraced in the purchase by him of Major Stickney, before referred to, which purchase covered the whole front on Summit from Lagrange to Elm streets, running to the river, covering the line of docking mentioned. On the front, on the north-westerly side of Summit, from Lagrange to Elm, except two lots, the consideration was the payment of \$300, and the sending down of the stock of goods, put up in the old block-house heretofore mentioned; during the summer, and while the store was being erected, Mr. Godard formed a co-partnership with Elkanah Briggs, from the vicinity of Albany, N. Y., Mr. Briggs purchasing the undivided one-half of that portion of the real estate already referred to, above Cedar street, including the store, which was afterwards completed and supplied with goods by the purchases of Mr. Godard, and sent here for Briggs & Godard. In October, Mr. Briggs came here with his family, occupying for a dwelling the upper part of the store, which had been fitted up for that purpose. On the arrival of the goods for Briggs & Godard, the remaining stock in the old block house was sold to Capt. John Baldwin, who fitted up a small unoccupied building, into which they were put, together with purchases from other sources, making a very respectable store. (This building stood on Summit street, between Perry and Monroe, and was known in after years as the old Saux' grocery;) so that in the fall of 1832 both the upper and lower town, (the old town of Port Lawrence having been revived under the agency of Stephen B. Comstock) could each boast of a store of some credit, especially that of Briggs & Godard, both in its building as well as in its stock. Mr. Godard's interest in the store and real estate of Briggs & Godard, was sold to Briggs in January, 1833, he (Briggs) selling to Edward Bissell, I think, in the fall of 1833; this store was then occupied by Flagg & Bissell, then by M. L. Collins & Co., then by Clark & Bennett, then by Dr. Jacob Clark, then by Ketcham & Snell, and finally burned while being occupied by Elijah S. Hanks, in 1845 or 1846.

During the year 1832, notwithstanding the importance of the two rival towns, (Vistula and Port Lawrence,) they were yet without any mail facilities, their post-office nearly three miles distant, at Ten Mile Creek, on the line of the old United States Turnpike, (so called.) Cyrus Fisher, Esq., P. M., resided in a block-house of some considerable size, kept as a tavern and store, standing on the ground now occupied by Mr. Sharer's old tavern house, the mail being car-

ried through for the supply of the offices along the line, from Fremont to Detroit, on horseback, some three times a week, I think. The name of this post-office was the same as that of the township, Port Lawrence. Mr. Fisher, the then P. M., leaving the neighborhood, Mr. Calvin Tremain, a very worthy man from Vermont, settling there with a small store of goods, was appointed P. M. in the place of Mr. Fisher.

Mr. John P. Converse, the Mail Contractor, on the route from Fremont to Detroit, changed the horseback mail to a daily line of coaches. This was at that time a very great convenience, affording an opportunity by public conveyance of reaching Detroit, or East to Buffalo, during the winter months.

About this time the question of petitioning for a post office was talked about, and of course each locality wanted not only the office on account of the name, but the P. M. also. The lower town wanted the name of Vistula, and the upper, Port Lawrence. A meeting of the citizens of both towns was called, and a strong effort made to agree upon some one for P. M., also, the name of the office, and to at once petition for its establishment.

Among the reasons for prompt action in this matter, aside from the long distance we were compelled to travel for mail accommodations, were, that sometimes when one was commissioned to bring in the mail for all the neighborhood, and happening not to be supplied with the ready money necessary, (which unfortunate circumstance would sometimes occur, in spite of us,) the P. M., although a worthy man, but not sufficiently appreciating the efforts that were being made in building up, not only one, but two towns, would decline parting with the mail until the money was forthcoming, so that, in some instances, the second journey would have to be performed for the same mail.

Some time during the winter of 1832-3, (I have forgotten the precise date,) a post-office was established, taking the name of the Ten Mile Creek office, (Port Lawrence,) and giving to that office the name of Tremainville, simply adding the *village* to the name of its then P. M., (Tremain.) Stephen B. Comstock had the appointment of P. M. at the Port Lawrence office. The post-office department also established a new mail route from Tremainville to Toledo, or Port Lawrence. Major B. F. Stickney had the contract for carrying the mail upon this route, supplying the Port Lawrence office with its mail from the Tremainville office three times a week for the net proceeds of the Port Lawrence office, provided the same did not exceed \$15 per quarter. Under this arrangement Tremainville became the distributing office for Port Lawrence and Vistula, instead of their delivery office as theretofore.

This state of things, however, did not last always. During the fall and winter of 1834-5, the Manhattanites, a most enterprising people, opened up a new road in the direction of Monroe, intersecting the old Turnpike near the State line, while Vistula and Port Lawrence, anxious to improve their mail facilities, had opened a road along the bank of the river to Fort Miami, thereby making a very passable road from the old Turnpike at Fort Miami, by way of Port Lawrence, Vistula and Manhattan, intersecting the old Turnpike at the State line, as before stated.

The mail upon the old Turnpike route was then changed to this new route, and the writer, who was then P. M. at Tremainville, was advised of that change March 3, 1835, and also that thereafter the post-office at Tremainville would be supplied with its mail from the Port Lawrence office, and instructed to give to Major Stickney for such mail service the same compensation allowed in the supplying of the Port Lawrence office, to wit: the net proceeds of the Tremainville office, provided the same did not exceed the sum of fifteen dollars per quarter!

The office was continued until the change in the rates of postage, and then abandoned.

Yours, as of old,

SANFORD L. COLLINS.

Sandford L. Collins, Esq., who contributes the foregoing valuable historical letter, had two brothers, early residents of Toledo: John W. Collins, now living near Tremainville, and the late Morgan L. Collins, one of the oldest, most active and useful business men of Toledo, whose spotless name will long be remembered, and who died in the spring of 1865. The two last mentioned brothers came to the Valley in 1834. Few names are more prominent in the early history of the Lower Valley, or command higher respect, than those of the Messrs. Collins.

TOLEDO—SOMETHING OF ITS PAST AND PRESENT.

The spirited frontispiece, by O. J. Hopkins, of the landing of the old Continental First Regiment of Infantry, at Fort Industry (now Toledo), will attract the attention of the reader. Its gallant commander, Colonel Thomas Hunt, received his "baptism of fire" in the first battle of the Revolution, and continued in active service throughout that conflict. The First Continental was a favorite regiment with Washington and the country. On its route from Detroit to St. Louis, in June, 1803, a night was passed in the vicinity of the fort, under tents. This old Fort stood near the edge of the bluff, about 30 feet above the river. Richard Mott's block occupies, probably, the central portion of the old post, erected under the orders of Gen. Wayne, in 1794, and the place where the treaty between the Commissioners of the United States and several tribes of Indians was made, July 4, 1805—[ante, p. 227]. Some, whose knowledge of the place is limited to a period of thirty or forty years, may be disposed to question the fidelity of certain points in the representation conveyed by the engraving; but those persons will remember that even within their time, every prominent landmark in existence when they had their first view of its physical features, has also forever disappeared.

The early history of Toledo has been partly given in preceding pages. The city is already the recognized commercial capital, not only of the Maumee Valley, but of large, highly productive and populous districts in Ohio and adjacent and distant States; and yet it may safely be assumed that the 'village' has scarcely entered upon the period of its commercial growth.

Its infant struggle for commercial position, is very fully and satisfactorily given in the reminiscences of Major B. F. Stickney, and Messrs. Scott, Prentice, Mott, Daniels, and others; but the original design of giving full statistics of its present and prospective commerce, railways, manufactures, banks, etc., has been defeated by reason that it would extend this work beyond all reasonable limits. A general and imperfect view, therefore, of the present business of Toledo, is all that can be given.

Its progress may, in some degree, be measured by the valuations, at different periods, for taxation purposes, as given below:

Value of real and personal property in 1837.....	\$ 249,693 00
In 1840, valuation of real property (exclusive of chattels).....	225,331 00
In 1850, valuation of real and personal property.....	895,402 00
In 1872, valuation of real and personal property.....	16,518,850 00
And in 1873, the Board of Equalization have established the value at about.....	18,000,000 00

In 1836, Sanford L. Collins, Esq., then Treasurer of Lucas, the limits of which embraced nearly the present territory of Fulton county, paid into the State Treasury, on his annual settlement with the State, \$940 05 8, (nine hundred and forty dollars five cents and eight mills.) as the proportion due from Lucas county to the State. In 1872-73. Mr. Kountz, Treasurer of the county thus shorn of a large portion of its territory, paid the State \$61,737 34, (sixty-one thousand seven hundred and thirty-seven dollars and thirty-four cents, as the proportion due from the county to the State.

There are many persons in Toledo to-day who are in possession of more wealth than the entire valuation of the city in 1837; and there are several whose resources exceed the whole taxable wealth of 1850. Yet, it must be stated that the mass of the population of the city are real estate owners, and that society presents few extremes of overshadowing wealth and penury. A large per cent. of laboring men in Toledo, are owners of the property on which they reside.

Its advance in population is indicated by the census returns which follow :

In 1840.....	1,224
In 1850.....	3,829
In 1860.....	13,768
In 1870.....	31,584

Hon. Isaac R. Sherwood, late Secretary of State, in his annual report made to the Governor of Ohio, in 1871, makes an analysis of the per cent. of increase in population, during the decennial period between 1860 and 1870, of the five principal cities of Ohio, resulting as follows: Toledo, 136 per cent.; Cleveland, 112; Columbus, 66; Dayton, 51; Cincinnati, 35.

Mayor Jones, the able chief magistrate, who permits nothing of importance to the interests of Toledo to escape his attention, thus refers, in his annual message to the City Council of April, 1872, to the commercial importance of the city :

“The imports of the city during the year 1871, amounted to \$201,826,917; the exports to 213,547,610, making a total value of \$415,375,527, an excess over the year previous of \$34,390,395, notwithstanding that values have been lower than for many years previous.

“The receipts of grain during the year amounts to 35,000,000 bushels, an increase of 12,000,000 over the receipts of any previous year.

“The grain traffic of this city is exceeded by no other receiving or shipping port in the United States (from first hands), except Chicago. While most of the wheat from that and other lake cities, is of the kind denominated Spring, ours is entirely Winter Wheat.”

Mr. Wales, Secretary of the Board of Trade, furnishes, in his last report, the following table of imports and exports, from 1858 to 1872, inclusive:

	Imports.	Exports.
1858.....	\$ 31,700,085 00	\$ 35,460,031 00
1860.....	46,727,754 00	52,243,627 00
1864.....	81,180,366 00	95,905,758 00
1865.....	158,967,000 00	177,547,671 00
1866.....	161,652,597 00	181,329,496 00
1867.....	167,786,626 00	185,145,096 00
1868.....	179,452,650 00	197,814,241 00
1869.....	182,360,700 00	198,723,432 00
1871.....	201,826,917 00	213,547,610 00
1872.....	204,700,000 00	218,672,000 00

The depth of water at the mouth of the harbor has been such as to exclude from the port vessels of the largest class. Inadequate appropriations for the improvement of the channel have been heretofore made; but during the session of Congress which terminated March 4, 1873, the liberal appropriation of \$100,000 was made for enlarged prosecution of the work, and a precedent thus established which will doubtless secure in future such aid from Congress as the interests of the rapidly growing commerce of Toledo may require, and enable vessels of the heaviest tonnage that navigate the lakes to enter and clear the port without obstruction.

RAILWAYS.—High in importance to the business interests of the city, and the one that has contributed more largely than all other lines now in operation to place it in its present commercial position, is the

TOLEDO, WABASH AND WESTERN RAILWAY.

In the year 1852, two companies were organized, having in view the construction of a great through line of railroad, from the city of Toledo, Ohio, to the city of St. Louis, Missouri, and through auxiliary lines, open a direct route to the extensive producing regions of central Indiana and Illinois, and the more prominent towns and cities upon the Mississippi and Missouri rivers.

The corporations thus created, were the Toledo and Illinois Railroad Company, in the State of Ohio, and the Lake Erie, Wabash and St. Louis Railway Company, in the State of Indiana, both of which were merged into one, by consolidation, at a subsequent period. Through the zealous efforts of the persons having the control of the Indiana organization, and who at the time substantially represented the interests of the entire undertaking, the Hon. A. Boody, of New York, was induced to assume the control and direction of the enterprise, provide the means, and undertake the construction and equipment of the entire road.

Upon the conclusion of this arrangement with Mr. Boody—which occurred in March, 1853,—that gentleman, with that practical skill and business energy which has uniformly characterized all his business operations, proceeded to the immediate organization of the means and appliances required for the efficient and successful prosecution of this large and somewhat difficult work. The preliminary surveys and location of the route through the States of Ohio and Indiana, were so far advanced, that, early in the month of May, 1853, the entire line, in both States, was placed under contract, in suitable divisions, and to responsible and experienced contractors, and the whole was supplied with ample forces of laborers and machinery, and all the departments of the work was placed under vigorous and effective management. The grading and general construction work continued to be prosecuted during the ensuing year, with all possible energy, and, notwithstanding the serious difficulties encountered by reason of climatic and local hindrances, and especially from the general financial depression existing throughout the country, the first division of the road, from Toledo to Fort Wayne,—a distance of 94 miles,—was opened for business in July, 1855, and the remaining division, to the State of Illinois, in the month of December, 1856. In each and all departments, the work was planned and executed as a first-class road, and in adaptation to the vast and varied traffic expected to be transported over it. Its equipment and machinery was procured from the most celebrated manufacturers in the country, and having reference to the highest standard of quality and efficiency. The extensive additions more recently made to the rolling stock and equipment, and indeed the improvements made upon the line generally, indicate an adherence to a like standard of thoroughness and completeness, so that in all its appointments, it ranks among the first of our American Railways.

Upon the completion of this great work through Ohio and Indiana, and with a purpose of fully accomplishing the cardinal objects of its projectors, this company has acquired, by perpetual lease or consolidation, the control of important lines of continuous and connecting railways, leading to the cities of St. Louis, Hannibal, Quincy, Keokuk, Pekin, and Bloomington, thus securing, under one united management, about 1,000 miles of railway, passing through a country of unsurpassed fertility, and reaching all the most thriving and prosperous towns in Central Illinois, and upon the Mississippi river.

The advantages to the somewhat remote and inaccessible regions of the Maumee Valley, incident to the building of this railway, are witnessed in the immediate influx of population, doubling and quadrupling its towns, as well as the contiguous country, and especially in the marked development and improvement of its agricultural and other resources.

To the city of Toledo, this line of railway has brought corresponding, and possibly still greater advantages.

The establishment of its principal terminus at Toledo, and the avoidance of consolidation, and other distracting alliances, has measurably centralized in that city the vast grain traffic of the most extensive and productive regions of the west, rendering it one of the most important grain markets in the world. Moreover, the localizing of its larger manufacturing and repairing shops at Toledo, is conferring benefits which must continue to tell with marked and significant effect upon its growth in population, as well as its advancement in material prosperity.

The total movement of grain upon the railway of this company, for the year 1871 (reducing flour to bushels), was 18,053,382 bushels.

The movement of grain in the year 1872, reached 21,320,236 bushels, showing a large annual increase, and which is destined to expand in greater proportions with each returning year.

The officers of this road, elected for 1872-73, are, Azariah Body, New York, President; J. N. Drummond, Assist. President, Toledo; A. Anderson, Vice President, do; William B. Corneau, Secretary and Treasurer, do; Union National Bank, Transfer Agent, New York. And among the officers of the line, whose offices are at Toledo, are George H. Burrows, Superintendent; John U. Parsons, General Ticket Agent; John B. Carson, General Freight Agent; John E. Carpenter, Paymaster; W. S. Lincoln, Engineer Ohio and Indiana Division; J. I. Nettle, Supply Agent; David Hoit, Master Car Repairer; G. A. Beach, Superintendent Telegraph Line, Eastern Division, and W. L. Malcolm, General Passenger Agent.

LAKE SHORE AND MICHIGAN SOUTHERN.

The old Erie and Kalamazoo road, one of the first railway enterprises undertaken in the West, formed the nucleus which resulted in the construction, at intervals, of the various links which were finally consolidated under the name of the Lake Shore and Michigan Southern Railway, extending to Chicago, a distance of 243 miles; branches penetrating the State of Michigan,—one near the southern, two near the central, and one towards the western portions of the State. The Air Line passes through the extreme Northwestern counties of Ohio and Northern Indiana, and the Toledo Division runs along the south shore of Lake Erie.

The Erie and Kalamazoo Railway was the first built, and operated westward of Buffalo, and was projected in the winter of 1832-1833 by Dr. Daniel O. Comstock, older brother of Stephen B. and James M. Comstock, in correspondence with J. W. Scott. Its charter was obtained by the efforts of Addison J. Comstock of Adrian, then a member of the Territorial Legislature of Michigan. It was allowed to pass, on the supposition that it was a merely fanciful project—out of which could come no harm, but would please the Comstocks of Toledo.

Dr. Comstock was the purchaser, in 1832, of one quarter interest from the Port Lawrence company, of river tracts one and two, for \$4,500, with an engagement to act as agent. He was a man of much ability, and good foresight, as this purchase and the entry at \$1.25 per acre of river tracts 12 and 13, clearly

proved. But, he soon died of consumption, leaving his property to brothers and sisters—making them independent, if not rich. The Comstocks were among the principal promoters of the construction of the Erie and Kalamazoo Railroad.

This road has a repair shop nearly finished, and contemplate the building of car shops during the season, at the "junction," and these improvements, when completed and in operation, will afford, it is expected, employment to at least twelve hundred hands. The value of this reinforcement to the manufacturing power of the city, can scarcely be over-estimated.

DAYTON AND MICHIGAN

Crosses the State of Ohio, and connects Toledo and Cincinnati, and is the shortest railway route between Lake Erie and the Ohio river, and affords the cheapest avenue for much of the traffic of Ohio, as well as of that of States south of that river, seeking the seaboard. This road delivered at Toledo, in 1871, about two and a half millions bushels of grain, besides large quantities of cotton, live stock, tobacco, hard-wood lumber, staves, and other commodities; and carries hence to southern markets a large amount of lumber, salt, etc.

FLINT AND PERE MARQUETTE

Extends from Toledo by a very direct route, through the Saginaw Valley, and during that period of the year when navigation is closed, it is the only outlet for the immense products of the pine and salt regions of Michigan. The opening of this road has greatly increased the importance of Toledo, as a lumber and salt market.

TOLEDO, TIFFIN AND EASTERN,

At the hour of the issue of this volume, is quite completed. It passes through a very rich section of Ohio, to Mansfield, where it has important connections. This road connects with the Pennsylvania Central, and forms a direct line to Philadelphia. It will secure to Toledo a large and valuable traffic, and prove a powerful competitor for eastward-bound freights. The first locomotive passed over the road March 16, 1873.

COLUMBUS AND TOLEDO

Is designed more especially as a coal road, to connect with the Hocking Valley Railroad at Columbus, and thus furnish an outlet for the coal of the Hocking Valley.

ATLANTIC AND LAKE ERIE

Is a road now building, designed to run entirely across the State, having its southern terminus at Pomeroy, on the Ohio river. It is in a forward state of completion, and passes through some of the most extensive mineral fields in the State. The Company building this road, have acquired very extensive dock lines in this city, for the purpose of handling coal and iron ore—this road furnishing the best means for distributing Lake Superior ore among the iron manufacturers in the southern part of the State.

TOLEDO, ANN ARBOR AND NORTHERN

Is intended to cross the State of Michigan, running in a northwesterly direction, to Frankfort, on Lake Michigan. It is nearly completed to the centre of the State.

CANADA SOUTHERN.

This road is designed to run from this city to the Detroit river, and, crossing that stream near its mouth, terminate at Fort Erie, near Buffalo. The Canada portion of the road, 225 miles in length, is ironed and equipped. The line from Toledo to the Detroit river is graded, and the entire line to Fort Erie will doubtless be completed during the present season. At Fort Erie the road will cross the Niagara river, over a new International Suspension Bridge, where it will make connections with the Erie Railway, New York Central, the Midland and the Lake Shore (Ontario) road. The opening of this new route will afford another outlet to the east, for the immense amount of produce marketed at Toledo, and will be a competitor of the Lake Shore and Michigan Southern Railway; and it possesses connections which will enable this city to retain, during the winter, a large New England trade, which, each year, has gone to other markets, because of the difficulty of shipping to the New England States. It is also expected that a connection will be made with the Grand Trunk Railway of Canada, with the Canada Southern; and should such be the case, shipments of grain and other produce will be made to points in Canada, with as much facility in winter as during the summer season. Such a connection also enables Toledo shippers to supply northern New England with its produce throughout the entire year.

TOLEDO AND SOUTHWESTERN

Is designed to run from Toledo through Maumee City, Grand Rapids, Van Wert, Wiltshire, in Ohio, and thence on nearly an air line to Indianapolis. This road will afford the shortest route from Indianapolis to the east, and, as compared with the present eastern outlet from Indianapolis, will lessen the distance to Buffalo upwards of fifty miles.

These several lines may be thus enumerated: 1. Toledo, Wabash and Western. 2. Lake Shore Line to Buffalo. 3. Michigan Southern (old line) to Chicago. 4. Air Line to Chicago. 5. Dayton and Michigan to Cincinnati. 6. Toledo and Detroit. 7. Flint and Pere Marquette. 8. Toledo, Tiffin and Eastern. 9. Columbus and Toledo. 10. Atlantic and Lake Erie. 11. Toledo, Ann Arbor and Northern. 12. Canada Southern. 13. Toledo and Southwestern. These routes combine a total distance of nearly 3,000 miles, and penetrate regions of great wealth, in agricultural, lumber, and coal productions.

Such of the ancient rivals of Toledo as live to utter any voice now manifest pride in her prosperity. The prediction of Judge Mason, made nearly forty years ago, that Toledo had an in-

terest in the thrift of Manhattan, because ultimately the former would extend her boundaries so as to embrace the latter, is even now upon the eve of fulfilment. But Marengo, Austerlitz, etc., fretted their brief hour, and are only known as having speedily found their Waterloo. The harbor of Toledo is claimed by business men, not only of the Maunee Valley, but by those hundreds of miles distant from it. From the time when the writer of this took the first federal census of Toledo, and when the population of the village amounted to only 1,224, up to this date, when the city contains, probably, 43,000, he has ever felt a deep interest in its prosperity.

The Board of Trade of Toledo being composed largely of representative business men of the city, it is deemed proper here to make a record of its officers and members:

OFFICERS.—President, John Sinclair; 1st Vice President, A. W. Colton; 2d Vice President, E. C. Bodman; Secretary, Charles T. Wales; Treasurer, Carlos Colton.

Directors—T. B. Casey, S. C. Reynolds, H. E. Bangs, V. Hamilton, H. J. Hayes, W. H. Bellman, J. B. Carson.

Reference Committee—George Woodbury, F. W. Anderson, C. A. King, W. R. Richards, J. R. Strong.

Inspection Committee—E. C. Smith, N. M. Howard, J. Thorner, R. W. Baker, E. Williams.

Floor Committee—John Stevens, H. S. Young, J. A. Curtis.

The following is a list of the members:

Auchard, C.	Boody, Azariah.	Crabbs, P.
Anderson, F. W.	Burdick, L.	Carrington, M. D.
Austin, M. H.	Brown, H. G.	Casey, T. B.
Avery, Ed.	Brainard, W. S.	Carson, J. B.
Anderson, A.	Bangs, H. E.	Cummings, John.
Andrews, A. Jr.	Baldwin, D. C.	Castle, J. A.
Andrews, F. B.	Bullard, E. M.	Curtis, J. C.
	Blinn, Doan	Cook, T. M.
	Baldwin, S.	Casement, J. S.
Brooks, Sam'l.	Brown, Andrew.	Courtright, T.
Baumgardner, L. S.	Baker, R. W.	
Birkhead, P. H.	Braun, V.	Dodge, F. B.
Berdan, P. F.	Brown, Stillman.	Doville, E.
Buck, C. H.	Brown, D. A.	Davis, G. W.
Buckman, Wm. H.	Brown, W. G.	Daniel, H.
Boos, G. W.	Brown, T. P.	Dickinson, R. C.
Backus, A. L.	Bergen, S. H.	Dennis, J. A.
Backus, W. W.	Bauer, Emil.	Drummond, J. N.
Brown, Matthew.		Dixon, N.
Bodman, E. C.	Curtis, C. F.	Dickinson, J. S.
Braisted, E. E.	Coy, C. H.	Dix, W. B. Jr.
Bashare, Milo.	Collins, T. J.	Dyer, W. H.
Baker, C. H.	Curtis, E. A.	Dick, Sturgis T.
Brown, E. F.	Colton, A. W.	
Bowman, J. H.	Croninger, C. A.	Emerson, Geo.
Baldy, J. B.	Crowell, J.	Eddy, C. H.
Bellman, W. H.	Coon, W. M.	Enright, Jno
Brand, Henry.		

Finlay, W. J.
Fiske, H. F.
Fisk, J. B.
Fisk, W. C.
Fallis, J. R.
Foster, F. E.
Flower, G. W.
Fuller, J. W.
Fitch, Simeon

Griffin, C. P.
Goldsmith, E.
Gerber, C.
Griffith, W. W.
Godard, A.
Goode, B. W.
Gosline, W. A.
Gassaway, George

Hallaran, R.
Hamilton, V.
Hathaway, I. N.
Howard, N. M.
Hayes, H. J.
Hubbard, Franklin.
Hamilton, R. W.
Hurd, Frank, H.
Hamm, P. T.
Hart, G. W.
Hand, A. J.
Hazzard, Sam'l. P.

Jones, Lucien.
Jones, Jno. Paul.

Kraus, William.
Ketcham, J. B.
Keen, D. M.
Kelly, W. I.
King, C. A.
Kininger, J.
Kelley, W. H.
Kounts, J. L.
Ketcham, V. H.
King, F. J.
Kelsey, A. L.
Keck, T. L.
Kelsey, J. W.

Luce, C. L.
Linton, S. S.
Littlefield, W.
Littlefield, M. R.
Lenderson, E. W.
Landman, J.

Macomber, A. E.
McCune, Robt.
Messinger, C. R.
Milmine, George
Meissner, George
Monroe, J. B.
Morse, J. C.
McMaken, E. V.
McMillan, W. A.
McLaughlin, A. S.
Miller, David.

Norton, J. S.
Neal, J. M. S.

Osbon, W. H.

Philipps, Henry
Parmelee, W. E. Jr.
Pomeroy, Geo. E. Jr.
Phillips, P. A.
Peter, William.
Pomeroy, H. B.
Platt, H. P.

Reed, Alex.
Rolland, G. H.
Richards, W. R.
Reynolds, S. C.
Royce, C. H.
Rouse, B. W.
Reynolds, Chas. L.
Roemer, J.
Raymond, George

Swigart, J. R.
St. John, William
Slack, T. A.
Sinclair, John.
Southard, T.

Smith, D. B.
Simmons, W. H.
Smith, E. C.
Stevens, John
Stevens, John H.
Scribner, Charles.
Shoemaker, F. B.
Swayne, Wager.
Stephan, Andrew.
Secor, J. K.
Shears, Sam'l.
Stowe, W. L.
Strong, J. R.
Stebbins, Geo.
Scott, W. C.
Segur, D.
Sweet, B. G.

Tate, Jno. W.
Tate, J. S.
Tate, D. M.
Thorner, Joseph
Tryon, W. W.

Walbridge, H. S.
Waite, M. R.
Wuerfel, G. A.
Wittstein, Gus.
Williams, E.
Wales, C. T.
Whitaker, W. H.
Watkins, George
Walbridge, H. D.
Woodbury, Geo.
Williams, E. R.
Woodward, H. D.
Wilcox, M. I.
Walker, W. T.
Whitney, B. H.
Walterhouse, J. W.
Wilde, I. L.
Wiltbank, W. B.
Waite, H. S.

Young, H. S.
Young, S. M.
Young, C. L.

CITY GOVERNMENT OF TOLEDO—1873.

Mayor, William W. Jones; City Solicitor, Frank H. Hurd; Members of the Council, Wm. St. John, J. E. Bailey, Luther Whitney, Geo. Stetter, T. M. Cook, R. H. Bell, J. W. Tuillerton, Geo. Meissner, Daniel Segur, R. J. Gibbons, J. McD. Roe, I. K. Seaman, J. L. Stratton, Joseph Kininger, Michael Geelan, Wm. H. Dyer. President, Luther Whitney; President, *pro tem.*, T. M. Cook; City Clerk, T. M. Merrill.

MONETARY—BANKS AND BANKERS.

Toledo commenced its business life at a period when the finances of the country were in a disturbed condition, growing out of the effort of the United States Bank to obtain from Congress a re-charter. During the "flush times" of 1835 and 1836, paper money ruled all values, and everybody was rich in "rags and lamp black," and "water" or "corner" lots. There then existed, on beautifully engraved maps, one continuous city from the mouth to the foot of the rapids of the Maumee river. A spirit, adverse to making money by the old methods, was rife throughout the land. The few who held to former ways of accumulation, were regarded by the multitude as "old fogies," and "behind the age." It was a common occurrence of that period for a man who had made fortunate investments, though owning but a few hundreds the day before, to be considered worth as many thousands the day after; but like all mania of this type, the decline of these brilliant prospects was generally as rapid as its rise.

There were very few manufacturing or mechanical establishments. They were not in demand; and if they had been, there were none to operate them. Farmers had mostly deserted their fields; mechanics their shops; physicians and lawyers, to a considerable extent, their offices; and even many clergymen their pulpits,—all classes and conditions of people becoming seized with the fever of speculation, and of gathering speedy wealth by means of their wits. Every one was rich. He indeed was a thriftless man, who, in these times, was not qualified to assess his real estate at a value greater than \$50,000. Old ideas of obtaining competency and wealth in fields of legitimate industry, were banished; and old-fashioned toil was at a discount.

The specie circular, issued from the Treasury Department, under Jackson's administration, was followed by the general bank suspension under Van Buren, in May, 1837. Coin disappeared as a circulating medium. The exigencies of the times created a substitute in the form of a fractional currency then issued by almost every business man, and known as "shin-plasters," reading something as follows:

"TOLEDO, July 4, 1838.

"Good for Twenty-Five Cents, when presented in sums amounting to
"Five Dollars, at my store in Toledo. JOHN DOE."

Thus, every one who chose became his own banker. And this fractional currency was generally redeemed, either in goods, at enormous profits, or in Michigan bank notes, the intrinsic value of which could not be estimated by the amount promised to be paid, but proximately ascertained, by the scales paper manufacturers resort to, in the purchase of their stock. Such was the circulating medium, not only in Toledo and the Maumee Valley, but throughout the west and south, which soon followed the general bank suspension of May, 1837—the currency by which all values, for the time, were measured.

Mr. Mott, in his valuable reminiscences, thus graphically sketches this period:

"Hardly was the digging begun on the Ohio portion of the canal, when the financial break-down of 1837 came, involving banks and individuals in the general ruin. It is difficult to make the present generation comprehend the depth and extent of the disaster. Real estate became worthless—worse than worthless;—it would bring nothing; yet, taxes were necessarily assessed upon it, which were difficult, if not impossible, of payment. Lots and lands were offered for sale for taxes; but very small was the amount sold. This was especially the case in 1838, 1839, and 1840. The publication of the extraordinary delinquent and forfeited lists, occupied several full sheets of supplements of the Toledo Blade. It mattered little what the amount of debt one owed;—were it ever so small, the debtor was powerless—pay he could not. It was vain to offer anything but money; yet, money was not to be had; and as for credit, it had no existence. The people had become demen-

ted by the mania of speculation. The looked-for rise in the value of town lots and town sites, was to have made every one rich without labor. The rise did not come, but the fall did; and the tumble was beyond getting up from. The only rise that followed, was in the prices of provisions and other necessities of life. The army of speculators had become consumers, without adding anything to the common stock. The consequently limited production was inadequate to our support. Flour doubled in price in the next year. Only those who owed nothing, or those who had nothing, escaped the effects of the insane delusion. It was a bitter experience, but it taught practical lessons in political economy sufficiently impressive to have lasted the lifetime of every scholar smarting under their infliction.

"In few places were the effects of the crash felt as severely as in the Maumee Valley. The contractors, who had taken jobs on the canal, could not go on with their work for want of money. The State was out of funds, and short of credit, and could not pay according to contract. It was feared that the work would be stopped—and, if stopped, its resumption might be indefinite. Much anxiety was felt on the subject, and various plans suggested to prevent such misfortune.

"Subsequent to the crash of 1837, the State of Michigan enacted a general banking law, with the forlorn hope of remedying the financial trouble, and numberless banks had been started under its provisions—all of them by parties who wanted to borrow, and not one of them with any actual capital.—These concerns soon became known as the wild-cat banks. Michigan money was in poor repute in Ohio, and not generally received.

"In order to prevent the suspension of the canal work, arrangements were made for loaning this wild-cat money to contractors and for the business men of the town to receive it from the workmen in payment for goods and provisions. The remedy was a desperate one, but it did keep the work in many cases from suspension. These bank notes were worthless; but it was supposed or hoped they might possibly have some value. Their '*robin's alive*' character gave them a very quick circulation; and thus this villainous trash was made serviceable, keeping along the contracts on the canal for several months, till the State was able to pay off the contractors. It was under such circumstances that the work, especially in the sections about Toledo, Maumee and Manhattan, was carried to completion. The wild-cat system of course soon exploded, loading the community with piles of broken bank notes, nearly as valueless as so many pieces of blank paper. A very few of the institutions struggled along for a few years, but eventually had to succumb, for in 1843 the Supreme Court of Michigan considerably stepped in and decided the law to be unconstitutional—thus saving all further trouble, and squelching all suits and proceedings that had been commenced in the vague hope of realizing something from their so-called assets.

"Some of the then residents of Toledo may recollect a handsome grey horse, owned in the city, called "wild-cat." He was bought by one of the old citizens who is still living, for \$2,200 of these bank notes, instead of \$70 in par money, which was the price asked for him.

"Banks were at Monroe and Adrian—but of small capitals and less means. The business men were sometimes obliged to resort to Detroit and Cleveland, and even as far as Buffalo, for money facilities. Think of these distances, with the slow modes of travel then at command. In 1843 Prentiss, Dow & Co., established a branch office in Toledo, first opening in the second story office of the building then standing where Markschoeffel & Bro., near corner Monroe and Summit Streets, now conduct business. This was followed in 1845 by two branches of the State Bank of Ohio—the Bank of Toledo and the Commercial Bank—Chas. R. Miller, cashier of the former, and Matthew Johnson of the latter. Miller was not successful at banking, and quit it in 1848. He then established the Toledo *Republican*, a Democratic free soil sheet, conducted with considerable ability, in which he was associated with Josiah Riley, who continued the paper some years after Miller left it. The Bank, after long struggles,

was taken hold of by strong parties, and fell in charge of Samuel M. Young, President, and Paul Jones, Cashier, under whose management it is now known as the Toledo National Bank. The Commercial Bank was still more unsuccessful, and was wound up in 1851. Its Cashier, Mr. Johnson, was United States Marshal for the Federal District of Northern Ohio under Mr. Buchanan. He died in Cleveland in 1862."

Returning, finally, and for the purpose of completing the record, to the period of intoxication resulting from the flood of irredeemable bank issues and its demoralizing effects upon morals and business, when the agricultural productions of the country had become suspended to a degree that even bread-stuffs were imported from Europe, instead of being sent there, it may be mentioned as an honorable point in Toledo history that no worthless banking establishment, so common at that day, in the West and South, and organized for plunder, found welcome or hospitality within its limits. Here the old ways of business integrity struggled manfully against the temptations of the time. A nice sense of commercial honor, which has in all instances been the guide of men who have adjusted permanently the foundations of great cities, was the rule of the early business men of the place, and has been adhered to by their successors.

One or two banks, it is true, have existed, whose assets have passed into the hands of receivers, but note-holders were secured.

Having given this general sketch, it may be stated that, in 1872-73, the banking facilities of the city are in the hands of five National Banks, whose aggregate capital, exclusive of surplus, is, \$1,800,000 00
 And private and Savings' Banks, and Loan Associations, whose capital and deposits may be stated at \$2,425,000 00

Making a total of \$1,227,000 00

The history and condition of some of the more prominent of these institutions are here briefly sketched :

FIRST NATIONAL BANK OF TOLEDO.

In 1851, a private bank, known as Poag & Ketcham, and in the following year, under the name of V. H. Ketcham & Co., was in operation, and continued until 1860, when the style of the firm became Ketcham, Berdan & Co. This latter organization, in 1862, was dissolved, and the First National Bank of Toledo established upon its capital—being one of the earliest National Banks organized in Ohio. Its capital now amounts to \$500,000, and its surplus to \$100,000. Its president, commencing as one of the first merchants, is among the oldest now in banking business in Toledo. Since the organization of this bank, very few changes have been made in its management. Its officers now are, V. H. Ketcham, President; M. Nearing, Vice President; S. S. Hubbard, Cashier; Joseph Spencer, Teller; V. H. Ketcham, M. Nearing, Geo. Spencer, Charles F. Curtis, T. B. Casey, M. Boos and S. S. Hubbard, Directors.

TOLEDO NATIONAL BANK.

This institution, referred to by Mr. Mott as "having passed into the hands of strong parties," is now under the management of Samuel M. Young, President; Paul Jones, Cashier; H. C. Hahn, Teller, and S. M. Young, Morrison R. Waite, P. H. Birkhead, Horace S. Walbridge, Directors. Its capital amounts to \$300,000.

THE SECOND NATIONAL BANK OF TOLEDO

Is controlled by those among the most substantial business men of the city. The following named gentlemen compose its officers and Board of Directors: George W. Davis, President; Joseph K. Secor, Vice President, Charles F. Adams, Cashier; Nelson Todd, jr., Teller; G. W. Davis, J. K. Secor, D. Coghlin, J. A. Moore, Robert Cummings, Matthew Brown, Warren Colburn, F. J. King and P. F. Berdan, Directors.

NORTHERN NATIONAL BANK.

The following representative business men control this institution: E. C. Bodman, President; O. S. Bond, Vice President; F. B. Shoemaker, Cashier; L. C. De Wolf, Teller; and E. C. Bodman, M. Shoemaker, F. B. Shoemaker, O. S. Bond, J. H. Whitaker and W. V. Way, Directors.

MERCHANT'S NATIONAL BANK.

Authorized capital, \$1,000,000; paid up capital, \$500,000. This institution, also, is in the hands of strong financial parties, consisting of W. W. Griffith, President; N. M. Howard, Vice President; Chas. C. Doolittle, Cashier; Monroe C. Warn, Teller, and W. W. Griffith, J. H. Whitaker, John Cummings, J. B. Baldy, Wager Swayne, A. P. Miller, C. R. Messinger, N. M. Howard, Fredk. Eaton, W. W. Bolles and B. Meilink, Directors.

PRIVATE BANKS.

In addition to the five National Banks above mentioned, Toledo has at this time four Private Banks, doing business under the following names:

THE CITY BANK.

This is one of the oldest private banks in Toledo—the firm being composed of Wm. Kraus and Wm. H. Smith, both having large experience in banking and of the highest financial credit.

C. H. COY & CO.

This firm is composed of Cyrus H. Coy and Warren Waite, who have also been engaged in banking for several years, and command the confidence in a high degree of their patrons.

THE BANK FOR THE PEOPLE.

H. S. Walbridge, one of the most active and influential citizens of Toledo, is the proprietor of this bank, assisted by E. H. Van Hoesen as Cashier. The credit of the bank stands very high, and it is regarded as one of the most reliable moneyed institutions in the city.

KEELER, HOLCOMB & CO.

This firm is composed of Salmon N. Keeler, Horace Holcomb, and Elijah N. Norton. They bring to their business experience, combined with ample capital, and the credit of the bank ranks with the first.

SAVINGS INSTITUTIONS.

THE TOLEDO SAVINGS INSTITUTION is the oldest incorporated savings bank in Toledo. It was incorporated in May, 1868, by Hon. Richard Mott, Hon. James C. Hall, Joseph K. Secor, Frank J. Scott, Israel Hall, James M. Comstock, Ignatius Wernert, Bernard Meilink, John T. Maher, John F. Witker and Albert E. Macomber. Among these gentlemen the public will recognize some of the oldest and most substantial business men of Toledo. The charter was obtained because "it was believed that such an institution would add largely to the capital of the city, and would be a powerful incentive to habits of industry and economy among our large laboring population." The object was "to encourage the industrious and prudent, and to induce those who have not hitherto been such, to lessen their unnecessary expenses and to save and lay by something for a period of life when they will be less able to earn a support." The present Board of Trustees are Hon. Richard Mott, Hon. Guido Marx, John P. Freeman, Horace S. Walbridge, Edward Malone, David R. Locke and Albert E. Macomber. The officers are, Hon. Richard Mott, President, Edward Malone, Vice President, Albert E. Macomber, Treasurer, and Wm. H. Reed, Cashier. This institution has a capital of \$100,000, and its deposits, according to the last published statement, were upwards of \$300,000. It is managed in the most cautious

and conservative manner; its business is confined exclusively to the receipt and investment of savings deposits, upon which it pays interest at the rate of six per cent. per annum, compounded semi-annually. No commercial or general banking business is transacted. As regards its general rules and routine of business, it coincides with the oldest and most reliable institutions of the same class in New York and New England. All depositors are required to subscribe to the by-laws of the institution, and to give notice of the withdrawal of deposits, in case of financial excitement. The Institution discounts no commercial paper and accepts no personal securities. Its deposits are held as *trust funds*, and carefully invested in mortgages upon real estate in Toledo; bonds of the city of Toledo, and United States Government bonds. The admirable custom of making an annual exhibit of its affairs for the benefit of the public is adopted. In making loans upon real estate preference is given to those who deposit with it, and who desire to build houses or purchase freehold property or remove incumbrance therefrom. About two hundred thousand dollars has for several years been loaned and re-loaned upon real estate security, and by this means some hundreds of families have been aided in securing homes. The conservative management of the Institution, together with the character of its Trustees, have secured for it the fullest confidence of the large class of depositors for whose benefit it was established.

THE NORTH WESTERN SAVINGS DEPOSITORY

Was incorporated in 1869 with a capital of \$100,000. Its Directors are, Horace S. Walbridge, Hon. M. R. Waite, Hon. Richard Mott, Heenan D. Walbridge, David Smith, A. E. Macomber and Valentine Braun. The officers are, Horace S. Walbridge, President, Hon. M. R. Waite, Vice President, and E. H. Van Hoesen, Treasurer. It receives deposits from mechanics, clerks, laborers, servants and others, and pays therefor interest at the rate of six per cent. per annum, compounded semi-annually. Its business is managed with great care, and commands the fullest confidence of the public. Its Directors are among the most solid business men of the city.

THE MERCHANT'S AND CLERK'S SAVINGS INSTITUTION.

Capital, \$150,000; President, Matthew Shoemaker; Vice President, Chas. L. Luce; Treasurer, Oliver S. Bond; Directors, Matthew Shoemaker, Chas. L. Luce, Oliver S. Bond, N. M. Howard, James Secor, Fred'k Eaton, E. H. Wright, L. M. Skidmore and John H. Whitaker. This institution has recently fitted up and removed into an elegant banking room in the building of O. S. Bond, 78 Summit street. Though youngest of its class, it is under control of some of the most substantial business men of Toledo.

BUILDING LOAN ASSOCIATIONS.

THE GERMAN LABORER'S SAVINGS AND LOAN ASSOCIATION

Was organized in 189. The present officers are, Fred. Gradolph, President, M. Boos, Vice President, and John P. Schluck, Secretary and Treasurer; and Jacob Landman, M. Boos, William Kraus, John A. Speyer, F. Gradolph, Charles Villhauer, Ignatius Wernert, Andrew Spross and George Stetter, Directors. These gentlemen are prominent in business circles and possess the confidence of their German fellow citizens. This is a co-operative association for the benefit of its members. It also receives deposits, upon which interest is paid.

The following Building Loan Associations were also organized for the mutual benefit of all the members. All payments upon shares are loaned to members for building purposes. No deposits are received.

The Toledo Savings and Building Loan Association; Edwin Morgan, President.

The Mechanic's Savings and Building Loan Association; Wm. C. Earl, President.

The Mutual Savings and Building Loan Association ; D. A. Pease, President.

The Farmer's and Mechanic's Savings and Building Loan Association ; A. McMahan, Secretary and Treasurer.

The Laborer's Savings and Building Loan Association ; Wm. W. Jones, President ; O. S. Bond, Secretary and Treasurer.

The Equitable Savings and Building Loan Association ; A. Saxauer, President.

The Provident Savings and Building Loan Association.

Industrial Savings and Building Loan Association ; Alex. Reed, President, O. S. Bond, Secretary and Treasurer.

INSURANCE COMPANIES.

Life, Fire and Marine Insurance.—The amount paid annually on premiums through Life Insurance Companies represented in Toledo amount to \$155,000.

The Guardian Mutual of New York is the only foreign Company having a member of the Board of Directors a resident of Toledo ;—and this fact gives it the character of a home Company, as western interests are managed, to a large extent, by this Directory. The Board is composed of gentlemen who, on the score of financial ability and character, possess a national reputation.

The Executive officers consist of Walton H. Peckham, President ; Wm. T. Hooker, Vice President ; Lucius McAdam, Secretary and Actuary ; Henry C. Clench, Assistant Secretary, and W. E. Vermilye, Medical Examiner. The Branch Office in Toledo is in charge of Chas. P. Griffin, Esq., manager for the area embracing Western and Central Ohio, Southern Michigan and Northern Indiana, with B. F. Griffin, General Travelling Agent ; D. A. Curtis, Cashier, and Dr. Geo. W. Bowen, Medical Examiner.

The Toledo Branch office is in Nos. 30 and 31, Chamber of Commerce building, embracing one of the finest suite of rooms in that splendid block. This branch has been under its present management about four years, and the gross receipts of the business within the territorial limit above named, amounted for the year ending July, 1872, to over \$100,000. This Company is purely mutual—does its business on the all cash plan—makes dividends at the end of one year, which dividends may be used to reduce second payment, or to increase policy. All its policies are non-forfeiting after two payments, except the Tontine Savings Policies, which are a specialty. The assets of the Company are now over \$3,000,000. The home companies are :

Home Insurance Company ; George W. Davis, President.

Mutual Insurance Company of Toledo ; C. A. King, President.

Germania Insurance Company of Toledo ; John F. Witker, President.

Fire and Marine Insurance Company of Toledo ; V. H. Ketcham, President.

Toledo Mutual Life Insurance Company ; S. H. Bergen, President.

Toledo Branch, Missouri Valley Life Insurance Company ; Wm. Baker, President.

MANUFACTURES AND OTHER INDUSTRIES.

The first of these are destined to become one of the chief sources of the wealth of Toledo. Several railway lines, which will soon be opened, will secure the delivery of coal at as cheap rates as are furnished manufacturers at any of the lake port or interior cities ; and no city on the chain of lakes will have better facilities for transportation, to any part of the world, of manufactured goods.

The Lake Shore and Michigan Southern railway, after their contemplated improvements are made, will give employment to from 1,000 to 1,500 men ; and a wagon shop soon to be erected, will employ from 600 to 1,000.

Some of the prominent establishments, engaged in these important interests, are mentioned below :

Artists.—Eight photograph galleries—the principal of which is managed by North & Oswald, Chamber of Commerce building. This firm, and Mr. Shoaff, of Fort Wayne, produced the best photographs, from which the lithographs that embellish this work, were taken. W. H. Machen, Gradolph Bloek, has produced works of art that have challenged the admiration of competent critics at home and abroad. The Toledo *Commercial*, in June, 1872, had the following notice of Mr. Machen's work :

Mr. W. H. Machen, a well known artist of this city, has just completed for D. W. H. Howard, Esq., of Fulton County, two very fine companion paintings, which will be more readily understood from a brief historical statement.

In 1823 Mr. Edward Howard, with his family (including Mr. D. W. H. Howard,) settled on a tract of land at the head of the rapids and on the south bank of the Maumee River, near to the site of the present village of Grand Rapids, (late Gilead) at which time the country was almost entirely new. One of the paintings represents the log-house and surroundings of the pioneer family, with the rapids in front and an almost unbroken forest on each side and in rear. Three islands appear in the river, of which one has since been washed away by the water. On the bank opposite to the cabin appear several Indian wigwams, with two or three Indians about—the hour being too early for many of those late-risers to be out. Further up the stream and at the water's edge stand several deer, held at bay by the appearance of the elder Howard and family on the opposite shore; while still further up, appear two wolves, having evident designs on the deer, who subsequently take fright at their known enemy and cross the stream above the log-house. Near the cabin was a piece of clear ground, which subsequently was washed away by the water. It is a truly primitive scene, and one well calculated to enlist the love and attachment of one whose childhood is associated with it.

The second painting presents the same locality as seen at this time, with all the changes which half a century has wrought. The dense forests have melted away; Indians, deer and wolves have disappeared; the log cabin has been supplanted by a stone dwelling; improvement is seen on every hand, including a dam across the river, a canal on the north side, cultivated lands on both sides, and the towns of Grand Rapids and Providence in the distance. The contrast is great, but can best be appreciated by one who, like Mr. Howard, the present owner of the original 'clearing,' has from the first been identified in life and interest with it.

It was eminently fitting that local paintings like these should be executed by a home artist, and we are glad that one so fully qualified for the work was at hand, in which view all who examine these works will fully agree. The chief difficulty in the case grew out of the first view for which Mr. Machen was dependent upon the verbal description furnished by Mr. Howard's recollection; but the picture shows all the naturalness of a copy from nature. Both are excellent in design and admirable in execution.

Besides these, Mr. Machen has painted two scenes on Mr. Howard's homestead farm in Fulton county, eight miles from Wauscon, which are very attractive in view and most successfully painted.

We much admire Mr. Howard's taste and judgment in thus directing his attention to the collection of pictures of home life, instead of gathering views from foreign and unknown localities, chiefly valued because they are far-fetched and strange. We cherish likenesses of friends and acquaintances more than those of strangers, on account of our personal relations to and knowledge of them. Why should not the same principle apply to localities? Few people buy photographs of strangers, merely because they are handsome or odd; no more should they seek unknown landscapes having no stronger hold on their interest and affection, especially while so many home scenes, constituting parts of our very selves, are at hand.

O. J. Hopkins, the designer of the frontispiece for this volume, is an artist of rare merit and cleverness. His productions are published in the illustrated papers of the Atlantic and other cities, and his reputation as a caricaturist has a vigorous growth.

Armstrong Hester Manufacturing Company.—This establishment was incorporated in January of the present year, and has erected a building fronting 33 on Summit, 132 on Locust, and an L of 50 feet, occupied as a foundry. The Company already, within the first six months of its existence, afford employment to a force of 50 men.

Ales.—Finlay & Klemm manufacture a quality of ale that has achieved a market in the principal cities in Ohio and the West—their goods being shipped nearly to the eastern base of the Rocky Mountains. They produced in 1872, 15,000 bbls; and the enlargement of their facilities now in progress, will probably enable them to double this amount during the current year. They employ an average of 30 hands.

Bathing Rooms.—Three public bathing rooms, principal of which is 170 Summit street, Taylor & Freer, proprietors, having fourteen elegantly fitted rooms. Attached to this establishment is the most extensive laundry in Ohio.

Beer.—The value of lager beer manufactured at five establishments in 1871 was estimated at \$291,600, and the probable amount for the current year is \$408,800. Employment is given to about 155 hands.

Of last year's business, the establishment of Grasser & Brand made sales amounting to \$90,000. The firm, during the first year, made sales scarcely reaching \$10,000. This year they will amount fully to \$150,000, and their establishment, though the youngest, furnishes the largest local supply.

The Toledo Brewing Company, established by the well known Peter Lenk, was re-organized during 1871 under the following management: President, Peter Lenk; Vice President and Superintendent, Fred. Lang; Secretary and Treasurer, Geo. Stetter; Directors, Peter Lenk, F. Lang, Geo. Stetter, John Groenwold and Fred. Gradolph. This is a powerful organization, and involves the consolidation with the Eagle Brewery, owned by F. Lang & Co. It will hereafter, by reason of its great resources, rank as one of the most extensive breweries in Ohio. The quality of this beer is said to compare favorably with that manufactured at Chicago, Cincinnati or Milwaukee. Shipments are made to New York City, and West to the neighborhood of Chicago.

The brewery of A. Stephan & Co., also occupies a prominent position.

Billiard Tables.—O. D. Benjamin employs twelve hands in the manufacture of Billiard Tables, and sells work amounting to an annual value of \$156,000. He also deals in Billiard materials, ten-pin balls, &c., and has an improved Billiard cushion that is superseding others hitherto in use. The quality of his work is such as to authorize the conclusion that the sceptre, so long held by Phelan, has accompanied the star of empire westward, and is now held by Benjamin of Toledo, who has also recently established a house at Cleveland for the manufacture of his tables and improved cushions. Twenty years ago there was no establishment manufacturing billiards in Cincinnati, or in any city in Ohio.

Carver and Gilder.—James Breerton & Son, 243 Summit street, conduct the only house in this line of goods, and manufacture window cornices, mantle square, oval, walnut, gilt and rosewood frames.

Cigars.—The books of the United States Assessor show that 2,889,166 cigars were manufactured last year by twenty-nine establishments, of which 2,727,229 were sold; and that to produce this amount 55 hands were employed.

The principal establishment, as exhibited by the same authority, and employing the largest force and capital, is that of Clark Scripture & Co., since become Dyer, Scripture & Bassett, corner of Monroe street and Market Space, who employ

twenty-six hands, and in 1870 manufactured 820,200 cigars, or nearly one-third the whole amount produced by the 29 factories. Mr. Scripture commenced a small business in February, 1868, in Lenk's Block, with one operative, and manufacturing 8,000 or 10,000 per month. During the current year, at the rate of the June and July returns, the present firm will approximate a million and a quarter before the close of the year. Their principal brands are the "Board of Trade," "Overland," "Guardian," and "Little Minnie."

Confectioneries—Wholesale.—Four establishments, viz: F. Gradolph & Bro., Worts & Co., Craig, Fleming & Co., and S. E. Fox, manufacture candies, and produce an annual value amounting to \$55,000.

Doors, Sash, Blinds, Mouldings, &c.—Fourteen establishments are engaged in these and kindred manufacture, and produce an annual value of \$350,000.

Flour.—Five grist mills, namely: The Toledo (Fallis & Linton,) Armada, (W. R. & W. B. Reynolds, Mich., and S. C. Reynolds, Toledo,) Piiliod's, Brown's and the Manhattan, and four at Maumee City, and one at Perrysburg—eleven in all—are engaged mostly on custom work, and employ an active force of 117 hands, and have a capacity for turning out nearly half a million bbls. of flour—equivalent to a consumption of two and a half millions bushels of wheat.

H tels, &c.—Toledo contains 18 hotels and 85 boarding houses, and three hotels conducted upon the European plan: Conway's, 201 Summit street; Van Buren's, Summit street, and Congress Hall, Adams street.

Ice.—The Elevator Ice Works, on the east side of the river, put up last winter 23,000 tons. This establishment, owned by Mr. Thomas, is the largest west of Boston, and east of Chicago. Three lesser establishments, it is estimated, secured in their houses during last winter 15,000 tons.

Iron.—The Novelty Iron Works, corner of Water and Lagrange streets, established by a joint stock company in 1859, of which Messrs. Russell & Thayer, the present owners, were then prominent stock-holders, may be considered the pioneer enterprise in the iron manufacture of Toledo. During the first year the works produced a value of \$33,700 and employed 30 hands. They last year made sales amounting to over \$5,000, and gave employment to an average of about 50 hands. These works handled last year over one thousand tons of iron, and, notwithstanding a damage by fire, which occurred in September, 1872, the amount will be considerably increased this year.

The senior member of this firm, Mr. Russell, commenced manufacturing in Auburn, N. Y., in 1835. In 1855-56, as one of a joint stock company, he was engaged in the establishment of the first rolling mill for the manufacture of railroad iron in Cleveland. The multiplication of these works has since become one of the chief sources of the industrial wealth of that city. Since 1859, the date of his residence in Toledo, he has been active in efforts to establish, on solid foundations, this important element of the present and future wealth of Toledo. As the Cleveland Rolling Mill was, to a large extent, the nucleus of the now powerful iron manufacturing interest in that growing city, so the Novelty Works in Toledo may be regarded as the origin of the same substantial source of wealth in the city in which they are established; and what Peter Hayden has accomplished for Columbus, Messrs. Russell & Thayer may succeed in working out for Toledo.

Lime, Land Plaster, &c.—Newman & Ford produce annually of these materials a value amounting to \$91,500, and employ 40 hands.

Lumber.—Statistics place Toledo at the head of the list of hard wood lumber markets in the world. In the year 1872, according to the report of Mr. Wales, there was received by railroad, lake and canal at Toledo, 189,069,716 feet, and manufactured at Toledo 22,250,000 feet, making a total of 211,319,716 feet, much of which was hard wood timber and lumber, and principally exported to Europe. Referring to the Board of Trade report, it also appears that A.

Andrews, Jr., & Co., control to a larger degree than any other one firm this important interest. The business success of this gentleman has been so noteworthy as to deserve brief mention. Reaching Toledo seven years ago, young and friendless, with less than one hundred dollars in cash, his sagacious mind fully grasped the advantages and importance of this trade, and the result is in the above statement, and will stand as an illustration of the power of integrity and sagacity in achieving business success.

Opera House.—Among the valuable public buildings erected in Toledo within the last two years, none, perhaps, was more imperatively demanded by the public taste and more highly appreciated by the citizens, than the Opera House constructed by the heirs of the late Mr. L. Wheeler, prominent among them, and efficient in the prosecution of the work, being Mr. Louis Wachenheimer. It is an imposing stone structure, situated on the corner of Monroe and St. Clair streets. The first floor is divided into a banking office and stores, all of which are large and conveniently arranged, adapted for either the retail or jobbing trade. All the space above the first floor is occupied for the opera house. The entire building was constructed almost without regard to cost, and the theatre, therefore, is one of the most perfect, as well as one of the most beautiful in the country. Careful attention was given to all the details of the block, and it is one of the most important, as well as the most expensive building improvements in Toledo.

Mouldings.—Osborn, Chase & Swayne are proprietors of an establishment manufacturing black walnut mouldings that give employment to about 100 hands, and turn out a yearly value reaching \$120,000.

Oil.—The establishment of Barney & Taylor, just erected, produces, daily, 1,400 gallons of linseed oil, and 30,000 lbs. of oil cake. It is probably the largest establishment west of Pittsburg.

Pumps.—The Toledo Pump Company employ an average of 25 hands during the year, and the value of sales amount to \$80,000.

Real Estate Agencies.—With the rapid advance of Toledo in population and wealth, the real estate agencies have assumed importance. Twenty-two offices were devoted to the business during the year 1872; and all these are controlled by men of high character and influence. One whose operations have been attended with success so marked, and whose field has been almost co-extensive with the country, is that of Henry J. Raffensperger, Esq. An evidence of his appreciation abroad as well as at home, is furnished in the *Chicago Land Owner* for June, 1871—a publication which is accepted authority with regard to real estate matters throughout the country. Under the head of "Our Leading Men"—Henry J. Raffensperger, Esq.,—Mr. Wing, the editor, makes this statement:

"Once in a decade the financial world is astonished by the flashing athwart their horizon of a rocket of brilliant capabilities, who carries Wall street by storm, runs the stocks up and down at his august pleasure, and accumulates millions, while other men are at work zealously for the thousands. His word or look is the decree of fate in the gold room or on the Bourse. He becomes a king in his sphere, and dictates terms right and left. His great success is wondered at, scoffed at perhaps, yet admired even by his enemies.

"Between such men and Henry J. Raffensperger, Esq., the subject of this sketch, and the accompanying portrait, there may be drawn a parallel. The real estate world has lately been convulsed by his brilliant operations, and the success which has attended his schemes.

"In 1864, Mr. Raffensperger went to Toledo, Ohio, and engaged in the real estate business in that rapidly growing city. He went to work with an energy and perseverance that could not fail at length of meeting their reward. For eighteen months he worked silently, learning the value of property in different parts of the city, studying the direction in which the city would naturally grow,

and where investments would be most profitable, and in various ways laying broad and deep the foundation of a large business. From the very first day that he was known as a real estate broker, he was popular in that capacity. His indomitable perseverance and strict attention to business, made those who wished either to buy or sell, feel perfect confidence in his management of their affairs, and they never had reason to regret that confidence. His genial manners made him hosts of friends, and his sterling integrity in every business transaction retained them.

"From a small beginning, Mr. Raffensperger constantly increased, but he felt ambitious to do something on a larger scale than anything he had yet engaged in. Accordingly, in the fall of 1870, he announced a grand auction sale of the lots in T. P. Brown's subdivision, of Toledo. This property was located at some distance from the city. It was laid out in lots, and a horse railroad built to the place, and put in operation. The property was then advertised extensively, in every legitimate way. When the day came it proved that Mr. Raffensperger had not miscalculated, or anticipated too much. The \$2,000 invested in advertising had been well expended—the sale was a success beyond all precedent. From far and near buyers flocked to the spot, the enthusiasm was unbounded, and lots to the number of four hundred and sixty five were sold.

"The success attending this sale, led to other great auctions of city lots a few weeks after, and in distant cities, and attended with the same results. Over half a million of dollars worth of property was sold during a two days' sale in Toledo. The skill displayed in managing these large and important sales, won the encomiums of the press in all quarters.

"Toledo is certainly very much indebted to him for what he has done in making her advantages known to outsiders, and in influencing many persons to make their home there. We are pleased to be able to add that the pecuniary results to himself, of his labors, have been satisfactory, and that he has acquired a handsome amount of property during the few years of his residence in Toledo."

Mr. Raffensperger's later achievements were made at Columbus, Ohio, Utica, N. Y., Olathe, Kansas,—and for the year 1873, if morally possible to meet the demands upon him, his operations will extend from New York city to Denver.

Saws.—Two establishments manufacture, employing a force of twenty-five hands, and turning out a yearly value of \$40,000.

Soap and Candle Works.—Two establishments are engaged in the manufacture of soap and candles, and employ ten hands. Annual value of sales, \$38,500.

The establishment of John Hoffman, commencing on a small scale in 1849, now employs six hands, and produces an annual value of \$28,150. His factory and office are now located on the corner of Fifteenth and Lucas streets. The capacity of this house is equal to the production of \$50,000 per annum. The establishment, since its removal from its old quarters on Monroe street, to its present location, has added largely to its business facilities.

Steam Engines, Iron and Brass Castings.—In these lines of manufacture, there are four establishments, which employ an aggregate force of 300 hands, and, in manufacture and repairs, turn out annually a value of \$420,000.

Tobacco.—During the year 1870 four establishments reported that they had manufactured of chewing tobacco, 1,026,724 lbs., and of smoking, 1,979,803 lbs., making a total of 3,006,527 lbs. The increase since that year has been very large.

Within the last twenty years, Toledo fine cut tobacco has occupied a high place in the markets of the country, and it yet maintains that rank.

To no one is the city as much indebted for the establishment of the reputation its fine cut tobacco has attained, as to Mr. C. Bronson, the pioneer in the

business, who commenced his manufacture about 1851. His capital originally amounted to only a few thousand dollars; but by starting out with the purchase of the best stock in market, and the employment of the best skill in its manufacture, his trade within a few years increased to an immense amount, and he retired from the business January 1, 1866, and Charles R. Messinger is now his successor, producing the same brands that secured the popularity for the Bronson tobacco. Mr. Messinger's tobacco now finds a ready market in all the principal cities in the country. Within the last year his increasing business has required the erection of a new and splendid block, consisting of five floors, corner of Summit and Linn, and extending from the former to Water street.

The Toledo Tobacco Works of Witker, Halsted & Co., established January, 1866, have contributed much in adding to the success of Toledo brands, and in superseding manufacturers of other cities in markets where the best quality of fine cut chewing tobacco is in special demand. As between chewing and smoking tobacco, they produce a larger per cent. of the former than any house in the trade. Their goods find their way to the principal cities in the Union, and an estimate of the increase of their business may be formed, when it is stated that notwithstanding the interruption caused by the destructive fire of last year, their sales will be double that of the year preceding. During the first year of the organization of the firm, they employed 25 hands, and now give employment to an average force of 75. Since the fire mentioned they have temporarily occupied buildings on St. Clair street, near Swan Creek bridge, but will soon erect a large brick, as near fire proof as possible, on Ottawa street, opposite the Dayton and Michigan freight depot.

Wines.—The last twenty-five years have demonstrated that the islands at the head of Lake Erie are better adapted to the production of grapes for wines, than the countries adjoining the Ohio and Mississippi rivers. The late Nicholas Longworth, of Cincinnati, was the first to introduce the culture of the Catawba in the Mississippi Valley, and to manufacture brands of still and sparkling wines that achieved a high reputation throughout the country. Of late years, however, it has been ascertained that the wines produced on the islands at the head of Lake Erie, in Ohio, are much superior to those from the vineyards in the neighborhood of Cincinnati, from which Mr. Longworth derived his supplies, for the manufacture of his once celebrated brands. One establishment, (Lenk & Co's.,) near Toledo, has entirely overshadowed the pioneer work of Mr. Longworth—producing, the last year, 200,000 gallons from grapes grown on the islands. This firm of Lenk & Co., have hitherto only produced still wines, but arrangements have been perfected by which, in future, they will manufacture both still and sparkling, at their establishment near Tremainville, adjoining the city limits of Toledo. Several of their casks are the largest in the United States—holding 8,300 gallons, and each valued at \$1,000. It has also been demonstrated that the Catawba grape has never attained any degree of perfection except on the islands named—a fact that requires no more conclusive evidence for its establishment than the simple statement that the great houses of Bogen & Son and M. Work & Sons, Cincinnati, and the American Wine Co., St. Louis, purchase the grapes, from which their best brands are made, from the island vineyards. At the Cincinnati Exposition of 1872, E. T. Mortimer, proprietor of the Bayview vineyard, Put-in-Bay, received the first prizes of two silver medals for the best brands of wines manufactured from Catawba and Delaware grapes.

Added to those enumerated, there are two manufacturers of awnings; fifteen bakers; two of baking powders; three of barrels, staves and headings; six of bent works; three of bird cages; one of bitters; one of blacking; twenty-eight blacksmith shops; six blank book manufacturers and three book binders; four boat builders; three boiler makers; six box manufacturers; six brick yards; two bridge builders; nine builders and contractors; four cabinet

manufacturers; one railroad car wheel manufactory; six carpet weavers; five carriage shops, in addition to the Toledo Wheel Company; four children's carriage shops; three chair factories; one coffee and spice factory; two of cornices; one distillery; forty-nine dress-makers; seven furniture manufactories; one of iron railings; two of lime; one map publisher, (John B. Marston;) nine machine shops; one perfumery manufactory; one pocket book manufactory; two plow manufactories; one of pumps and tubing; one of rakes; seven of sash, doors and blinds; thirty of shoes; one sorghum mill; one manufacturer of spring bed bottoms; four of steam engines; two of trunks; three of vinegar; fourteen of wagons; one of wooden ware and one of yeast.

In ship building, there is employed an average force of 225 hands.

COMMENCEMENT AND PROGRESS OF MERCANTILE BUSINESS.

Almost simultaneous with the opening of business in Toledo, merchants offered their goods at wholesale, as well as at retail. There then being no artificial means of transportation—no canals, railways, McAdamized, plank, or even graded and turnpike roads, by which interior towns could be reached, it may be inferred that "the *wholesale* department" was confined to narrow limits, and supplied only a few river and lake shore places, and others which could only be, with much difficulty and expense, reached when the surface was made solid by the action of winter temperature.

The stocks of those old merchants embraced all lines of goods. A stranger in Toledo, seeking the purchase of a pair of boots, would be referred to establishments where he would also probably find dry goods, saddlery, groceries, crockery, hardware, notions, cigars, patent medicines, liquors, peltries, ready-made clothing, tobacco, Indian goods, etc., etc. He would discover a "general assortment." The contents of any of these old stores, however, would not invoice as much as any average retail dealer now engaged in a single line of goods in Toledo.

The first store was opened by Lewis Godard, in the Vistula division, in 1831. The first wholesale firm, of considerable prominence, was established by Titus & Co., in 1837, in the building then standing upon the ground now occupied by the Novelty Iron works, on Water street. It was then a ware house,—the lower story being used by Poag & Morse, for their commission and forwarding business, and Titus & Co. occupying the second floor for their wholesale trade,—their principal clerk being the late Gideon W. Weed. Titus & Co. also conducted a retail branch house on the corner of Locust and Summit streets.

In the year 1839, V. H. Ketcham opened a wholesale establishment, having conducted, during the previous three years, a retail business, most of the time, in partnership with Levi Snell—the firm name being Ketcham & Snell. The last named gentleman (Mr. Snell), in 1835, had opened a merchant tailoring establishment, and continued this business until 1836, when he entered the partnership just mentioned. From 1839, Mr. Ketcham remained in the jobbing and retail trade, having, in 1843, taken his clerk, Joseph K. Secor, as a partner, and, in 1854, transferred the stock and business of the firm of Ketcham & Co., to Secor, Berdan & Co.

The next house of considerable dimensions, and devoted exclusively to the wholesale of groceries, was that of Charles O'Hara, in Mott's block, established in 1843.

During this year, also, D. Swift & Co. (the junior partner being T. H. Hough), opened a large establishment in the same block, embracing diversified lines of goods—the business name being successively changed to T. H. Hough, T. H. Hough & Co., Hough & Hall, and finally to T. H. Hough & Co. (the

junior member of the last mentioned firm having been Mr. W. H. Buckman). Mr. Hough died in Connecticut, in October, 1872.

Alexander Ralston & Co. started the drug business in the spring of 1844, in Mott's block, corner of Monroe and Summit streets, doing considerable jobbing. Ralston sold out to his partner, S. Linsley, and continued the same line till his death, in 1853, when the firm became Charles West & Co., now West & Truax.

Kraus & Rømer were the first clothing jobbers, or that followed that business exclusively.

In 1853, Church, Hayes & Co. opened a large stock of general merchandise, which they offered at wholesale exclusively.

The present house of Whitaker & Phillips was established in 1844, under the name of Kirkland & Whitaker. Since the decease of Mr. Hough, Mr. Whitaker holds the rank of the senior wholesale merchant in Toledo.

The firm of Bell & Deveau, which commenced business under the auspices of New York parties, October 1, 1847, was "an event" in the business history of Toledo. Its trade was strictly confined to jobbing, and sales the first year ran up to \$55,000—a sum total then regarded as immense. The lines embraced dry goods, notions, groceries, crockery, leather, nails, glass, etc. Their purchases were made in October, for the winter and spring trade, and designed to be sufficient in amount to meet the demands of their customers until the opening of the following navigation season, transportation being then only by water.

In 1853, the firm was changed to Bell, Deveau & Co. (the Co. being W. S. B. Hubbell). In 1856, Mr. Bolles became a partner, and the firm name was Bolles, Bell & Hubbell. In 1858, the stock was divided—Bell, Holcomb & Co. retaining the groceries, and Mr. Bolles retiring with the dry goods. In 1861, the grocery firm was Bell & Holcomb, and, in 1864, the late firm of Bell & Emerson was formed. Mr. Bell retired from business in 1872.

It was not until the spring of 1861, that Secor, Berdan & Co., the last of the jobbers who had been carrying a variety of stocks, separated their goods, and thenceforward confined their business to the wholesale of one line—and from this date the wholesale and retail trade assumed the form of distinct classification and branches. Near this date (1861), the trade of Toledo had attained something like metropolitan proportions, as well as arrangements; and, in his report of 1872, Mr. Wales, Secretary of the Board of Trade, estimated the business of the jobbing and commission houses, for the year 1871, at \$76,406 199.00.

Taking a retrospect of the trade of Toledo, which commenced at a period when a vitiated and inflated paper currency offered peculiar bounties to all schemes of reckless adventure, it may be truthfully stated that no town or city in the west can exhibit a fairer record, as regards general solvency, and honest commercial dealing. And it may be proper to add, that the most substantial men in Toledo, now retired, or in active business, made their accumulations here.

A view of the general business, in the summer of 1833, may be partly gathered from the advertisements which appeared in the *Toledo Blade*, dated June 29, 1836—that date closing the 25th No., 1st Vol., of the paper.

Those who then advertised merchandise, were Daniels & Goettel, W. J. Daniels & Co., and J. Baldwin & Co.

Peckham & Co. are the only forwarders who advertise.

Mosher & Scoville, one door west of the Mansion House, advertise drugs, medicines, and groceries.

Dr. John W. Gilbert & Co. advertise botanic medicines.

Among the early merchants, also, were Dr. Jacob Clark, who opened a store in 1835; A. Kraemer, corner Summit and Elm, opposite the old American; and, about 1837, Ezra S. and William Dodd.

The mercantile business in Toledo, wholesale and retail, is now, as it has been heretofore, as a rule, in the hands of men who have promptly met their

obligations. This maintenance of faith, and scrupulous regard for just claims, on the part of merchants, bankers, manufacturers, etc., is a matter of just pride to all interested in the present and future of Toledo.

A few of the prominent houses are here briefly mentioned :

Agricultural Machines, Implements, &c.—Three establishments deal in these lines of goods, and make annual sales amounting to \$160,000. The oldest and largest house now engaged in the trade is conducted by P. T. Clarke & Sons.

Books.—The first book store in Toledo was established by the late Decius Wadsworth, in 1844; and the character of his stock at that early day reached a high standard, creditable alike to him and to the tastes of the Toledo public. The four establishments now engaged in the trade average stocks that will compare favorably with those of any city. These stores make annual sales amounting to \$80,000. During Mr. Wadsworth's time, when he controlled the whole trade, his annual sales did not average \$8,000.

Boots and Shoes.—Four wholesale houses in 1870 reported sales amounting to \$1,387,435. Add to this about 35 per cent. for the current year, and it will afford an approximation of the true amount. Of the sales in 1870, one-third were from the house of R. & J. Cummings & Co. Their present year's business will probably reach fully a million and a half. The house was established in 1858—the firm then being O. S. Bond & Co., and its wholesale business at that time not reaching the amount of many retail dealers now in the trade. The rapid growth of this house, from comparatively small beginnings, is an evidence of the advances now making in all the jobbing branches in Toledo. The house of Fuller, Childs & Co., of which Dr. S. S. Stambaugh is the "Co.," is also one of importance in the trade, as are also those of Burgert & Hart, and Wright, Taylor & Croninger.

In the retail trade in boots and shoes, of the twenty-nine establishments engaged in it, the oldest and most prominent house, and controlling a trade peculiar to itself, is owned by Wachter Bros., whose business places are 149 Summit street, (where a boot and shoe store has existed over 20 years, and now the ninth year in the hands of its present occupants,) and 230 St. Clair street, the latter branch having been recently opened. The peculiarity of their relation to the trade exists in the reputation they have achieved for handling fine goods—having obtained from Edwin C. Burt, the New York manufacturer, who received the prizes at the "Exposition Universelle," Paris, 1867, of the silver medal for his work, the agency for the exclusive sale of his goods in Toledo. This circumstance alone secures to Wachter Bros. not only the choicest home trade, but commands orders from those who appreciate the style and quality of Burt's goods, from a distance. The sales at their two establishments during the past year reached nearly \$80,000.

Carpetings, House Furnishing Goods, &c.—A sketch of the history of the old firm, established in 1843, under the name of D. Swift & Co., and closing with the name of T. H. Hough & Co., in consequence of the decease of the senior partner in October, 1872, has already been given. After the death of Mr. Hough, the junior and surviving partner of the firm, Mr. Buckman, opened negotiations with Hon. A. P. Edgerton, at Fort Wayne, which resulted finally in the re-organization of the present house, known as W. H. Buckman & Co. Under the auspices of a name so potential in business circles in all the centres of trade in this country as that of Mr. Edgerton, and sustained by him, the new house of W. H. Buckman & Co. is destined probably, for years to come, to exercise a controlling influence in the sales of the above lines of goods.

Clothing.—In addition to the wholesale establishment mentioned, there are fifteen houses engaged in sales of ready made clothing; and most of these manufacture. Wm. Mabley, 153 Summit street, is probably the most extensive dealer, being one of four brothers who have heavy stocks at Chicago, Cleveland, Detroit, Pontiac, Flint, Jackson and Battle Creek, and whose sales

reach about \$1,500,000 annually. The Toledo house last year reached about \$90,000, and the current year will exceed \$150,000. Their business being upon such an enlarged basis, they have unusual advantages in purchases, resulting in benefit to their customers.

Dry Goods—Retail—Twenty-one stores are engaged in this trade, whose aggregate sales amount to \$835,000

Drug Stores.—In addition to the two wholesale, there are twenty-nine retail establishments engaged in the sale of drugs and medicines. As will be noticed by a statement of Mr. Mott, the one now conducted by Thomas Vanstone, successor to West & Vanstone, is the oldest established house in the trade.

Furs, Wool, Hides, Pelts, Plastering Hair, &c.—Four firms are engaged in these lines of trade, some of them including leather, and in 1870 their aggregate sales were reported at \$912,105. Samuel Brooks, who died January 24, 1873, established the first house in the trade in 1819. His successors are his son, Chas. L. Brooks and Wm. H. Lewis, who continue the business under the firm name of Brooks & Lewis. The receipts of hides in 1872 exceeded those of any previous year, amounting to 8,371,715 lbs., and of wool to about 3,000,000 lbs.

Groceries.—67 houses are engaged in the sale of family groceries, and their annual sales estimated at \$1,500,000.

Jewelers.—Of the eight jewelry establishments in Toledo, most carry large stocks.

The oldest and most prominent, however, is owned by H. T. Cook & Co., the senior member of which firm is also among the oldest business men in Toledo. The stock of this firm is one of the largest and most varied that can be found in any jewelry establishment in the State, and carries a larger value in goods than the aggregate of all the other jewelry establishments in Toledo.

Liquors, Wines, &c.—Eleven establishments were engaged in this trade in 1870 and according to the returns made to the U. S. Assessor's office, rectified 4,578 bbls. Alcohol and Spirits of Wine, although generally considered the same, are materially different. Alcohol is whiskey, distilled to its highest grade of proof, and is employed in the mechanic arts, as the basis of essences and medical ointures, and as a solvent in various manufacturing operations. Neutral or Cologne Spirit, is the same article in point of strength, but divested, in its manufacture, of all empyreumatic odor and taste. It forms the basis of domestic brandies, gins, &c.

In the business of rectifying, the firm of R. Brand & Co., 36 Monroe st., occupy the front rank, as well as having precedence in age. The house was established in 1849. Of the 4,578 bbls. of Spirits rectified, in 1870, 1,062 were produced by them. The Board of Trade report also exhibits their annual sales in excess of all others engaged in the trade. This firm were the first to introduce and encourage the use of native wines, in this quarter of Ohio—and may, therefore, be considered among the pioneers, in the native wine trade.

For certain medical purposes, however, imported wines have been discovered to be indispensable; and hence, in 1867, Hon. G. Marx, senior member of the firm, visited Spain, France, Germany and Hungary, and perfected arrangements for direct importations from the best vine-growing districts in those countries; and yet continue, as the custom house books show, larger importers than any house in Chicago, St. Louis, Cincinnati, or in any city west of the Atlantic coast. They receive direct consignments from Barcelona, Valencia, Malaga, Cadiz, Xeres de la Frontera (in Spain,) Cettes, and Nimes and Bordeaux in France.

This was also the first Toledo jobbing house that engaged in the Lake Superior trade, to which region they last year shipped goods amounting to \$35,000.

In this line of goods, M. & C. O'Brien & Co., L. A. Fontaine & Co., M. H. Austin & Co., Foster V. Wilder, Melchers & Lohmann, M. Boos & Son, and several others, are also extensive wholesale dealers.

Saddlery Hardware, Trimmings, &c.—Three firms are engaged in this important branch of the wholesale trade—the sales in 1872 amounting to \$335,857; and the business is increasing.

Sewing Machines.—Twelve of these inventions are represented in the city, and making annual sales reaching fully \$500,000.

Teas.—The conclusion is not irrational that the great depot of the China tea trade will find its centre in some of the interior cities of this continent. The opening of railway lines to the Pacific, and from that coast direct steam communication with China and Japan, will end controversy. Toledo, in addition to several wholesale grocery establishments, dealing in teas, has two houses almost exclusively devoted to this trade.

Messrs. Ogle Brothers, Campbell Block, corner of St. Clair and Jefferson streets, are engaged extensively in jobbing and retailing teas and coffees, and make shipments of their goods to many of the prominent lake and canal ports, as well as to cities and towns along the railway lines that lead from Toledo.

In addition to those above mentioned, there are the following: three china, glass and queensware stores; four wholesale and twenty-one retail dry goods stores; six wholesale fancy goods stores; twenty-five flour and feed stores; six jobbers in foreign fruits; in men and women's furnishing goods, there are twenty-three dealers and twelve in household furniture; four in general merchandise; seven in glass; six in hair goods; four in baled hay; eleven in hides, pelts and wool; two in hops; four in lath and shingles; five (wholesale) in leather and findings; twenty-three in lumber; four in wholesale, and thirty-one in retail millinery goods; seven in musical instruments; seven in paints, oils and glass, and two in wool and wolverine ware.

The following is a list of some of the prominent and representative men in Toledo, in 1873, with the character of business annexed to their several names, which list comprehends those who, at this time, chiefly control the Commission, Banking, Manufacturing, and other leading interests in the city. It is a matter of regret that time was not afforded to make the list more complete.

A. ANDREWS, Jr., Lumber.

AMER CAN FARM JOURNAL.—Monthly—LOCKE & JONES, Publishers With H. BUSBEY, Editor.

CLARK AUCHINCLOSS, Real Estate Agent; Office, 2 Anderson's Block, over 131 Summit street.

A. T. PABBETT & CO. Wholesale Dealers in Hats and Caps, and Men's Furnishing Goods, 126 and 128 Summit street.

H. E. BANGS, of the firm of W. T. WALKER & Co., Commission Merchants, 116, 118 and 120 Water street.

L. S. BAUMGARDNER & CO., Importers and Wholesale dealers in Notions, Hosiery and Fancy Goods, 124 and 126 Summit street.

A. W. BARLOW & CO., Wholesale and Retail Crockery, China and Glassware, 71 and 73 Summit street.

P. H. BIRCKHEAD, Dealer in Staves and Hoopings, Water street, foot of Lagrange Business established in 1853.

BISSELL, GLEASON & CO., Attorneys at Law, and Real Estate Agents, 152 Summit street—Edward BisSELL, ALFRED W. GLEASON, JOHN H. DOYLE, WESLEY S. THURSTON, IRWIN I. MILLARD, and RICHARD M. MCKEE

BLACK & HOFFMAN, Manufacturers of Ladies and Children's Underwear and Suits; and Jobbers of Hosiery, Fancy Goods and Notions, 54 and 56 Summit street.

C. E. BLIVEN, General Agent Howard Insurance Company, of New York—Office, King's Block, Water street.

E. C. BODMAN, President Northern National Bank.

BOND & ALLERDICE, Dealers in Hides, Wool, Pelts, &c., 161 and 163 Water street. THOMAS E. BOND and JOSEPH ALLERDICE.

BOWES & H. WELL, Dealers in Hides, Pelts, Furs, and Plastering Hair, 246 and 248 Water street.

BRAUN & COLTON, General Insurance Agents, 33 Market street.

CHARLES O. BRIGHAM, Chief Operator West End Union Telegraph, Superintendent City Fire Alarm Telegraph, and Agent Western Ass'n Press Room, 4 Chamber of Commerce.

ED. F. BROWNE & CO., Produce Commission Merchants, 74 Water street.

BRONSON TOBACCO WORKS; THAS R. MESSINGER, Proprietor, Manufacturer of Fine Cut Chewing and Smoking Tobacco, 272 and 271 Summit street.

- BROOKS & LEWIS, Dealers in Hides, Wool, Sheepskins, Furs, &c., 112 and 114 Superior street. Market Space.
- T. P. BROWN, Real Estate Dealer, and general Fire Insurance Agent, 52 Summit street.
- BROWN & DODGE, Insurance Agents, 154 Summit street.—E. O. Browns, F. B. Dodge.
- BROWN & FAUNCE, Wholesale and Retail Booksellers and Stationers, 115 Summit street.
- MATTHEW BROWN, firm of BROWN & SINCLAIR, Commission Merchants, 112 Water street.
- BURNAP & LEBARON, Importers and Wholesale Dealers in Crockery, China and Fint Glassware, Lamps, Carbon Oil, Table Cutlery, and Silver-Plated Ware, 96 Summit and 51 Water streets. SAM'L L. BURNAP, DeLOSS C. LEBARON. LYCIVS LILLEY, Special.
- JAMES H. CAMPBELL, Dealer in Real Estate, Campbell's Block.
- CAKINGTON & CASEY, Commission Merchants, Water street.
- JOHN B. CARSON, General Freight Agent T. W. & W. Railway.
- CHESNEY & CARSON, 82 Summit street, Dealers in Crockery, Glass and China, Gas Fixtures, &c.
- P. T. CLARKE & SONS, Wholesale and Retail Dealers in Farm Machinery, Seeds, Hardware and English and American Garden Tools, Contractors' Supplies, &c., 250 and 252 Summit St.—P. T. CLARKE, Sylvania, A. H. & W. R. CLARKE, Toledo.
- J. COPLAND & SON, Lumber Dealers and Manufacturers, cor. Oak & Water sts.
- A. W. COLTON, Commission Merchant, foot of Jefferson street.
- T. M. COOK, Real Estate Agent and Dealer. Residence, Cook's Block. Office, 152 Summit street.
- A. W. COLTON, Commission Merchant, foot of Jefferson street.
- J. CROWELL & CO., Fish Dealers, Water street.
- CYRUS H. COY, firm of Banking House of C. H. Coy & Co., Chamber of Commerce Building, 140 Summit street.
- CRAY & ROOD, Wholesale Carriage and Saddlery Hardware, 32 & 34 Summit st.
- R. & J. CUMMINGS, Wholesale Boots, Shoes and Rubbers, 120 and 122 Summit street.—ROBERT & JOHN CUMMINGS, and J. H. AINSWORTH.
- DAILY AND WEEKLY EXPRESS, established January 1st, 1853.—JULIUS VORDTRIEDE, Editor; JOSEPH BENDER, Publisher.
- GEO. W. DAVIS, Pres't Second Nat'l Bank.
- F. EATON, (established in 1857,) Wholesale and Retail Dry Goods, Carpets, &c., Summit street.
- GEORGE EMERSON, of the firm of EMERSON & Co., Wholesale Grocers, 142, 144 and 146 Summit street.
- FINLAY & KLEMM, Brewers of Ale and Porter, and Dealers in Malt and Hops, Corner of Elm and Water street.
- E. H. FITCH, Attorney at law, and Dealer in Real Estate, Corner of Summit and Jefferson streets.
- L. A. FONTAINE & CO., Agents for Lenk Wine Company's "Native Wines"; also, Importers and Wholesale Dealers in Foreign Wines and Liquors, 176 Summit street.
- FULLER, CHILDS & CO, Manufacturers and Wholesale Dealers in Boots and Shoes 100 Summit street.—J. W. FULLER, T. W. CHILDS, S. S. STAMBAUGH.
- C. GERBER & CO., Wholesale Hardware, 128 Summit, and 83 Water street.
- GERMAN LABORERS' LOAN AND SAVINGS ASSOCIATION receives deposits, on which it pays six per cent. interest.—FRED. GRADOLPH, Pres. J. P. SCHUCK, Sec. and Treas.
- BENJ. W. GOODE, firm of CRANBS, GOODE & Co., Grain Commission Merchants, 1 Board of Trade.
- F. GRADOLPH & BRO., Wholesale and Retail Con'ctioners, and Dealers in Fruits, Wines and Cigars, 85 Summit street.
- GREAT WESTERN DESPATCH COMPANY & SOUTH SHORE FREIGHT LINE, 23 Madison street.—J. C. MORSE, Ag't.
- CHARLES P. GRIFFIN, Real Estate and Insurance, 30 and 31 Chamber of Commerce.
- W. W. GRIFFITH, President Merchants' National Bank.
- GURL'Y, COLLINS & CO., Dealers in Hides, and Manufacturers of Rough Leather, 131 and 133 Water street.
- ISAAC N. HATHAWAY & SON, Commission Merchants, corner Jefferson and Water streets..
- H. J. HAYES & CO, Produce Commission Merchants', 82 Water street.—H. J. HAYES, JOSEPH KININGER.
- HERRMAN BROTHERS, Wholesale Dealers in Millinery, Silks and Straw Goods, 72 Summit street.
- HITCHCOCK & WALBRIDGE, Manufacturers Sash, Doors, Blinds and Mouldings.
- N. M. HOWARD, of firm of N. M. HOWARD & Co., Commission Merchants, Water street.
- F. HUBBARD & CO., Leather, Findings, Hides and Wool, 66 Summit street.
- WM. M. JOHNSON, Boots and Shoes, 202 Summit street.
- KEELER & LYMAN, Planing Mill; Dealers in Dressed Lumber, Water street.—THEO. KEELER, H. C. LYMAN.
- KELLEY BROS., Real Estate Dealers, No. 11 Chamber of Commerce.—JAMES KELLEY, DR WM. I. KELLEY.
- KELSEY, LAWTON & CO., Wholesale Dealers in Lumber, Shingles and Lath, St. Clair St.
- V. H. KETCHAM, Pres't First Nat'l Bank.
- J. B. KETCHAM, of firm of KETCHAM, BOND & Co., Wholesale Grocers, 36 and 38 Summit Street.
- C. A. KING & CO., Commission Merchants, and proprietors of King's Warehouse and Elevators.
- J. KININGER, of firm of H. J. HAYES & Co., Commission Merchants, Water street.
- KRAUS & SMITH, Bankers, Chamber of Commerce Building.
- LENK WINE COMPANY, Manufacturers of Still and Sparkling Native Wines. Directors:—CARL LENK, LOUIS WACH-

- ENHEIMER, F. GRADOLPH, PETER LENK and WILLIAM WEISS.
- LOCKE'S NATIONAL MONTHLY MAGAZINE—LOCKE & JONES, Publishers; D. R. LOCKE, and WM. H. BUSBEY, Editors.
- H. P. L. MACHEN, JR., Real Estate Agent and Dealer, Room 9 Gradolph Block, corner Summit and Jefferson streets.
- WM. W. ABLEY, Wholesale and Retail Dealer in Ready-Made Clothing, Gentlemen's Furnishing Goods, Hats and Caps, 153 Summit street.
- MACOMBER, MOORE & McDONNELL, Real Estate, 48 Summit street.
- ARNOLD McMAHAN, Dealer in Real Estate, East Side.
- MARKSCHEFFEL & BRO., Wholesale Grocers, Importers and Commission Merchants, and Wholesale Dealers in Liquors, Wines and Whiskies, 41 Summit street, and 29 and 31 Monroe street.
- J. B. MARSTON, Civil Engineer and Surveyor, Publisher of City and County Maps. Established 1853. Rooms 1 and 2 Campbell's Block, corner St. Clair and Jefferson streets.
- B. MELINK & CO., Manufacturers, and Wholesale and Retail Dealers in Furniture and Upholstery. Sales-room and Office, 204 Summit street.
- MILMINE & BODMAN, Forwarding and Commission Merchants, Water street.—Geo. MILMINE, E. C. BODMAN.
- JAMES B. MONROE, General Agent Dayton and Michigan Railway, Ottawa St.
- E. T. MORTIMER, Summit street, Manufacturer of the By-view brand of Native Wines. Vineyard and Manufactory Put-in-Bay Island.
- RICHARD MOTT, Toledo, Ohio.
- L. E. MULFORD, Prescription Druggist, 139 Summit street, corner Madison.
- J. I. NESSLE, General Purchasing Agent T., W. & W. Railway.
- NEWMAN & FORD, manufacturers of Genoa White Lime. Dealers in Land Plaster, Calcined Plaster, Cement, &c. Warehouse and Office, foot of Washington street, on Swan Creek.
- F. L. NICHOLS, Real Estate; Office, Boody House.
- NORTH & OSWALD, Practical Portrait and Landscape Photographic Artists. All kinds of Pictures known to the Profession, executed in a satisfactory manner and in the latest styles. Studios, 32 and 33 Chamber of Commerce.
- OGLE BROS., Proprietors Toled. Tea Store, 46 Jefferson, and 176 St. Clair street.
- PADDOCK BROS., Wholesale and Retail Dealers in Hats, Caps, Furs and Straw Goods. Retail Store, 125 Summit; and Wholesale, 80 Summit street.
- J. R. PAGE & CO., Wholesale Dealers in Window and Plate Glass, Paints, Oils, &c., &c., 88, 90 and 92 St. Clair street.
- WILLIAM PETER, Toledo, Ohio.
- HENRY PHILIPPS, Wholesale and Retail Dealer in Hardware in all its branches, 54 and 56 Summit, and 7 and 9 Water st.
- C. B. PHILLIPS, of WHITAKER, PHILLIPS & Co., Wholesale Hardware, 102 Summit and 59 Water street.
- M. W. PLAIN, firm of PLAIN, WILLIAMS & Co., Wholesale Drugs and Liquors, 141 and 143 St. Clair street.
- POE & BREED, Manufacturers and Dealers in Wood and Willow Ware, Cordage, Brushes, Fancy Baskets, Children's Cabs, Carts, &c., 62 Summit, and 15 Water street.—J. NEWTON POE, WILLIAM BREED.
- GEO. E. POMEROY & SON, Real Estate Agents and Money Brokers, 168 Summit street.
- PROUTY & ARBUCKLE, Agricultural Machinery and implements, 79 and 81 Monroe street.
- H. J. RAFFENSPERGER, Dealer in Real Estate. Selling large tracts at Public Auction a specialty. Office, No. 1, Myers' Block, corner Summit and Monroe.
- RAYMER & SEAGRAVE, Bankers and Real Estate Dealers, and Negotiators of Loans on real estate securities. Office, First Nat'l Bank Building, Summit st.
- GEO. RAYMOND, with E. C. SMITH & Co., Commission Merchants, Water street.
- REED & HUBERS, Wholesale and Retail Druggists, 91 Summit, cor. Jefferson st.
- OTTO REIDEMEISTER, Justice of the Peace, Notary Public and Insurance Agent, 6 Lenk's Block.
- REYNOLDS BROS. Commission Merchants and proprietors Armada Flouring Mills.
- R. F. RUSSELL, firm of RUSSELL & THAYER, Founders, and Proprietors of Novelty Iron Works.
- H. W. SAGE & CO., Manufacturers of Pine Lumber and Lath; also, Dealers in Ha-dwood Lumber, 22 Erie street, Mill at Wenona, Mich. Yards at Toledo, Buffalo, Albany, and New York.
- C. H. SAWYER & CO, Dealers in Lime, Cement Plaster, and Sewer Pipe, 16 Water street.
- S. C. SCHEXCK, Agent for Anthracite Coal Association, and Dealer in all kinds of Coal; on Water St., between Walnut and Locust, and on Water, cor. Adams street.
- JOSEPH SCHIOLL, Prescription Druggist.
- WM. H. SCHROEDER, Furnishing Undertaker, Sole Agent for I. C. SHULES & Co. and American Burial Case Co. Office, 216 Summit street.
- FRANK J. SCOTT, Real Estate, 11 Chamber of Commerce.
- W. H. SCOTT, Real Estate, 154 First National Bank Building.
- SCRIPTURE, BASSETT & CO., Cigar Manufacturers, corner Market Space and Monroe street.
- SECOR, BERDAN & CO., Wholesale Grocers, 116 and 118 Summit street.
- SHAW & BALDWIN, Jobbers of Notions White Goods &c., 40 and 92 Summit St.
- W. W. SHERWOOD, CALVIN BARKER, & WM. S. HANSENBACH, Wholesale and Retail Dealers in Millinery, and Ladies' Furnishing Goods, 169 Summit street.
- WILLIAM SIEGERSON & Co., Dealers in Real Estate; on Commission and otherwise, 217 St. Clair St., Boody House.
- JOHN SINCLAIR, firm of BROWN & SINCLAIR, 112 Water street.
- L. M. SKIDMORE & CO., Hardwood Lumber and of the firm of PARSONS, SKIDMORE & Co., Toledo Hames Manufacturing Co.

SMITH BRIDGE COMPANY. Bridge Builders. R. W. SMITH, Pres't, J. J. SWIGART, Treas., J. A. HAMILTON, Sec'y, D. HOWELL, Engr. Office, Chamber of Commerce Building.

DENISON B. SMITH, General Commission Merchant for the purchase of Grain, Flour, Provisions, &c.

JONA. SMITH & CO., Brass Founders and Machinists, and Dealers in Metals. Machinery and Tools, 81 & 83 St. Clair st.

SMITH, KELLEY & CO., Wholesale Dealers and Manufacturers of Lumber, Lath and Shingles, Lafayette street.

DAVID SMITH, W. H. SMITH, Manufacturers of Dimension Timber of all kinds, Water street.

SMITH & SIMMONS, Wholesale Dealers in Leather and Findings, Hides, Oils and Currier's Tools, 70 Summit street—O. C. SMITH, WM. H. SIMMONS.

ALEXANDER P. STEWART, Wholesale and Retail Dealer in American, British, French and German Dry Goods, 121 Summit street.

A. R. STONE & CO., Auctioneers and Commission Merchants, 199 Summit street.—W. C. ALEXANDER, Auctioneer.

ST. JOHN & BUCK, Wholesale Dealers in Fresh and Salt Fish; Water foot of Cherry street.—WM. ST. JOHN, PLYMPTON BUCK.

ST. JOHN & NORTON, Real Estate Dealers, corner Summit and Cherry streets, WM. ST. JOHN, JOHN G. NORTON.

SUNDAY MORNING SUN, JOHN A. LANT, Editor.

B. G. SWEET & CO., Wholesale and Retail Dealers in all kinds of Coal, Iron, &c., corner Monroe and Water streets.

AUGUSTUS TABER, Agricultural Implements, Machinery and Seeds, 140, 142 and 144 Superior street.

L. T. THAYER, of the firm of RUSSELL & THAYER, Founders and Proprietors of the Novelty Iron Works, Water st.

THE INDEX, F. E. ABBOT, Editor.

THORN BROTHERS & CO., Chair Manufacturers, Erie street.

TOLEDO BLADE—Daily, Weekly and Tri-weekly, LOCKE & JONES, Publishers; D. R. LOCKE, Editor in Chief, E. A. HIGGINS, Associate Editor.

TOLEDO CHEMICAL WORKS; B. F. HOLLISTER, President, H. C. RICHARDS, Vice President; R. C. SMITH, Superintendent, L. E. BASSETT, Secretary and Treasurer.

TOLEDO MORNING COMMERCIAL.—CLARK WAGGONER, Editor in Chief. TOLEDO COMMERCIAL Co., Publishers, 175 and 177 Summit street. Also issue Tri-weekly and Weekly.

TOLEDO DEMOCRAT; A. J. BEBOUT, Manager; E. S. DODD, ISAAC RAGEY, Editors; V. J. ZAHM, Supt. Printing Department.

TOLEDO, SUNDAY JOURNAL, P. H. BATESON, Publisher.

TREPANIER & COOPER, Wholesale and Retail Dealers in Foreign and Domestic Dry Goods, Notions, &c., 101 Summit street.

UNION MANUFACTURING CO., (R. S. JANNEY, Pres't, and L. F. LITTLE, Sec'y) Manufacturers of Churns, Wash-boards, Boys' Carts, and Wagons, and Kitchen Wooden-ware.

M. O. WAGGONER, Real Estate Agent, buys, sells, rents and pays taxes; also, sells Jerome Kidder's Galvanic Batteries. Office, 16 Madison street, Finlay's Building.

H. S. WALBRIDGE, Banker, 160 Summit street.

WILLIAM T. WALKER, of firm of W. T. WALKER & Co., Commission Merchants, 116, 118 and 120 Water street.

J. W. WALTERHOUSE, Wholesale and Retail Dealer in Pine Lumber, Shingles and Lath; Water street, between Adams and Oak.

WEDD SEWING MACHINE CO., Warehouse 222 Summit street, Retail Department, Boody House A. E. DICKINSON, Manager.

J. H. WHITAKER, firm of WHITAKER, PHILLIPS & Co., Hardware Dealers, 102 Summit street.

WHITAKER & FRENCH, Wholesale Criagee and Saddlery Hardware, 104 Summit street.

WHITE & BRAND, General Agents and Dealers in Decker Bros. and W. Knabe & Co's Pianos, and Burdett Organs; Music Publishers, and Dealers in American and Foreign Music, and Musical Merchandise of every description. 173 Summit street.

WILCOX BROTHERS, Ship Chandlers—Wholesale—64 and 66 Water street.

WILLIAMS & BOAKE, Manufacturer of Chairs, 149 to 155 Water street.—HARRY WILLIAMS, JAMES H. BOAKE.

WORTS & CO., Wholesale Bakers and Confectioner, 305 St. Clair street—GEORGE WORTS, ALBERT KIRK, HENRY W. BIGELOW.

WRIGHT, TAYLOR & CO., Manufacturers and Wholesale Dealers in Boots and Shoes, 84 and 86 Summit street.

WYMAN, GRIGG & CO., Dealers in Hard and Soft Coal, Lime, Cement, Plaster, and Fire Brick and Clay, 48 Water St.

YOUNG & BACKUS, Commission Merchants, and owners of Wabash and Miami Canal Grain Elevators, Water street.

CHAS. L. YOUNG, of "SEARS & HOLLAND LUMBER Co.," Manufacturers and Wholesale Dealers in Pine Lumber, Superior street at Swan Creek.

SAMUEL M. YOUNG, President Toledo National Bank.

OTHER PIONEERS OF THE MAUMEE VALLEY.

Noah A. Whitney, who died in March, 1873, at the age of 74 years, belonged to a family well known and highly respected by the early settlers of Toledo. His father, Noah Ashley Whitney, sen., (whose family then consisted of his wife, four sons and two daughters,) in 1824 entered at the United States Land Office, the E. half of S. W. Qr. of Sec. 26, now within Toledo, and at the

junction of Adams street with Collingwood Avenue. The names of the four sons were Noah A., Thomas P., Milton D., and Augustus H., of whom the second only now remains; and the daughters were Mary Ann and Harriett, the latter being the wife of Sanford L. Collins, Esq., and now living. In 1825, Noah A. Whitney, Jr., entered a quarter section of land, now within the city limits, upon which he continued to reside until the day of his death. In an obituary notice the Toledo *Commercial* said:

“Mr. Whitney had been a member of the Methodist church for 40 years, and probably more than any other one contributed, in labor and money, toward the support of religious advantages. Mrs. Whitney was the first class-leader within the present bounds of Toledo, under the ministrations of Elder Baughman, the pioneer Methodist preacher of this region, whose circuit included Fremont (then Lower Sandusky) and the entire country to Detroit, four weeks being required for his round. The deceased was among the oldest, if not the very oldest resident church member in Toledo, as he was the oldest continuous housekeeper in the same, all his first neighbors having preceded him to their last home. Mrs. Whitney died in 1857, leaving no children.”

Mavor Brigham immigrated with his family from Oneida county, New York, to Toledo, in May, 1835. He labored diligently, and expended freely of time and money in organizing and establishing the Congregational church of Toledo, which now forms so important a part of the religious element of the city. Mr. Brigham, during his long residence in Toledo, has been not only active in sustaining the interests of religion, but has held several public positions in the township and city governments, the duties of all of which have ever been discharged faithfully.

Elijah Dodd removed to Toledo in 1835, and to Waterville in 1837. Was elected Sheriff of Lucas county in 1851 and re-elected in 1853.

Capt. W. E. Standart, now of the firm of B. G. Sweet & Co., Toledo, was one of the first messengers who took charge of the express matter, after the line was established, between Buffalo and Detroit. His treasure, involving values forwarded between New York and Detroit, was encased in a small hand trunk.

William Andrews removed with his family to Toledo in May, 1835. He was a good man, esteemed by all the old citizens, and died about 18 years ago. His son, Samuel Andrews, now of the *Blade* office, is among his survivors.

Alexander Wales removed to Vistula in June, 1832, and erected the first frame house in that division. He is now a resident of Wood county, adjoining the corporation of Toledo. His son is Mr. C. T. Wales, Secretary of the Toledo Board of Trade.

Thomas Howard, from Yates county, N. Y., landed at Fort Meigs in the spring of 1823. He and part of the families made the trip from Buffalo in a 30 ton schooner, commanded by Capt. Almon Reed—the teams and live stock being driven over land by another part of his family, which struck the Maumee at a point now known as East Toledo. From here they proceeded up the river to Fort Meigs, experiencing some difficulty in urging their live stock through the Indian camps, which at that time lined the banks of the Maumee, and snuffing danger afar off, the horses and cattle manifested greater fear of these lords of the forest than did their owners. The branches of the emigrating families, some taking the water, and others the overland route, and which came to the Maumee Valley at that time, consisted of his three sons, Edward, Robert A., and Richard M. W. Howard, and their several families. Subsequently these households, and also a daughter, Mrs. Sidney Howard Davison, (now a resident of La Salle Co., Ill., and aged 77 years,) removed to the head of the rapids of the Maumee (Gilead.) Thomas Howard, born November 15, 1753, died at the head of the rapids, May 25, 1825.

Robert A. Howard, who was born Nov. 10, 1792, survived many years all his brothers. He resided at the head of the rapids about ten years, and re-

moved to York township, Lucas county, (now Pike township, Fulton county,) where he died on the 26th of November, 1872, at the age of 74 years. In a mention of his death, the *Toledo Commercial* of Dec. 4, 1872, said:

"He remained at the head of the rapids until 1835, when, having disposed of the farm which he had made so valuable by the labor of his early manhood, he removed to the place on which he died, and which was then in York township, Lucas county. He immediately took high rank among the early settlers of that part of the country, and was very soon made a Justice of the Peace, which office he held for many years, and used it as a means of effecting a settlement of differences between his neighbors, rather than as a means of litigation. He was a just man, and his advice, oftener than his docket, was made the basis of the adjustment of controversies brought before him.

"After the county of Fulton was established he was employed by the Commissioners to transcribe the records in the Recorder's offices of the old counties, for use of the new. He was also elected Recorder of Fulton county, and in the performance of all his duties, proved himself a faithful and conscientious officer." This couple had experience that fully instructed them in all the joys and hardships of pioneer life.

Mrs. Howard, whose maiden name was Priscilla Nelson, preceded her husband the previous May to her final rest, after having lived with him happily during a period of about half a century. Mrs. Howard is represented by those who had best opportunities of understanding her character, as one of the best of wives, mothers and neighbors among the pioneers of North Western Ohio. This pioneer couple, so long partners in marital life, had raised a family of nine children, (all born in the Valley,) to sustain them in their declining years. These children all attained maturity, and six of them yet survive—their several names and residences being A. A. Howard, of Mason, Mich., Col. N. M. Howard, now a prominent and successful business man of Toledo, having resided with his family in the city during the last twenty years, Wm. H. Howard, of Illinois, Edwin A. Howard, of Hillsdale, Mich., (who was recently appointed by President Grant to the Indian agency in Dakota territory,) James W. Howard, (who resides upon the old homestead in Fulton county,) and the surviving daughter, Mrs. Aurelia Augusta, wife of John H. Reid, Esq., of Bowling Green.

Hon. D. W. H. Howard, member of the present State Senate, and resident of Fulton county, and his sister, Anjanette, wife of Hon. Geo. Laskey, of Grand Rapids, Wood county, are the son and daughter of Edward Howard, (who was born in the year 1787, and died in 1841,) and whose wife is yet living with her daughter, Mrs. Laskey, near the spot where they settled half a century since, at the head of the Rapids.

Wm. Howard, oldest son of Thomas Howard, and father of Mrs. Charlotte P. Pratt, of the head of the rapids, and James Montgomery Howard, of La Salle Co., Ill., came to the Maumee Valley in about 1830, in a small keel boat named "the Maumee Pilot," built upon Seneca lake and brought through the Erie canal, and towed across lake Erie from Buffalo to Perrysburg by Capt. David Wilkinson's schooner, "Eagle."

Peter H. Shaw removed to the Valley in 1823. With Daniel H. Hubbell, (the latter at one time Associate Judge of Wood county,) in 1824, he made four miles of the mud turnpike between Perrysburg and Fremont, now known as the Western Reserve and Maumee road. Mr. Shaw was engaged by Col. Moore, U. S. Chief Engineer, in the original survey of the Wabash & Erie Canal, from Defiance to Maumee City, in 1827, when it was contemplated in view of the unsettled condition of the boundary question between Ohio and Michigan, to terminate the Canal at the foot of the Rapids. Valuable matter in the form of a journal, kept by Mr. Shaw, commencing with his first settlement in the country, and extending through a period of many years, was destroyed. In January, 1835, Mr. Shaw removed his family to Toledo, and engaged in the manufacture of brick. The brick in the walls of the house of Maj.

Coleman I. Keeler, and yet standing on the old territorial road, (now street,) and being the second brick house erected in Toledo, were made by him. He cleared fully one hundred acres of land now within the city limits of its timber, the wood being principally used for his brick kilns. This business of manufacturing brick he continued until 1856, when he removed to his farm in Adams-township, about two and a quarter miles distant from the Court House, where he yet resides.

Capt. B. G. Sweet, now of Toledo, and of the firm of Sweet & Standart, coal dealers, &c., is one among the old navigators of the lakes. He commenced as a sailor on board the schooner "Hannah," fitted out at Dunkirk in the spring of 1822, and first commanded the schooner "Antoinette," built at Black river in about 1838. He commanded the "North Star," which ran eight years as an excursion steamer to the head of Lake Superior. Capt. Sweet was the first commander of a side-wheel steamer—"The Northerner"—that passed through the Sault St. Marie canal. He quit the marine service at the close of navigation in 1858, and resigned his place as Captain of the propeller "S. D. Caldwell."

James B. Steedman, from Louisville, Ky., removed to the Maumee Valley Oct. 22, 1837, and became a contractor on Sec. 75, W. & E. Canal 3 miles above Napoleon, and took in partnership his brother-in-law, Elijah Dodd. He was elected a member of the Ohio House of Representatives in 1841, and re-elected in 1842; elected a member of the Board of Public Works in 1851, and re-elected for the full term in 1852; in 1857, Printer to the House of Representatives at Washington. In the late civil war he commanded the 14th Regt. O. V. L. in the three months' service, and September 25, 1861, the regiment was re-organized for the three year's service, and he was again commissioned as Colonel; July 17, 1862, was confirmed by the Senate as Brig. Gen., and in March, 1864, confirmed as full Maj. Gen. in the army of the United States, with rank of the same grade in the regular service. In the Army, no officer in the volunteer service, and few West Point graduates, won higher honors. In 1867, he was tendered the appointment of the Mexican Mission, which he declined; but accepted the appointment of Collector of Internal Revenue at New Orleans.

John R. Bond, born on the Vermont side of Lake Champlain, began business life in Toledo in 1836, as a clerk for Scott & Richardson, in the first hardware, tin and stove store established in the place—said store being located on lot 355, Vistula Division, near the corner of Summit and Cherry streets. In the following year the establishment was removed to the "Arcade store," lot 347, Vistula. He was a clerk for Titus & Co., from 1841 to 1842, and then returned to his first employers, and continued with them until 1843, when he purchased the store, and continued in business himself during a period of three years. Mr. Bond commanded a regiment during the late civil war, and has filled many civil positions; and has never failed in the faithful discharge of every trust confided to him.

Henry D. Kingsbury commenced his residence in the Maumee Valley in 1835. He was, during many years, proprietor of the Kingsbury House, Summit street—served several terms as Sheriff of Lucas county, and after the commencement of the late civil war, entered the three months service, and was made Captain and Quartermaster. Under the three years call, he commanded a regiment, and now is connected with the police force of Toledo.

Matthias Boos began business in Toledo in 1837, and is yet prominent in trade.

David Johnston came in 1835, and afterward took charge of the Ohio House, corner of Walnut and Summit streets. He is yet in business.

The business notices in the first number of the *Manhattan Advertiser*, issued July 13, 1836, were signed by the following named persons: Platt Card, Two Stickney, R. S. Tyler, Dr. Calvin Smith, S. Johnson, Wm. Martin, Chas. Sill &

Co., D. Chase, Chase, Sill & Co., J. P. Thompson, Adolphus Kraemer, F. L. Nichols, Foote, Swift & Co., and S. Cornwall.

In addition to those who advertised, there were B. F. Smead, editor of the *Manhattan Advertiser*, one of the most sprightly journals in the West; a lawyer named Wheeler, and a physician of the same name; David Mooney; Henry D. Ward; Mr. Warner; Willard Smith; A. Williams, now 103 Adams street; E. C. Hart; Geo. Humphrey; Guy and Joel Carpenter; James Kirk; Fred. Osgood; Bishop Davis, and others, whose names cannot now be recalled. Of the old residents, Gen. D. and Dr. James L. Chase, Joseph Jacobs, Jonathan Lundy, George Abt and George Angel, are all that remain.

Gen. Daniel Chase first visited the Valley in 1834. His military record in the Mexican war, in which he won a Major's commission, was a very honorable one. Advancing years did not permit him to take so active a part in the late civil war.

Timothy Coghlin, with his two sons and one daughter, removed to Toledo in October, 1836, and engaged in the employ of the Erie and Kalamazoo railroad, and remained in the service of the Company until 1842. Meantime he had rented a farm in Washington, adjoining Port Lawrence township, which he cultivated, and upon which he resided until his death, in September, 1842. Mr. Coghlin was respected by all the old citizens for his straight-forward integrity.

The business career of Dennis Coghlin commenced in Toledo directly after his father's death, and has continued since. During a period of six years, he was Director of the Lucas county Infirmary, for several years a member of the City Council, and, under the administration of Mr. Buchanan, Collector of Customs at Toledo.

Patrick Martin and wife, one son and three daughters, removed to Washington township, in 1834, and purchased "the south half N. E. Qr. of Sec. 12, Tp. 2, in Twelve Mile Reserve, Miami Rapids, containing 80 acres"—said land being now in Adams Township, and occupied by Geo. Williams. Edward, a promising and useful young man, was among the earliest California emigrants, and died on the Pacific coast on the 23d of June, 1859. Mrs. Dennis Coghlin is the only survivor of Mr. Martin's family who came with her parents to the country. Mr. Martin died June 8, 1859.

Henry G. Neubert, an old soldier, who had served in the armies under the First Napoleon, and after his exile and death, in the British service, became an early resident of Toledo, and was engaged in the construction of the Wabash & Erie Canal, during which employment, by the fall of a tree, he lost his right arm. He died of cholera in 1852. His descendants are Mrs. Guido Marx, and Capt. Henry G. Neubert.

Thomas Carr removed to Toledo in October, 1836. He was a contractor on the Wabash & Erie Canal.

Wm. J. Finlay came to Toledo from Lockport, N. Y., with Col. McKenster, (afterwards proprietor of the old American House,) in 1843. He can scarcely be classed among the pioneers; but his success in life has been one so remarkable, that a departure in his case from the general rule, appears justifiable. Under Col. McKenster, Mr. Finlay occupied subordinate positions; but soon his rare intelligence and natural business tact manifested themselves, and attracted notice, and in 1846, upon the resignation of Capt. George Dutch Davis, he was placed in charge of the Toledo office of the Canal Packet Co., where he continued until the withdrawal of the lines, which occurred on the opening of the Toledo & Wabash railroad, and then closed the office. From such beginnings, he has continued until he has reached opulence and erected monuments of his enterprise, the most conspicuous of which is the Chamber of Commerce building, which will endure in after years as one of the prominent features of the business history of these times. The first and only official place Mr. Finlay ever held, was derived from Gen. Jas. B. Steedman, when the lat-

ter was member of the Ohio Board of Public Works, and this was the office of Inspector of canal boats, at a salary of \$650 per annum; although, during the cholera season of 1852, when the collector, weigh-master, and inspector vacated their offices, and sought more healthy localities, Mr. Finlay remained at his post, and discharged the duties of his own and their offices.

Thomas Southard commenced his residence in Toledo about the 1st of May, 1832.

Robert N. Lawton began hotel life in Toledo as proprietor of the American, corner Summit and Elm streets, in 1839. In 1843, he became proprietor of the Indiana House, corner of Summit and Perry. He died at Indianapolis, June 30, 1856, and his remains were returned to Toledo for interment. His widow, Mrs. Susan A. Lawton, and daughter of the late Sylvester Cornwall, of Manhattan, is yet a resident of Toledo. Mr. Lawton was a thorough gentleman, and a popular hotel proprietor.

John P. Freeman commenced his business career in Toledo in 1835.

Thomas R. McKnight was one among the oldest citizens of Perrysburg. He was a soldier under Harrison, and at the siege of Fort Meigs, in 1813. In 1819 he returned to Perrysburg, and in 1820 removed his family there.

Wm. Crook emigrated from England, and removed to Toledo in the fall of 1831, and in 1832 to Perrysburg, where he died in February, 1871.

Jacob Keller removed to the Maumee Valley in 1832, and died on the farm of Peter H. Shaw, in Adams township, April 23, 1873.

J. G. Cass removed to Waynesfield (now Adams) township, May, 1822.

James S. Herrick removed to Maumee City in 1823. He left five sons at the time of his death, namely: William, Elisha, Morris, Calvin and Willson.

David Hedges removed to the Wolf Rapids farm, south side of the Maumee, near the Missionary Station, in 1831, where he resided several years, and then removed to Vienna, Mich., where he died in 1861. He was the father of Mrs. Henry S. Commager.

John Wolf emigrated from Syracuse, N. Y., to Waterville, in 1834, and died in 1864.

David Smith and Lydia M. Webb were married at Selina, New York, Jan. 9, 1831—moved to Buffalo in August of the same year, and on the 28th of May, 1835, commenced their residence in Waterville. In 1836, Mr. Smith was elected Justice of the Peace. In 1838, he was appointed Postmaster, and in 1845, re-appointed. Mr. Smith removed to Maumee City, having been appointed Collector of Canal tolls, and died of cholera, August 17, 1854.

Judge James W. Scott died at his residence in Maumee City, January 5, 1873. At St. Louis, March 8, 1821, he married Miss Mary, daughter of Capt. Wm. Wells, a sketch of whose remarkable life appears in other pages. Judge Wolcott's first settlement in the Valley was at Fort Wayne, and in 1826 removed to Maumee City, where he continued to reside until his death.

John Pray, a man prominent in the early settlement of the Maumee Valley, and one of the first Commissioners of Wood county, died at his residence in Waterville in 1873.

Gabriel Crane, with a younger brother, Josiah L., born in Orange county, New York, March 30, 1800, travelled to Ohio on foot—leaving their native place December, 1821. On New Year's day, 1822, they walked forty miles, each carrying with him a knapsack weighing between thirty and forty pounds; arrived at Dayton, after several stoppages near Worthington, Franklinton, and in Ross county, March, 1822. At Dayton they remained about four years, and in December, 1826, removed to Perrysburg. In 1835, Gabriel Crane removed to his present residence in Oregon township, and built the first frame house between Perrysburg and the mouth of the river. Part of his place is now within the corporate limits of Toledo. Josiah L. Crane died at Perrysburg in May, 1852.

Gen. Charles W. Hill removed to Toledo in April, 1836, and was employed at first in commercial and mercantile business. Soon after, he was appointed City Clerk, and, borrowing books of D. O. Morton, Esq., read law until June 3, 1839, when he was admitted to the Bar. On the 1st of October, 1839, he became a partner of M. H. Tilden, and from that time (except from June 18, 1861, to July 12, 1865, when he was in the military service,) he was a hard-working and successful lawyer. Brief reference is made to his professional career on pp. 289-290 of this volume. But it is proper that notice be taken of his unrequited services in another sphere of usefulness. Reference is here made to the public schools. Starting out with three great cardinal principles, he has adhered to them with a persistency, certainly not pecuniarily profitable to himself, though fruitful of good results to the city and vicinity: 1st. That he would not live in a community that could not thoroughly educate his children in the public schools; 2nd. That he would ask nothing for his own children that he would not provide for all other youth in the city; 3rd. That the incumbent of a public office, voluntarily accepted, though without emolument, and however onerous, is bound to perform all the duties of his position, regardless of his private interests. He began at the foundation, when efficient public schools, "so far West," were scarcely heard of, by drafting and securing the passage of a bill which became the school law of Toledo, March 9, 1849, and which, with only a few financial improvements and a change in the mode of electing Directors, (all prepared by him,) has remained in force to this day. From that law, and the vigilant and intelligent use of its powers, Toledo has reared her school system,—renowned in the land, and justly the admiration and pride of the city. A large per cent. of the most enterprising business men, and useful families of Toledo, have been drawn to, and retained in the city, by the efficiency and faithful administration of her public school system. Gen. Hill was nominated for Director at the first election under this law, but declined because his then law partner feared that devotion to organizing and building up public schools would interfere with professional business. Gen. H., however, was elected to the Board of Education in May, 1851, and has been re-elected by the people from term to term ever since. In May, 1855, he was elected President of the Board, and has been elected to and held that office every year since, except the year beginning in May, 1864, when he declined the Presidency.

The public schools have been the object of his special solicitude, and he devotes to them his time and talent at the expense of his personal welfare. If a client, in arrears for fees, would happen to meet him with an offer of payment, at a moment when busily employed in the investigation of some matter relating to the public schools, the General would probably politely dismiss his visitor with a request that he call at some more convenient season, when he would have time to look over the account and receipt for the money.

Gen. H. was frequently a member of the city Council, and served in that body eleven years.

We get no account of his feeding high at the public crib but once. He became broken down by hard work and too much service "on the stump" in the Taylor and Fillmore campaign; and "spoils" were awarded to him in the shape of the Collectorship of Customs at Toledo, in 1850. For a long series of years no returns had been made from this district, and so the pay of Collector was a little might in the fog. The General, entering upon his new duties with his usual directness, dug up several thousand dollars of duties previously collected, but not reported. These were secured by the Government. Detailed reports of the commercial business of the district were regularly made, and, for the first time, the district acquired some standing at Washington, and duties were collected during his first season to the amount of over \$80,000. After nearly three years' service as a revenue officer, involving a considerable part of his time with accounts rendered every month, Pierce's administration required the accounts to be re-stated for quarterly periods, and then his accounts were settled, rning out every thing for stationery, lights, fuel, and the expenses

of moving the office from Maumee, merely because not properly estimated for under unknown rates. His whole pay as Collector was found to have been fixed by an old law at \$325.46 per year! So much he received and no more, but his successor, Mr. Riley, was, by a new law, immediately placed on a par with the Collector of Detroit, as to salary and fees, it having become known, under Hill's administration of the office, that the Maumee Valley had a commerce worthy the attention of the Government, and its Collector duties to perform worthy of a respectable compensation. But that Congress had not discovered the retroactive rule of salaries, and Hill was all the leaner for having, once in his life, "fed at the public crib."

The late Capt. Samuel Allen, who was prominently connected with the early efforts to build up Toledo, has already been referred to in reminiscences of several pioneers. His amiable widow survived her husband many years, and died in Toledo, at the residence of her son-in-law, Judge Thomas Dunlap, within the last eighteen months. Her mind, endowed with rare natural gifts, had been highly cultivated, and her womanly graces commanded the highest respect.

Added to what has hitherto been stated of Captain Allen and his family, the following memoranda were gathered from Mrs. A. a few months prior to her death:

When Capt. Allen, and a portion of his family, visited the Valley in October, 1831, they found the principal Ottawa Indian village located on the Manhattan side of the river, near its mouth, where government made its payments to the tribe; and their hunting grounds were on the opposite side. Mrs. Allen, August 1, 1871, communicating her recollections through Mrs. Judge Dunlap, said: "I remember well the beautiful road leading from Vistula to this Indian village. It was winding, and shaded by magnificent trees. We frequently rode thither with Major Stickney in his one-horse wagon; and as we passed through the village, the little Indians would run out calling him "father! father!" which would please him amazingly. What is now chiefly the track of Summit street, formed then a most charming ride through a delightful forest. The banks of the river were bold, high bluffs, and the graceful little fawns and flocks of wild turkeys often crossed our path as we were riding, and disappeared in the woods. I had two fawns for my especial playmates—each having a bell attached to their necks, and were daily companions in my rambles through the woods.

"The Vistula division of the town was surveyed by Seneca Allen. The streets bear the names originally given them—myself naming La Grange in memory of the home, in France, of Lafayette. Major Stiekney gave Summit street its name; and Capt. Allen suggested the names of all the others.

"During the autumn of 1831 the family returned to Lockport, and in the winter following Capt. Allen re-appeared with a force of hands and erected the first wharf in the new town, at the foot of Lagrange street. After the opening of Lake navigation in the spring of 1832, our whole family removed to Vistula. At Buffalo my husband chartered a steamboat, the "Pioneer," and freighted her with the family, servants, workmen, goods and provisions; and on the last day of May, 1832, passengers and goods were landed at Vistula.

"The Indians were uniformly kind and hospitable. Their title was extinguished by treaty made on the part of the United States by the Territorial Governor of Michigan, in 1833. The Canadian French were also courteous and obliging, and many of their suggestions regarding the diseases then peculiar to the country, and means to avoid them, were ascertained to be valuable. Venison, wild geese, turkeys, ducks, &c., were abundant. In the summer and autumn of 1833, the feeble colony, as well as the French and Indians, suffered much from sickness. The first weeping willow transplanted on this soil, was brought from Columbus by myself, and the slip had been used on the route as a riding whip."

The willow tree referred to by Mrs. Allen, which sprang from the branch placed in the ground by her own hands in 1832, attained a large growth, and,

having lived forty years, was destroyed by a storm, in 1872, the same year that her own death occurred. It occupied corner of Lagrange and Superior streets.

The remains of Capt. Allen and wife now rest in Forest cemetery. Mr. and Mrs. Judge Dunlap, who passed their youthful and maturer days here, and their children, who were born in Toledo, are the only descendants of the family so prominent in the early history of the place.

Samuel I. Keeler removed with his family from Onondaga county, New York, to the place now owned by Mr. Machen, Adams street, in 1830. Mr. Keeler, with Dr. Conant, and a clergyman, from the river Raisin, organized the first Presbyterian church in Toledo, in June, 1833. Among the members were Mr. Keeler, his wife and one daughter. The first church meeting was held at Mr. Keeler's house, which remained the only place for public worship during a period of four years, and was then removed to a school house, where now stands the present African church, between Monroe and Washington streets. They were not at first enabled to procure wine for sacramental uses, but Mr. K. obtained some raisins from Monroe, and, with these and sugar, an article was produced that was made to subserve the purpose. Mr. Keeler died in 1868, at the age of 84 years.

Dr. Jacob Clark is the only survivor of that heroic and self-sacrificing class, the old time physicians of Toledo. He established himself in Vistula in 1834, and at once engaged in not only professional, but in mercantile business—continuing in the latter, however, only during a period of five years. He was elected State Senator in 1841, from the district then composed of the counties of Lucas, Henry, Williams, Putnam, Paulding, Van Wert and Allen. With the exception of the interruption made in the discharge of Senatorial duties, and occasional visits to old Eastern friends, the doctor has now been engaged in active medical practice during a term of thirty-eight years.

Among the old physicians deserving mention, and who were cotemporaries of Dr. Clark, were Drs. Fassett, Bowman, Sutphen, Mosher, Perkins, Ackley, Bostwick, Brush, McLain and Smith. Dr. Clark, although honored by all who have known him, did not occupy a higher place in his profession, or in public esteem, than several of those named.

Dr. Oscar White, a veteran in medical practice in the Maumee Valley, but for several years engaged in real estate operations in Toledo, contributes the following. If he had employed his ready and sharp pointed pen in the business of writing out his personal experience, it would have formed an interesting feature of this work:

"I came on to this river in August, 1828, and settled at Maumee, then the principal place of business in Wood county. In 1833, I vaccinated the Ottawa tribe of Indians for the Government, then numbering about 800. The first corn I bought (in 1829) to feed my horse, I paid 12½ cents per bushel for. The horse I paid \$31 for, and he was a pretty good horse. I practiced medicine and went to Findlay, and nearly to Defiance, and nearly to Adrian, in Michigan, to see patients.

"There were few people here in 1828, but the men and women who were here, had distinct individual characters; were independent and out spoken, and knew how to take care of themselves in a frontier life. In autumn, the country was beautiful beyond any which I have ever beheld, and abounded in cranberries, venison, and wild honey."

Wm. H. Raymond, in 1836, was a clerk in the store of V. H. Ketcham, corner of Elm and Summit streets. He continued a clerk, and in other avocations until 1864, when his business operations in Toledo, having proved unfortunate, he compromised with his creditors, and removed to the Pacific coast, where, fortune favoring him, he returned and paid his creditors in full, principal and interest. No one among the pioneers, on the score of sterling moral worth, was better entitled to the rare good fortune that has in later years fallen to his lot.

Thomas Daniels came to Toledo in 1837, and in 1838 engaged as clerk and apothecary student in the office of Dr. Charles McLean, and subsequently a Medical student in the office of one who was a hero in his profession, the late Dr. Calvin Smith, whom he attended in his last hours, during the Cholera visitation in 1852. In 1846, Mr. Daniels engaged in the Drug business on his own account, in which he yet continues, corner of Summit and Cherry street.

T. C. Evarts commenced his residence in Toledo as a clerk in the Toledo post-office, in 1835. Under the administration of Mr. Polk he was postmaster: and his service in the office embraced altogether a period of eighteen years, and afforded general satisfaction to the public. His adventures in the mountain district of Montana several years ago, where the snows and winter blasts held him captive during a period of thirty odd days, are graphically sketched in *Scribner's Monthly*, for November, 1871.

Cornelius G. Shaw removed to Toledo in May, 1832—having resided the previous winter in Brest, Michigan. Himself and party landed at the mouth of the river, and walked up to Vistula. The Indians, at their town just below Manhattan, were, on the day they landed, in council, to consider the proposition to sell their lands to the United States. He was deputy under Munson H. Daniels, the first Sheriff of Lucas county, and, from 1836 to 1840, served as Sheriff of the county. Mr. Shaw died in August, 1850, while en route for California.

Daniel Seaman removed with his family from New Jersey to Erie township, Sandusky (now Ottawa) county, June 13, 1832, and subsequently to Woodville, where he died, March 25, 1854. Ira K. Seaman, now a member of the City Council and resident of East Toledo, is among the survivors of eleven children.

Cyrus Coy removed to Gillead, at the head of the Rapids, in the winter of 1835. He stopped a while at the old stone tavern, on the river bank, then owned by Edward Howard, and afterwards moved into a house with Robert A. Howard, where he continued until spring. His eldest son, Cyrus H. Coy, then 15 years of age, was clerk in the store of P. B. Brown during the winter of 1836; afterwards, in 1844, was in the Co. Auditor's office under Uriah Spencer, and in 1846 made the first general index to Lucas county records of deeds; in 1854 was elected Co. Treasurer, and in 1856 Co. Auditor. He commenced his present business of banking in 1865.

John A. Vroman removed to Sylvania in June, 1837. He is now a resident of Missouri.

Elisha Gunn settled at Waterville in 1818, and died in 1843. Of his children, three sons survive, namely: Dexter, Carver and Osman; and two daughters: Mrs. Abigail Bennett, of Illinois, and Mrs. Malinda, widow of the late John Knaggs, of Port Miami, whose daughter is the wife of Dr. W. W. Jones, Mayor of Toledo, and in whose family she resides.

The late Richard T. Cooke, one of the most eminent of the early lawyers in the Maumee Valley, and who is referred to by Mr. Mott, never married. He had three sisters, Theda, Delia and Chloe; and two brothers, Calvin and William. Calvin came to Toledo to settle Richard's estate; and on his homeward return to New England was thrown from a stage coach and killed.

Phillip I. Phillips left Onondaga county, N. Y., in 1823, and entered 160 acres in Sec. 22, T. 9, S. uth, R. 7 E., and returned to New York in August or September, 1823, and in the spring of 1823 brought with him his wife and nephew, Col. Chas. B. Phillips, then a boy aged eight years. During many years Mr. Phillips was proprietor of the tavern at Tremainville. The nephew is now a member of the firm of Whitaker & Phillips. Mr. Phillips, in company with a Mr. Allen, on his first visit to inspect the country, came from Buffalo to Portland, (now known as Sandusky City) on the old steamboat Superior—the lake passage occupying three days, which was then regarded as the average rate of speed. From Portland to the Maumee they traveled the distance on foot, on the beach of the lake—taking their first meal after leaving

Portland, on the second day, at 4 o'clock in the afternoon, at the house of Mrs. Slate, on the shore opposite West Sister Island. When he came with his family the year following, he cut a roadway for his team on an Indian trail, nearly the whole distance between Lower Sandusky and Perrysburg—only four miles of the Western Reserve and Maumee Road, between those points having then been cut out.

Col. L. B. Lathrop, born in Royalton, Vermont, immigrated to Richfield township, Lucas county, in 1834, and in 1848 removed to Sylvania. He served as a member of the Ohio Legislature, and held other official positions, and died of paralysis at his residence in Sylvania, on Friday, May 9, 1873. The survivors of his family are his wife and sons Lorenzo, Luther C., James J., and Miles, and daughters Mrs. Mary Ann Wilson and Mrs. Helen Roberts.

Alonzo Rogers removed to the Maumee Valley in 1835. During a term of 18 years, he was an active co-worker with Gen. C. W. Hill, as a member of the Toledo Board of Education, and prominent in every moral and useful enterprise designed to advance the interests of mankind. He died Tuesday, May 13, 1873.

John Poag—(the boy "lost in the woods,"—see Knapp's History of Ashland county,) was one of the most sagacious men who operated in real estate in Toledo. Whatever may have been his irregularities, during his later life, it may be said of him that he contributed largely, by his foresight, in placing the indestructible foundations upon which now rest the city of Toledo. Several successful business men, in prosperous condition, are indebted to Mr. Poag for the good fortune that has attended their efforts. He was one of the most noble-hearted men, and faithful to friendship, that lived in Toledo.

Col. S. H. Steedman became a resident of the Valley in 1837;—was a contractor on the Wabash and Erie Canal, and served creditably as commander of a regiment during the late civil war.

Joseph Ogle removed to Fort Ball, June, 1824, having emigrated from Frederick, Md., and preceded Dr. Eli Dresbach, Henry C. Brish, Hon. Fred'k W. Green, John Parks, and several other old Marylanders. Mr. Ogle was the first permanent white settler on the Fort Ball side of the river. His widow, at the age of 85 years, yet resides upon the old homestead.

Wm. H. Merrett, born in Brunswick Co., Va., came with his parents to Columbus Ohio, and at the age of 18 years, became an inhabitant of Maumee City. He was the first colored man empanelled on a Grand Jury, in the state of Ohio, at the May Term of Lucas County Common Pleas, 1870, and is now a leading man among his race.

The following additional names, with dates of arrival annexed, are copied, chiefly, from the records of the Pioneer Association of the Maumee Valley:

R. A. Forsyth, 1816, (dead;) Isaac Hull, 1814, (dead;) Henry Bennett, September 9, 1833; Geo. A. Carpenter, October 22, 1840, (dead;) S. L. Collins, December 22, 1831; John W. Collins, October 30, 1834; N. D. Blinn, February 23, 1825, (dead;) J. Austin Scott, May 24, 1823; James Myers, April 17, 1836, (died July 18, 1864;) Mavor Brigham, May 25, 1835; C. K. Bennett, November 15, 1835; John R. Bond, October 12, 1836; Samuel B. Scott, July 1835, (dead;) Horace Thacher, August 15, 1833; Chauncey D. Woodruff, April 2, 1835; John Bates, April 10, 1832, (died March 4, 1866;) James M. Comstock, March 20, 1836; S. A. Raymond, August 27, 1839; E. J. Woodruff, June 18, 1836; Amasa Bishop, October 1, 1824; C. V. Jennison, May, 1818; M. L. Collins, January, 1834, (dead;) Henry Reed, sen'r., October, 1833, (died July 26, 1864;) Oliver Stevens, October, 1832; Wm. Prentice, June 10, 1818; Henry Wood, June 10, 1832; Denison B. Smith, June 10, 1836; P. I. Phillips, January, 1825; Edwin Fuller, October 21, 1839; Frederick Bissell, August, 1835, (died June 6, 1870;) Alex. H. Newcomb, October, 1835; S. B. Scott, June 1837; Luther Whitmore, April, 1825; Joseph Jones, 1835; M. L. Leezen, 1839

A. A. Belknap, 1834; Eber Wilson, June 18, 1823; Charles A. Crane, 1830; Asher Cook, May 5, 1835; Geo. Powers, June, 1835; Andrew Bloomfield, May 5, 1833; Gilbert Beach, May, 1835; Samuel M. Young, at Maumee June 10, 1835; Jeremiah C. Crane, June 4, 1827; John U. Pease, November 15, 1835, (dead;) Price Hilton, Defiance, December 3, 1823; Galusha Chase, Perrysburg, June 26, 1839; Abraham Hartman, October, 1835; Thomas Southard, May, 1832; Chas. T. Wales, June, 1832; Thomas Corlett, August, 1834; Jesup W. Scott, June, 1832; B. H. Bush, May, 1834; P. C. Lewis, 1830; John Fitch, 1836; John Van Fleet, 1829; Daniel Newton, 1840; Jerome B. Smith, 1833; Peter H. Shaw, September 10, 1823; John Conkard, 1837, (dead;) Martin Warner, 1836; Wm. Pratt, June, 1818; Sylvester Brown, 1831; Elijah Herrick, May 5, 1822; John P. Rorr, 1831; Geo. Spencer, 1836; Andrew Printup, 1834; A. P. Reed, 1834; W. R. Hull, 1833; C. Herrick, May 5, 1822; Wm. O. Ensign, 1837; E. Connelly, 1836; Don. A. Pease, 1825; Noah A. Whitney, 1824; Pliny Lathrop, 1834; L. C. Lock, February, 1835; Robert A. Howard, March 25, 1823, (died Nov. 26, 1872;) N. Montgomery Howard, (born at head of the Rapids, of the Maumee, Jan. 21, 1828;) John J. Manor, (born at Providence, Sept. 25, 1827;) C. M. Dorr, Aug. 1837, (died April 1870;) Hiram Walbridge, summer, 1833, (dead;) Horace S. Walbridge, summer, 1833; Heman D. Walbridge, summer, 1833; Ebenezer Walbridge, April, 1836, (dead;) Valentine H. Ketcham, July, 1836; P. F. Berdan, April, 1836; J. K. Secor, October, 1840; Charles Ballard, July, 1837; Horace Hertzler; James Smith, September, 1834; Shubnah Spink, April, 1833; Capt. David Wilkinson, 1818; James Curtis, 1834, (dead;) Joshua Chappell, 1823, (dead;) Wm. Houston, May, 1836, (dead;) S. B. Thornton, July, 1837; David Creps, May 22, 1833; Mars Nearing, October, 1834; J. J. Smith, September 15, 1835; E. D. Peck, June, 1834; Julius Blinn, 1834; Isaac Van Tassel, December, 1829; E. S. Hanks, November, 1835; John A. Robertson, June 3, 1836; Wm. Crook, sen'r., August, 1831; L. Perrin, March 19, 1828; Wm. Flynn, June 23, 1833; James Donipace, July, 1834; Henry Seabart, October 8, 1833; Wm. H. Bennett, September, 1835; E. W. Norton, February, 1835; Jerome Myers, September, 1837, (dead;) H. T. Smith, April, 1838; Thos. I. Webb, September 15, 1828; W. H. Jones, December, 1833; Geo. N. Parsons, May, 1837; Carlos Colton, March, 1824; Richard Bamford, October 10, 1838, (dead;) Harrison L. Holloway, May 26, 1834; Henry P. Bernthizel, April, 1831; Wm. Taylor, May 25, 1835; Harvey Kellogg, May, 1837; Horace Thatcher, August 15, 1833; Thos. Pierson, June, 1839; Abner Brown, June, 1833; J. S. P. Whitney, June 15, 1834; James Pearson, September 22, 1839; Solomon Johnson, 1836; Phillip G. Loope, 1830; L. L. Morehouse, May, 1837; B. F. Pratt, March, 1824; John Fay, October, 1833; S. H. Wolfinger, April, 1834; D. R. Stebbins, September, 1835; W. B. Gunn, September, 1820; Joseph Mitchell, May, 1830; George Allen, May, 1834; George Weddell, May, 1837; D. Lindsay, 1834; C. C. Baird, 1825; Geo. S. McKnight, January, 1820; F. Osgood, 1836, (died, July 26, 1867;) Daniel Burns, 1837; Edwin Phelps, 1834; W. J. Daniels, 1832; A. Stephan, August 11, 1836; Alex. B. Brownlee, Maumee City, 1835, (died 1872;) Wm. Herrick, Swanton, 1823, (died 1869;) Edmund R. Dyer, at Waterville, 1836, (died in Toledo, 1865;) Luke Draper, Vistula, 1834, (dead;) Daniel Segur, 1835; Patrick Quigley, at Manhattan, 1837; Jonathan Lundy, at Manhattan, 1836; Dennison Steele, at Maumee City, August, 1833, (dead;) Col. John Faskin, July, 1818. Charles I. Scott, at Toledo, 1839; Mrs. Parker, Hicksville, Defiance county, 1835.

APPENDIX A.

BAR OF LUCAS COUNTY—LAWYERS IN PRACTICE IN 1872 AND 1873.

<p>D. R. Austin, 133 Probate Judge's office. W. Baker, No. 2 Hartford Block. Clement Carpenter, No. 7 Hartford Block. C. S. Curtis, No. 11 Lenk's Block. Thomas Dunlap, 10 Chamber of Commerce. A. W. Eckert, Room 2, Myers' Block. Clayton W. Everett, Attorney, Toledo, Ohio. J. & E. H. Fitch, corner Summit and Jefferson streets. Joseph D. Ford, Prosecuting Attorney, Lucas County, No. 3 Hartford Block. C. F. France, Nos. 2 and 5 Hartford Block. J. T. Greer, 55 Adams street, Trinity Block. G. Harmon, 14 Drummond's Block. George R. Haynes, 4 King & Colburne's Block. A. S. Hill, 8 Drummond's Block. C. W. Hill, 8 Drummond's Block. H. E. Howe, No. 3 Lenk's Block. Frank H. Hurd, 9 and 11 Drummond's Block. Kent, Newton & Pugsley, 4 Drummond's Block.</p>	<p>Desault B. Kirk, 1 Anderson's Block. John F. Kumler, 1 Mver's Block. Ira E. Lee, 158 Summit Street. R. C. Lemmon, 2 Anderson's Block. Macomber, Moore & McDonnell, 48 Summit street. McVey & Houghton, 8 Hartford Block. Clarence Morris, 7, Hartford Block. J. R. Osborn, 12 Drummond's Block. E. D. Potter, Jr., 7 Drummond's Block. Charles Pratt, 24 and 25 Chamber of Commerce. J. F. Price, 4 King's Block. J. M. Ritchie, 3 Lenk's Block. B. W. Rouse, 6 Drummond's Block. C. H. Scribner, 9 and 11 Drummond's Block. Harvey Scribner, 9 and 11 Drummond's Block. Wager Swayne, 12 Drummond's Block. Charles C. Starr, 26 Chamber of Commerce. M. R. Waite, 27 Chamber of Commerce. Richard Waite, 27 Chamber of Commerce. Chas. G. Wilson, 24 and 25 Chamber of Commerce. G. B. Wright, No. 1 Anderson Block</p>
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BAR OF MERCER COUNTY—LAWYERS IN PRACTICE IN 1872 AND 1873.

<p>Keepers Albery, J. H. Day, T. J. Godfrey, F. C. LeBlond,</p>	<p>James G. Loughridge, William F. Miller, Hiram Murlin</p>
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BAR OF AUGLAIZE COUNTY—LAWYERS IN PRACTICE IN 1872 AND 1873

<p>George W. Andrews, Wapaukonnetta. Layton & Layton, " F. C. Layton, " W. V. M. Layton, " R. D. Marshall, "</p>	<p>S. R. Mott, Sr., St. Mary's L. C. Sawyer, " F. C. & C. J. Van Anda, Wapaukonnetta. John Walkup, Wapaukonnetta</p>
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BAR OF CRAWFORD COUNTY—LAWYERS IN PRACTICE IN 1872 AND 1873.

Frank'n Adams, Bucyrus.	E. B. Finley, Mader's block, Bucyrus
Thos. Beer, No. 5 Quimby block, up stairs.	Stephen R. Harris, "
James Clements, Bucyrus.	James Marshman, Galion.
J. W. Coulter, Galion.	Josiah Scott, Bucyrus.
	Jacob Scroggs, "

BAR OF FORT WAYNE—LAWYERS IN PRACTICE IN 1872 AND 1873.

James W. Borden	John W. Hayden
Robert Brackenridge.	Charles M. Hertig
Jeff. C. Bowser.	John Morris.
R. C. Bell.	F. P. Randall
Joseph Brackenridge.	E. O'Rourke.
S. H. Bloomhulf.	Samuel E. Sinclair.
D. H. Colerick	Stephen F. Smart
H. Colerick.	M. V. B. Spencer.
W. G. Colerick	W. H. Withers.
Wm. W. Carson	Allen Zollars.
Homer C. Hartman.	

BAR OF ALLEN COUNTY—LAWYERS IN PRACTICE IN 1872 AND 1873

John F. Brotherton, Lima.	Agent, Lima.
E. A. Ballard, "	James Irvine, Lima.
Calvin S. Brice, "	C. N. Lamison, "
John Collett, "	L. M. Meily, "
T. E. Cunningham, "	T. M. Robb, "
Chas. M. Hughes, "	J. E. Richie, "
John D. Foye, Att'y and Real Estate	

LAWYERS IN PRACTICE IN DELPHOS IN 1872 AND 1873.

B. J. Brotherton, Delphos.	John King, Delphos.
E. Hartshorn, "	C. C. Marshall "

BAR OF VAN WERT COUNTY—LAWYERS IN PRACTICE IN 1872 AND 1873.

Isaac A. Alexander, Bank Block, Van Wert.	sts., Van Wert.
W. J. Beers. Arcade Block, Van Wert.	James L. Price, McCurdy's Block, Van Wert.
James M. Barr, " " "	G. M. Saltzgaber, Main street, Van Wert.
C. P. Edson, cor. Main and Jefferson	

BAR OF WOOD COUNTY—LAWYERS IN PRACTICE IN 1872 AND 1873.

Philan S. Abbott, Bowling Green.	James R. Tyler, Perrysburg.
Edson Goit, " "	

 BAR OF FULTON COUNTY—LAWYERS IN PRACTICE IN 1872 AND 1873.

Amos Hill, Wauseon.	|	Wm. W. Touvelle, Wauseon.
Wm. C. Kelley, "	|	

BAR OF HENRY COUNTY—LAWYERS IN PRACTICE IN 1872 AND 1873

J. M. Haag.	|	James G. Haley.
Sinclair M. Hague.	|	Romaine Tyler.

BAR OF HANCOCK COUNTY—LAWYERS IN PRACTICE IN 1872 AND 1873.

Wm. H. Anderson.	|	E. T. Dunn.
Aaron Blackford.	|	Wm. Mungen.
Ezra Brown.	|	C. W. O'Neal.
Henry Brown.	|	M. D. Shaffer.
C. G. Brand.	|	A. B. Shaffer.
J. F. Burket.	|	M. C. Whiteley.
J. A. Bope.	|	

BAR OF SANDUSKY COUNTY—LAWYERS IN PRACTICE IN 1872 AND 1873.

Ralph P. Buckland, Fremont.	|	John P. Lemmon, Clyde, Lemmon's
Homer Everett, Buckland's new	|	Block, and at Sandusky, opposite
Block, cor. Front and State streets.	|	Post Office.
J. L. Green & Son, Tyler's Block, cor.	|	A. B. Putnam, Odd Fellows Block,
Croghan and Front streets.	|	Front street.

BAR OF DEFIANCE COUNTY—LAWYERS IN PRACTICE IN 1872 AND 1873.

Wm. Carter.		W. D. Hill.
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BAR OF WYANDOT COUNTY—LAWYERS IN PRACTICE IN 1872 AND 1873.

Curtis Berry.		R. McKelly.
John Berry.	|	John D. Sears.
H. A. Hoyt.	|	Allen Smalley.
Chester R. Mott.	|	

BAR OF PUTNAM COUNTY—LAWYERS IN PRACTICE IN 1872 AND 1873.

D. I. Brown.	|	Swan & Moore, Exchange Bank
Josiah Gallup.	|	Block.
J. L'H. Long, Exchange Bank Block.	|	

BAR OF SENECA COUNTY—LAWYERS IN PRACTICE IN 1872 AND 1873.

Frank Baker, Tiffin.	J. V. Jones, Main street, Fostoria.
A. H. Byers, "	Wm. Lang, Tiffin.
Geo. W. Bachman, Tiffin.	Harrison Noble, "
Upton F. Cramer, "	Warren P. Noble, Tiffin.
Wm. H. Gibson, "	R. G. Pennington, "
L. A. Hall, "	J. H. Pittenger, "
J. K. Huddle, "	Geo. E. Seney, "

APPENDIX B.

TABLE OF ALTITUDES.

The readers of this volume are under obligations to Jesse L. Williams, Esq. of Fort Wayne, for the following accurate table of altitudes, of points in the district of country in Ohio and Indiana drained by the Wabash and Maumee rivers, including also a few prominent points outside this boundary—the measurement being in feet above the level of Lake Erie:

Maumee river, at head of Rapids.....	62
" " at Defiance.....	80
" " at line between Ohio and Indiana.....	135
Low water, Maumee river at Fort Wayne.....	163
Summit level, Wabash and Erie canal, (water surface).....	193
Court house square in Fort Wayne.....	198
Marsh 4 miles south-west of Fort Wayne, the summit between Maumee and Wabash rivers.....	191
Railroad track at Fort Wayne depot, P. F. W. & Chicago railroad.....	211
Low water, Little St. Joseph River of Maumee at Edgerton, on Michigan Southern Air Line railroad.....	234
Railroad track at Bryan, Williams county, Ohio, on the Michigan Southern Railroad.....	198
Railroad track at Adrian, on Michigan Southern railroad.....	247
" " at Osseo, " " ".....	540
" " at Hillsdale, " " ".....	520
" " at Jonesville, " " ".....	535
" " 1 mile west of Jonesville—the summit between Lakes Erie and Michigan, on this road.....	560
Railroad track at White Pigeon, on this road.....	250
Air Line railroad track, 3 miles east of Kendallville—summit between Lakes Erie and Michigan, on this road.....	415
Wolf Lake, in south-west part of Noble county, Indiana.....	324
Summit between the Maumee and Big St. Joseph rivers, near the same point.....	370
Reservoir at Rome City, on Grand Rapids & Indiana railroad.....	*367
Track of Fort Wayne, Jackson & Saginaw railroad, at north line, Allen county.....	270

* Built by State of Indiana, in 1838, to aid in supplying proposed Canal from Fort Wayne to Lake Michigan.

Track at Auburn, on this road.....	298
“ at North Line of Indiana, on this road.....	500
“ at Angola, Steuben county, Indiana, on this road.....	478
“ at highest point between Fort Wayne and Jackson, on this road, 10 miles north of Indiana line.....	†647
Surface of head branch St. Joseph river, (of Maumee) 5 miles north of Indiana line.....	423
Low water, St. Mary's river at railroad bridge, on the Cincinnati, Richmond & Fort Wayne railroad.....	196
Railroad station at Decatur, Adams county, Indiana.....	233
Summit between St. Marys and Wabash rivers, on C. R. & F. W. railroad.....	291
Low water, Wabash river, at bridge, on this railroad.....	248
Summit between Wabash and Salamanca rivers.....	381
Low water, Salamanca river at Portland, Jay county.....	330
Summit between Salamanca and Missisniewa rivers, on said road.....	479
Low water, Missisniewa river at Ridgeville, Randolph county.....	390
Summit on this railroad line between Missisniewa and White rivers.....	521
Low water, White river at Winchester.....	479
Railroad track at Winchester, crossing Bellefontaine railroad.....	514
Summit between White river and Green's Fork—a branch of White Water.....	614
Summit between Green's Fork and Nolan's Fork of White Water, on C. R. & F. W. railroad, two-thirds of a mile south of Randolph county line.....	†648
Low water of East Fork White Water, at Richmond.....	311
Railroad track at passenger depot in Richmond.....	390
Railroad track at Van Wert, Ohio.....	190
“ “ at Delphos, at crossing Miami and Erie Canal.....	188
“ “ at depot at Lima, Ohio.....	263
Hog Creek Marsh, source of Auglaize river.....	350
Summit between waters of Lake Erie and Ohio river, 2 or 3 miles south of Crestline, on the Cleveland & Columbus railroad.....	608
Summit between Lake Erie and Ohio river, on route of Miami & Erie Canal, Shelby county, Ohio.....	387
Summit between Lake Erie and Ohio river, at sources of Sandusky and Scioto rivers, Crawford county, Ohio.....	354
Railroad depot at Columbia City, Whitley county, Indiana.....	269
“ “ at Warsaw, Kosciusko county, Indiana.....	249
“ “ at Bluffton, Wells county, Indiana.....	258
Court-house Square in Huntington, Indiana, on W. and E. Canal.....	167
Low water of Wabash river, 2 miles west, at forks of the Wabash.....	126
“ “ of Wabash at mouth of Salamanca river.....	93
“ “ “ “ Missisniewa river.....	53
“ “ of the Missisniewa river at Marion.....	220
Court-house Square in Peru.....	75
Low water, Wabash river at mouth of Eel river.....	6
Railroad depot at Logansport.....	27
“ “ at Kokomo.....	261
Union “ at Indianapolis.....	140
Railroad “ at Muncie.....	381

The highest ridges in this vicinity, near the head branches of the Little St. Joseph, (of Maumee,) and of the Kalamazoo, is the most elevated land in the Southern half of Michigan. But the late surveys on the Grand Rapids & Indiana railroad show that the ridges in the Northern portion of the Peninsula of Michigan, near the sources of the Manistee, Sheboygan and Boyne rivers, rise to about 1,200 feet above Lake Erie.

The highest point in Indiana is the table land, about ten miles south-east of Winchester Randolph county, at the sources of the White River, White Water and Big Miami rivers being probably about 630 or 700 feet above Lake Erie. The general controlling descent of the State is in a south-western direction to the Ohio River, at the mouth of the Wabash

The following points are below Lake Erie (in feet.)

Railroad depot at Terre Haute, (east side of City)	79
Low water, Ohio river at New Albany, (below Falls)	207
Surface of Mississippi river at mouth of Illinois river	163
Atlantic Ocean	565

APPENDIX C.

THE PRESBYTERIAN MISSION ON THE MAUMEE.

To the honored Mrs. Van Tassel, now of Maumee City, the writer of this is indebted for the most interesting account he has discovered, furnished in the letters which follow, of the old Presbyterian Maumee Mission. It is proper here to add that Mrs. Van Tassel was the daughter of Rev. Joseph Badger, General Harrison's Chaplain during the siege of Fort Meigs, in 1813.

MAUMEE CITY, Dec. 30, 1872.

MR. KNAPP,—SIR: I will endeavor to answer your questions to the best of my recollection, though not precisely as to time in the order proposed.

Mr. Isaac Van Tassel was born in Durham, New York, April 7, 1791, and came to Ashtabula, O., in 1821. In the summer of 1822 he was appointed to the Maumee Mission, by the Western Missionary Society, of Pittsburg, Pa., as assistant and teacher, and was the first member of the Mission family on the ground. Rev. Samuel Tate, of Mercer, Pa., was appointed Superintendent *pro tem.*, remained six months, and was succeeded by Rev. Ludovicus Robbins. Mr. R. remained about two years, and was dismissed at his own request, on account of failing health. Mr. Van Tassel taught the school and pursued his theological studies, spending one winter with Rev. G. H. Cowles, D.D., of Austinburg, O. In 1826 Mr. Van Tassel was licensed and ordained by the Huron Presbytery; he remained a member of that Presbytery until the Maumee Presbytery was formed, of which he remained a member until his death, March 2, 1849. He died suddenly, having been thrown from his horse and instantly killed, on his way from Gilead, (now Grand Rapids,) to our home in Plain. He was appointed Superintendent of the Maumee Mission in 1826, at which time the Mission was transferred to the A. B. C. F. M. He served in that capacity until the Mission was abandoned, in consequence of the removal of the Indians, in 1834.

I was born in Blandford, Mass., Jan. 19, 1794. My maiden name was Lucia Badger. My father, Rev. Joseph Badger, was then pastor of the Congregational Church in that town. In 1800 he was appointed by the Connecticut, Missionary Society, Missionary to New Connecticut, (now Western Reserve) in the Ohio Territory, and in 1802 removed his family to Austinburg, Ashtabula, Co., O. I was married in Ashtabula, O., to Rev. Isaac Van Tassel, Sep. 17, 1822. We went immediately to Pittsburg, where we, with others, were organized into a Mission family. We landed at Maumee, Oct. 27, 1822.

Mr. Van Tassel repaired immediately to the site of the mission-house; found the body of a hewn log cabin erected, 16 x 60, and went to work to prepare it for the reception of the family, consisting, then, of 13 members and some hired help. As there were no inhabitants near, his only bed was a board, and his covering, his overcoat. November 6, the remainder of the family arrived, and the men all went to the station, to work on the house. As there were no boats coming into the Maumee river, we were obliged to cross the Lake in small schooners, chartered for the purpose. November 26, the family met at the mission-house, to commence our labors among the poor Ottawas. Our Mission family consisted of Rev. Samuel Tate, wife and son; Rev. Alvan Coe and wife; Isaac Van Tassel and wife; Leander Sacket (farmer) and wife; John Mc-

Pherrin, (carpenter;) Straight, (blacksmith;) Miss Sabina Stevens and Miss Hannah Riggs.

Our school commenced the winter following, with about half a dozen scholars, and increased time after time till we numbered 50; but they probably would not average over 30, as they were very msteady in their attendance.

Mrs. Sacket commenced the school, and taught a few weeks; it was subsequently taught by different members of the family. I taught one year; the remainder of my time was devoted, (when not confined by sickness,) to domestic avocations, and the study of the Indian language, in which I had made considerable proficiency. It would have been far more agreeable to my wishes to spend my time in studying the language, and instructing adult native females, than otherwise. But this was not the plan of our mission; our instructions were, to collect all the native children we could into the school and teach them English. These had to be fed and clothed; consequently little would be done to elevate the adult natives. They were not, however, entirely neglected. Mr. Robbins and Mr. Van Tassel visited them in their villages, and preached to them through an interpreter, and they were urged to adopt habits of industry, and a better style of living, which they did in some instances. But the good which the missionaries had hoped to accomplish was often frustrated through the opposition of the Indian traders, who made every effort to keep them intoxicated as much as possible. To civilize and Christianize the Indians would be, to deprive them of their unrighteous gains. It has been said that the Maumee Mission was a failure:—If the hopeful conversion of about thirty souls, and the triumphant deaths of at least nine of these, who were known to the missionaries to have died trusting in the Saviour, besides much seed sown, the result of which can only be known in the light of eternity, was not worth the few thousands expended there, then might the mission be called a failure. The Indians were at first shy and distrustful; they could not believe that white people intended them any good. As they became acquainted, however, they were very friendly, and never gave us any trouble by stealing or committing any depredation. They were always grateful for any favors bestowed on them by the missionaries. A mother once came to the station to beg a water-melon for her sick son; she gratefully received it, and the next time she called brought us a quantity of nicely dried whortleberries, for which she refused any compensation; other similar incidents are within my recollection. In the fall of 1826, a young Indian came to the station, saying that his friends had all gone for their winter's hunt, and left him behind, because he was sick and could not travel; he appeared nearly gone with consumption; he begged to be taken in and permitted to sleep by the fire in the children's room, and to eat what they might leave. While his strength lasted, he was anxious to make himself useful, and would cheerfully offer to do any little chores which he felt able to do; but he was soon confined to his bed. He gladly received instruction through the interpreter, and some of the larger boys, who had hopefully become pious, often prayed with him. We never carried him a dish of food or a cup of cold water without receiving his emphatic "*warancee, warancee,*" (thank you, thank you.) He died apparently happy, trusting in the Saviour. There are many reminiscences of the mission, interesting to me, which might not seem so to others. If you think the above satisfactory and wish me to continue, I will answer any questions you may propose.

Yours,

LUCIA B. VAN TASSEL.

MAUMEE CITY, Jan. 17, 1873.

H. S. KNAPP,—SIR: The mission farm was situated nine miles above Fort Meigs, and the same distance below Gilead, (Grand Rapids.) It included the east half section and south-west quarter section lying on the Maumee river at the mouth of Tontogany creek. The large island opposite, and extending down to the lower rapids, $1\frac{1}{2}$ miles in length and half a mile in width, also belonged to the mission farm. The section on the main land was densely covered with large

timber, and part of the island. On the upper end was about 40 acres without timber, which was immediately cultivated. A two story frame house, still standing, was built on the bank, below the mouth of the creek, on the west side of the road, and a large orchard, raised from the seed by the missionaries, was set out on the side hill south of the house; all the mission buildings except the framed house have been removed. The present owners and occupants of the farm are two brothers, George and Thomas Yunt. The location of the mission was probably as healthy as any on the Maumee river. At that time the family suffered much from sickness, incident to the climate, and other diseases which followed; and, in four years, nearly all of the original members had left. The labour afterward was mostly performed by hired help. The missionaries likewise suffered the second year for want of proper food. Our first year's supply was exhausted. We were informed that there was flour for us at Erie, Pennsylvania; but navigation had closed, and there was no road through which a team could pass within thirty miles. Nothing but corn could be procured, and that, for want of a mill to grind it, had, for some weeks, to be eaten whole. No vegetables could be obtained, no potatoes, not even for seed. We were told that "potatoes would not grow on Maumee," but the third spring a vessel came into the river laden with potatoes; Mr. Van Tassel went down and bought 40 bushels, and we never afterwards wanted for potatoes.

Some time in November, 1823, all the female members of the family being sick, a young woman, living a few miles down the river, was engaged to assist a few weeks, and Samuel Holmes, a half Indian boy, 8 years old, was sent down with a horse for her; he told her he chose to walk back, and would leave the horse for her to ride, when she was ready. The girl came, but the boy had not come home; it was thought he might have loitered on the way to gather hickory nuts, as they were very plenty. Night came and he did not make his appearance; the family became alarmed and sent around to the Indian camps, but no one had seen him. A message was sent to his father, who lived below the mouth of the river, who came and brought an Indian with him. They searched through the woods, and visited every Indian camp they could find, but could hear nothing of him. All hope was relinquished of finding him, when a report came that some Indians had found a child in the woods and brought it to Findlay. His father and companion started immediately for that place, and about twenty miles from the station, met Samuel walking slowly, supporting himself with a stick in each hand. When asked where he was going, he said he was going home to the station, that he had been lost in the woods a long time, and had lived on nuts; but for two days had been in a swamp, where he could find none, and he was almost starved. Twenty-one days, he had subsisted on nuts. There seemed a special providence in his being found on that day, as he must have perished soon with cold and hunger. The children were generally docile and affectionate to their teachers and each other, though from different tribes. Disturbances seldom occurred among them, and they learned as fast as children in general.

Yours respectfully,

LUCIA B. VAN TASSEL.

Academy of Our Lady of the Sacred Heart.

NEAR FORT WAYNE, IND.

The Institution, with its delightful location, and modern improvements, is under the direction of an Order of Teachers who have become widely popular from their success in the instruction of young ladies in many of the first-class institutions throughout the Union.

It is easy of access, situated five miles north of Fort Wayne, being only twenty minutes ride from that city on the Jackson and Saginaw R. R., and two miles east of Wallen Station on the Grand Rapids Railway.

The Scholastic Year Commencing the First Monday in September,

Is divided into two sessions of five months each. The course of Study is thorough and extensive, embracing, besides the elementary branches, Botany, Astronomy, Chemistry, the higher mathematics, Belles-Lettres, &c. **NO EXTRA CHARGE FOR FRENCH**, it being the language spoken in the vicinity. Particular attention paid to Music.

The Discipline is mild, but conducted with such vigilance and energy as to secure perfect order and regularity. The young ladies are kept within a line of duty more by a sense of honor and justice than by fear of punishment. They become the children of the house, the Sisters watching over their interests with the solicitude of a mother.

The Table of Honor, weekly notes, monthly tickets, semi-annual examinations, and bulletins, are some of the means made use of to excite in the minds of the pupils the love of study, and to reward the diligent.

Pupils are received at all times, their session commencing with date of entrance. Payments required half-yearly in advance. Non-Catholics received, and only required to assist with decorum at the public religious exercises.

TERMS PER SESSION.

<i>Board and Tuition,</i>	\$75
<i>Washing and Bedding,</i>	10
<i>Music,</i>	25
<i>Modern Languages, each,</i>	10
<i>Latin,</i>	10
<i>Drawing and Painting in Water Colors,</i>	10
<i>Painting in Oil,</i>	20
<i>Board in Vacation, two months,</i>	30
<i>Artificial Flower Lessons,</i>	12
<i>Artificial Fruit and Leather Work,</i>	12

REGULATION FOR WARDROBE—Four towels, four napkins, four changes of linen, one dressing gown, two pairs of shoes, one pair of rubbers, table service, and toilet set.

For further particulars

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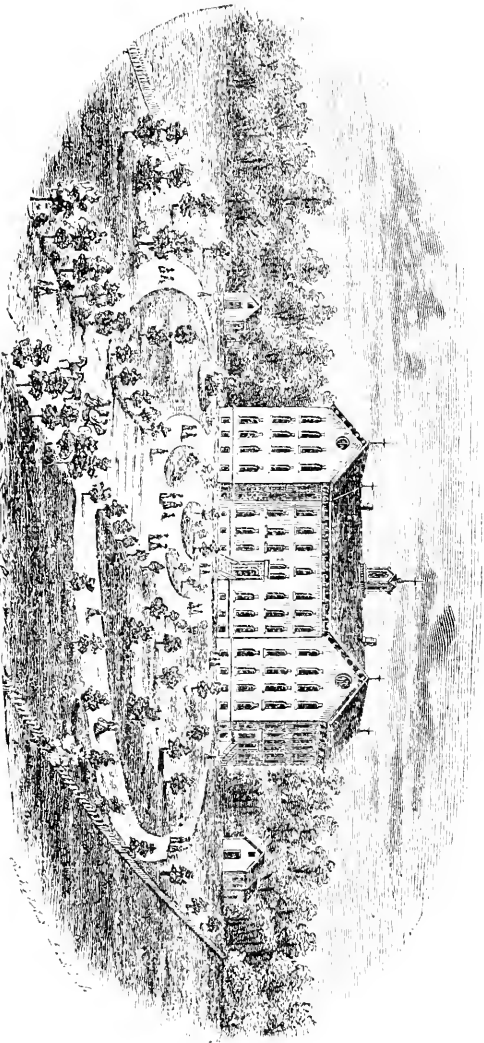
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